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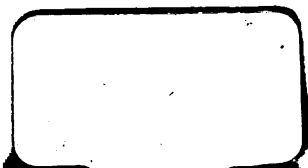
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HISTORY
OF
NAPOLÉON.

BY
GEORGE MOIR BUSSEY.

ILLUSTRATED BY
HORACE VERNET.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

CHAPTER XXVI.

	Page
Public rejoicings at Paris—Opening of the Legislative Session—Suppression of the Tribunate—Embassy from Persia—Napoleon visits Italy—The British bombard Copenhagen—The Emperor returns to Paris—Report of the Arts and Sciences. 1807.....	1

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Peninsula—Occupation of Portugal—Flight of the Braganzas—Spain—Abdi- cation of Charles IV., and Proclamation of Ferdinand VII. — Murat enters Madrid — Napoleon at Bayonne — Insurrections — Joseph Bonaparte King of Spain. 1808.....	20
---	----

CHAPTER XXVIII.

English Operations — Vimiero — Convention of Cintra — New Levies in France — Napoleon and Alexander at Erfurth — Legislative Session — Spain — New Invasion by the Emperor — The Inquisition abolished—Campaign of Sir John Moore—Coruña—Arming of Austria—Napoleon returns to Paris. 1808—1809. 52	52
--	----

CHAPTER XXIX.

Preparations for War—Austria declares against France—Battles of Peissing, Abens- berg, Landshut, and Eckmühl — Ratisbonne taken — Ebersberg — Capture of Vienna — Essling — Death of Lannes — Hostilities in Hungary and Poland — Army of Italy — Raab — Wagram — Austria solicits an Armistice — English Expedition to Walcheren — Attempt to Assassinate Napoleon — Treaty of Schönbrunn. 1809	83
---	----

CHAPTER XXX.

Napoleon's Quarrel with the Pope—Papal Legations seized—French Troops occupy Rome — Napoleon excommunicated — Seizure and Abduction of Pius VII. — States of the Church united to the Empire. 1805 to 1809.	121
--	-----

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XXXI.

	Page
Divorce of Josephine — Marriage with the Austrian Archduchess, Maria-Louisa.	
1809 — 1810	133

CHAPTER XXXII.

Bernadotte elected Crown Prince of Sweden — The Continental System — Louis Bonaparte resigns the Crown of Holland. 1808 to 1810.	152
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXIII.

New Restrictions on the Press—Attempt of La Sahla to Assassinate the Emperor— Birth of the King of Rome—Removal of the Pope to Fontainebleau. 1811 ..	170
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Progress of the War in Spain and Portugal. 1809 to 1812.	186
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXV.

Rupture between France and Russia. 1810 to 1812.	214
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Napoleon at Dresden—Visit to Dantzic and Königsberg—Passage of the Niémen— Lithuania — Retreat of the Russians — Witepsk — Smolensk — Valoutina — Resolution to advance upon Moscow. 1812.	228
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Alexander at Moscow — Advance of the French Army — Portrait of the King of Rome—Battle of the Moskwa. 1812.	252
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Retreat of Kutusoff—Advance of Napoleon—Occupation of Moscow. 1812	26
--	----

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Napoleon offers Peace to Alexander—Burning of Moscow—Commencement of the French Retreat. 1812.	273
--	-----

CHAPTER XL.

Malo-Jaroslawetz — Retreat of the French — The Moskwa — Viazma — Smolensk — Conspiracy of Mallet. 1812.	290
---	-----

CHAPTER XLI.

Departure from Smolensk — Retreat continued — Krasnoi — Passage of the Bereaina — Napoleon returns to Paris. 1812.....	303
---	-----

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XLII.

	Page
Napoleon in Paris—Preparations for a new Campaign—Continuation of the French Retreat—Defection of the Prussians—Cautious Policy of the Austrians—Murat abandons the Army—Results of the Invasion. 1812—1813	324

CHAPTER XLIII.

State of France—Attempted Arrangement with the Pope—Prussia declares War—Bernadotte joins the Confederacy—Proclamation of the Bourbons—Departure of Napoleon for the Army—Commencement of Hostilities—Death of Bessières—Battle of Lutzen. 1813.	335
---	-----

CHAPTER XLIV.

Napoleon at Dresden—Proposal for a general Congress—Battle of Bautzen—Death of Duroc—Retreat of the Allies—Armistice—Austria joins the Allies. 1813 ..	348
--	-----

CHAPTER XLV.

Recommencement of Hostilities — Battle of Dresden — Retreat of the Allies — Disasters of the French — Defection of the Bavarians — Napoleon retires to Leipsic. 1813.	362
--	-----

CHAPTER XLVI.

Battles of Vachau and Leipsic—Desertion of the Saxons—Death of Poniatowski—Retreat of the French—Defeat of the Bavarians—Return of Napoleon to Paris. 1813.	380
--	-----

CHAPTER XLVII.

Condition of the Empire—Levy of Three Hundred Thousand Men—Remonstrance and Dissolution of the Legislative Body — Exertions of Napoleon for the Defence of France. 1813 — 1814	397
--	-----

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The National Guard—Departure of Napoleon for the Army—Battle of Brienne—Champaubert — Vauchamp — Montereau — Troyes — Retreat of the Allies — Armistice. 1814.	418
---	-----

CHAPTER XLIX.

Congress of Chatillon—Soissons—Craonne—Laon—Rheims—Increasing Difficulties of Napoleon—Arcis-sur-Aube—Treachery of Angereau—The Allies advance on Paris—Flight of Maria-Louisa—Capitulation of Paris. 1814.	432
--	-----

CHAPTER L.

Paris — Fontainebleau — The Allies refuse to treat with Napoleon — Treachery of Marmont — General Defection of the Marshals — Abdication — Departure for Elba. 1814.	457
---	-----

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER LI.

	Page
Voyage to Elba—Residence there—Administration of the Bourbons in France— Return of Napoleon—Triumphal March from Cannes—Flight of Louis XVIII. —The Emperor re-enters Paris. 1814—1815	474

CHAPTER LII.

THE HUNDRED DAYS.

Democracy—Congress of Vienna—The Bourbons—Murat—New Constitution of the Empire—Military Preparations—Champ-de-Mai—Advance of the Allied Armies—The Emperor quits Paris—Ligny—Quatre-Bras—Waterloo—Return to Paris—Second Abdication—Provisional Government—Napoleon retires to the Coast. 1815.	511
--	-----

CHAPTER LIII.

Negotiation with Captain Maitland—Letter to the Prince Regent—Napoleon Embarks in the 'Bellerophon'—Brought to the English Coast—Sentenced by the British Government—Transferred to the 'Northumberland,' and sent to St. Helena—The Bourbons and the Allies. 1815.	551
---	-----

CHAPTER LIV.

Voyage to St. Helena—Briars—Longwood. 1815—1816.	575
---	-----

CHAPTER LV.

Arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe—Altercations—Harsh Measures of the Governor— Removal of Count Las Cases. 1816.....	596
--	-----

CHAPTER LVI.

Habits of Napoleon at Longwood—Parliamentary Debates concerning his Treatment —Removal of Dr. O'Meara—Arrival of Antommarchi and others—Illness and Death of the Emperor. 1817—1821	619
---	-----

HISTORY OF NAPOLEON.

CHAPTER XXVI.

**PUBLIC REJOICINGS AT PARIS—OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE SESSION—
SUPPRESSION OF THE TRIBUNATE—EMBASSY FROM PERSIA—NAPOLEON
VISITS ITALY—THE BRITISH BOMBARD COPENHAGEN—THE EMPEROR
RETURNS TO PARIS—REPORT OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES. 1807.**

LOUD and hearty were the greetings of the whole French people, on the Emperor's triumphant return to Paris. Even those who had previously abstained from swelling the ranks of his admirers, but remained attached to the Bourbons, or wrapped in their philosophical reveries concerning Republican Liberty and Equality, were seized with the enthusiasm of the moment, and mingled their plaudits with those of the crowd. The Eagle of France soared triumphant above all its enemies; and the chief of the nation seemed destined, by Heaven, to make the country

CONGRATULATIONS.

and people the greatest and most glorious upon earth. Submission to the government of him, before whom monarchs bowed with reverence, seemed no less a duty than a necessity. His whole life and achievements were regarded as little less than a series of miracles, from which the empire over which he presided was to derive advantages commensurate with the supposed honour. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the most hyperbolical language was used by the deputations sent to congratulate him on the issue of his last campaigns, from the Senate, the Tribunate, the Legislative Corps, the Court of Cassation, the Clergy, the Municipality, and, in short, all the authorities, civil, military, and ecclesiastic, throughout his dominions. In these addresses, it was confidently predicted, that war was at an end, that the alliance of the Emperor with Russia and the German States, and the establishment of the Continental System, would speedily reduce England to the necessity of soliciting peace, and open a bright prospect of internal prosperity for the agriculture, the manufactures, and the commerce of the country.

It is the characteristic of Frenchmen to be more easily and entirely elated or depressed than other people: this is necessary to be borne in mind to account, in some measure, for the extravagance of their joy or despair, even under ordinary circumstances, though such excess of feeling can only operate injuriously by producing the inaction incident to over-excited hope or fear. This tendency to exaggeration was never more thoroughly displayed than in the harangues by which all parties now sought to testify their zeal and attachment towards the man at whose chariot wheels fame and fortune seemed to run as ready vassals. In the address of the Senate, Napoleon was exalted high above humanity. The accomplishment of such actions as he had performed in a few months would, it was said, have conferred glory upon a multitude of ordinary men, diffused through an age. Yet this was not all that the Emperor had wrought. While occupied in conquering his enemies at a distance, his genius had guided the domestic administration of his vast empire; his active mind had overleaped the intervening space of four hundred leagues between the army and his capital, and been able to comprehend and direct all measures of public utility, even to their minutest details. "We cannot," said Lacedepede, "offer to your Majesty praises equal to our sense of your

REWARDS.

glory. It will be the task of posterity, removed at a distance from your presence, to estimate the sublime exaltation of your fame. Enjoy, Sire, a recompence worthy of the greatest monarchs, the happiness of being beloved by the greatest of nations." If Napoleon sometimes forgot that he was a mere mortal, he might be excused the fallacy which all around him seemed habitually to indulge, and to take every opportunity to impress upon him as an indisputable truth.

The first act of the Emperor was, to reward those who had distinguished themselves by their military services in the campaign, or their fidelity and wisdom in civil offices during his absence. The dignity of senator was conferred on Generals Klein and Beaumont; on the tribunes, Curée and Fabre de l'Aude; the Archbishop of Turin, and Dupont, one of the Mayors of Paris; Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento, was appointed Vice-Grand Elector; and Berthier, Prince of Neufchâtel, received the title of Vice-Constable of the Empire. Crosses of the Legion of Honour were bestowed among the officers and soldiers of the army, and on those whose celebrity in literature, the arts, and sciences had enhanced the reputation of the French name. These distinctions, however, though distributed with liberality, were never profusely given. Napoleon well knew that, to possess any value, they must be strictly confined to the meritorious, and not conferred as Court ornaments, or marks of personal favour. From this, and other concurring causes, so highly were such marks of Imperial regard esteemed, that many men, to whom large gratuities were awarded, solicited that an honorary distinction might be granted instead.

The 15th of August, the birth-day of the Emperor, the festival of his sainted namesake and of the Assumption, was celebrated with the utmost splendour. The whole nation seemed to rejoice in the good fortune of its Chief: and even a bishop of the Catholic church thought it did not derogate from the sacred dignity of his office, to pronounce, from the pulpit of his cathedral, the following sentences, which, in England, could only be regarded as blasphemies. "God, in his sacred mercy, made choice of Napoleon to be his representative upon earth. The Queen of Heaven [the Virgin Mary] has deigned, by the most munificent gifts, to mark the anniversary of that day which wit-

DEPUTATION FROM ITALY.

nessed her own reception into the celestial mansions. Holy Virgin! it is not without an especial dispensation of thy love for the French people, and of thine all-powerful influence with thy Son, that to the chief of these thy solemn days should belong the birth of the Great Napoleon. God decreed, that from thy sepulchre should spring a hero!" The Emperor himself, accompanied by the Empress and the great officers of state, repaired to Nôtre Dame, where a solemn *Te Deum* was chaunted for the Peace of Tilsit.

On the same day, a deputation from the kingdom of Italy waited upon the Sovereign, to unite its felicitations with those of the empire. Napoleon seemed to have become an object of adoration to all those who, by their relation to him or his government, were in any way participators of his glory. He alone was the same man as formerly, and remained undazzled by the splendour which invested his person and name. His reply to his Italian subjects has less of pomp or assumption than many of the proclamations published when he was merely General-in-chief of the Army of Italy. "I experienced peculiar satisfaction," he said, "in the course of the last campaign, in witnessing the excellent conduct of my Italian troops. For the first time, after many ages, the Italians have won renown in the great theatre of the world. I hope that this happy commencement will excite the emulation of the nation,—that the maidens of my good kingdom, when they choose husbands, will distinguish between youths who lounge away their days in the boudoir, and those who are marked with honourable scars obtained in the service of their country. You may inform my people, on your return, that I intend shortly to make a tour of my Italian dominions."

The opening of the Legislative Session took place on the 16th of August. The Emperor's speech contained this flattering sentence, so dear to the vanity of Frenchmen: "I feel it my proudest boast to be the first among you." It was necessary, perhaps (to use a memorable expression of his own, uttered upon another occasion), to "excite the imagination of the people;" for he was about to task their endurance. The Tribune was a vestige of the Republican Constitution of the Abbé Sieyès, and secured to the people at least a nominal participation in the acts of the Government, forming a supposed barrier against the re-establishment of absolute despotism. The real power

LEGISLATIVE SESSION.

and influence of this branch of the Legislature, however, were exceedingly small. Its members, chosen by the Senate, represented not the multitude but the body from which they derived their authority; and afforded no further guarantee for the adoption of popular measures, than that which is naturally furnished by a large body of intelligent men having precognizance of all contemplated public changes, and interested in maintaining good government and the protection of property, as much for the sake of themselves and their connexions as from a love of order and justice. Napoleon had resolved to suppress this Institution; not, however, because he feared it as an opponent. The Tribune had been the readiest instrument of his ambition. From that body had emanated the proposal, that he should be Consul for life, and also that for the establishment of the Empire; and when, after the capture of Berlin, even the Senate thought fit to remonstrate against the continuance of the war, the Tribune remained silent and subservient. The real cause of the suppression of the body appears to have been correctly stated by the Emperor himself to Las Cases, at St. Helena. "The Tribune," he said, "was absolutely useless, yet cost nearly half a million of francs (about twenty thousand pounds) per annum." He added, "I was well aware that an outcry would be raised against violating the law; but I was strong. I possessed the full confidence of the people, and considered myself a reformer. At least I did all for the best. Had I been hypocritical, or evil-disposed, I should, instead of destroying, have raised the Tribune; for who can doubt, that, when necessary, it would have adopted and sanctioned my views and intentions? But such support I never sought in the course of my administration. I never purchased a single vote by promise, place, or money; and if I distributed rewards to ministers, councillors of state, and legislators, it was because there were things to give away, and it was natural and just that they should be awarded to those whose avocations brought them in contact with myself. In my time, all the constituted bodies of the empire were pure and irreproachable." It must be admitted, nevertheless, that in this action Napoleon failed to exhibit his usual forethought and policy. The French people, justly proud as they were of their Monarch and his fame, had derived additional gratification and importance from the reflection that, in the

SUPPRESSION OF THE TRIBUNATE.

Assembly chosen from their own ranks, although not directly representing their sentiments, they had retained a voice in the administration of public affairs. The abolition of the Tribunalte ungraciously dispelled this illusion, and told them, in a manner not to be misunderstood, that the Emperor deemed his authority absolute, and was disposed to admit none to share in the Government but such as were necessary to divide the burthen of its duties. The impression conveyed abroad by this proceeding, has been aptly expressed by M. Laurent de l'Ardèche: "The existence of an institution, which in its origin and name constantly recalled the Republican system, could not long be tolerated in the neighbourhood of the princes and dukes with whom the Imperial munificence had surrounded the Throne, in the persons of the most celebrated detractors and most formidable enemies of the ancient aristocratical orders." The Tribunalte, it may be added, submitted to its fate in silence.

Other changes, some judicious and some arbitrary, were, at the same time, made in the organization of the Legislative bodies, and in the form of their deliberations. Among these were the decrees, that no person should, thenceforward, be eligible for admission as a member till he had attained the age of forty; nor be appointed to the Council of State, till he had served three times in the Legislative Assembly; and that every project of law should emanate directly from the Government. A remarkable feature of the Session of 1807, is that the Commercial Code, as part of the Code Napoleon, was then voted; when France, through her Continental system (which was enforced where practicable with the utmost rigour), and the vigilance of the British cruisers, had ceased to possess any National commerce.

Every effort, in the meantime, was made to balance the maritime power of England. The Emperor formed harbours, docks, built ships and vessels of every description, fortified the coasts, endeavoured to train naval officers, in short, called into action every available resource for a struggle with his potent enemy. Every obstacle that interfered with his purpose of humbling this indomitable foe, chafed and irritated him beyond endurance. He would listen to no compromise or modification of the Berlin Decrees for the blockade of Britain. The welfare of France and the peace of the World seemed trifling in comparison with the refusal to acknowledge his Imperial

THE PENINSULA.

title, and the assertion and maintenance of the Sovereignty of the Ocean, by "an Island which geographically was but a province of the Great Empire." The British flag was still unfurled in the Baltic, and Napoleon continued at war with Sweden. Through the imbecility of the King, however, and the apathy of the troops under such a chief, the opposition of that country, notwithstanding the assistance in men and money which it derived from England, soon ceased to be formidable. On the 19th of August, Stralsund was taken, and the capitulation of the island of Rugen, on the 3rd of September, placed the whole of Swedish Pomerania at the disposal of France. The British troops reembarked for another enterprise; and the commercial dealings of Sweden were thenceforth reduced to the character of mere smuggling transactions, which, whatever trouble they might have given to the French coast-guard, could afford no material advantage to English merchants.

The Spanish Peninsula stood in a different position, and was calculated to defeat the Continental system much more effectually than Sweden, even had the latter not been encumbered with such an idiot King. Spain, by the extent of her frontiers and the maritime and other facilities which these gave her, was enabled to carry on an immense contraband trade with Italy, and France itself; and the interdictions of Napoleon, though they could not stop the traffic, rendered it more dangerous and less profitable, and were secretly resented by the whole nation. The country, indeed, had, during the Prussian campaign, exhibited symptoms of a desire to throw off the French yoke altogether; but the news of the victory of Jena had prevented any actual demonstration of hostilities; and externally, the blockade of Britain was acquiesced in by the Court of Madrid. Portugal, however, which from old associations and intimate commercial relations, might almost be called a British colony, though conscious of her inability to resist the Conqueror of Italy, Austria, and Prussia by arms, maintained a dogged resistance to his right of interference with her trade. Napoleon remonstrated, and finally, in concert with Charles IV. of Spain, required the Prince Regent of Portugal to close the ports of his kingdom against the vessels of Britain, to confiscate the property of her merchants, and to arrest all her subjects who might fall into his power. To the first of these demands the Prince

THE PENINSULA.

reluctantly consented, but the two last were peremptorily refused, on the ground that nothing would justify his violation of the faith of treaties and the rights of hospitality; and at the time of returning this answer, a generous hint was conveyed to the English merchants, that it would be prudent to close their accounts and retire from a country no longer able to afford them protection from violence and rapine.

This cool and determined opposition from a quarter whence he had not anticipated resistance, aroused all Napoleon's ire. He forthwith negotiated with Spain for the dethronement of the House of Braganza, and the partition of Portugal between himself, the King of Etruria, in whose favour Napoleon had formerly erected Tuscany into a sovereign state, and whom he now wished to remove, and Manuel Godoy, Prince of the Peace (the favourite of the imbecile Spanish Monarch, and paramour of his profligate Queen), who, from a private guardsman, had been elevated to the highest rank attainable by a subject, and to uncontrolled dominion over the whole of Spain. The treaty and convention, by which this nefarious scheme was concluded, were signed at Fontainebleau, on the 27th of October, 1807; and General Junot was immediately afterwards placed at the head of an army of twenty-eight thousand men, with orders to march upon Lisbon, before reaching which he was to be joined by an equal number of Spaniards; while a reserve of forty thousand French troops was directed to be assembled at Bayonne, in readiness to take the field, on the instant, should the English land an army to defend her Ally.

While these arrangements were proceeding, Napoleon gave solemn audience to an ambassador from Persia, sent to confirm the friendly relations already existing between that country and France; and who, in testimony of the Eastern fame of the Emperor, was the bearer, among many magnificent presents, of the sabres of the oriental heroes, Tamerlane and Kouli Khan. This was no ordinary flattery. The Mahometans treasure the memory and relics of their great men with a devotion equal to that entertained by the Catholic church for its saints and martyrs.

On the 16th of November, the Emperor quitted Paris for Italy, and arrived at Milan on the 21st. The object of his journey seemed merely to shew himself to the people, in order to keep alive the

VISIT TO ITALY.

attachment which they had constantly expressed for his person and government. The Italians flocked round him from all quarters, and every one was delighted with the courtesy, affability, and goodness of heart of their Sovereign. From Milan he proceeded to Venice, which he entered on the 29th; the same day that Junot, having traversed Spain, reached Abrantes, the first city in his route after crossing the Portuguese frontier. From Venice, Napoleon returned to Lombardy; and, at Mantua, had an interview with his brother Lucien, who, to promote a reconciliation with the head of his family, consented to the espousal of his daughter with Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias — an alliance, it may be added, which was never effected. Thence the Emperor again repaired to Milan, where he conferred on the Viceroy, Eugene, the hereditary title of Prince of Venice; and on Hortense, Queen of Holland, that of Princess of Bologna; Melzi, formerly President of the Cisalpine Republic, was, at the same time, created Duke of Lodi.

In the Legislative Assembly, when the acts of that body were presented for his acceptance, Napoleon thus expressed himself: "Gentlemen—It is with pleasure I see you around my throne. After an absence

ITALIAN ENTHUSIASM.

of three years, I am much gratified to observe the progress which has been made by my people ; but there are still many things to be done ere the errors of our fathers can be effaced, and Italy rendered worthy of the high destiny reserved for her. The intestine divisions of our ancestors, occasioned by their miserable egotism and love of individual localities, led to the gradual loss of all their rights. The country was disinherited of its rank and dignity, bequeathed by those who, in remote ages, had spread afar the renown of their arms and the fame of their manly virtues. To restore that renown and those virtues, will constitute the object and glory of my reign."

Until the French conquest, such words as these had not been addressed to the Italians for ages. Their princes, as well native as foreign, had treated them as mere serfs of the soil, artisans, opera-singers, buffoons, and beggar-nobles, incapable of indulging the higher aspirations of men conscious of possessing individual and collective rights, or of dreaming that freedom was more than a watch-word pertaining to the ancient and obsolete language of their land. To be told by him, who had subdued their oppressors and broken the fetters of their slavery, that they were still a nation, with nothing but the defects of education and habit to overcome, in order to be again great and powerful, and worthy of the high source whence they derived their blood, might well excite their enthusiasm. The knowledge came to them like gleams of light and tidings of deliverance to men condemned to constant toil in gloomy mines for treasures they were debarred from enjoying. They may, therefore, be excused if their expressions of joy partook of extravagance and adulation, notwithstanding that as yet they had recovered nothing but hope and a sense of their growing importance.

During the Emperor's stay in Italy, the Code Napoleon came into operation in all the States then subject to France. This was the first attempt in Europe to supersede the feudal system by an entire, consistent, and uniform body of civil laws, adapted to the wants and habits of modern society. The Legislative Assembly, during the Revolution, had conceived a project of simplifying and classing the numerous existing decrees and ordinances under which the nation had been governed ; but the violence and confusion of the period had prevented any result beyond a faint indication of what was

CODE NAPOLEON.

deemed necessary. Under the Directory, a report had been drawn up on the same subject; but this being based upon the abstract speculations of the revolutionary philosophers, with reference only to their views of what society should be, not what it was, was inapplicable to the age and the people, and totally worthless. The present Code had been suggested, immediately after the 18th of Brumaire, by Napoleon himself, who thus evinced his desire to consolidate the Revolution, and give to the French people all the advantages they had originally sought from that event. The work was worthy of the spirit which directed it, and the nation for whose benefit it was designed. It had engaged the undivided attention and talents of many of the most eminent men in France, a country always celebrated for its juriconsults; whose labours had been bestowed with the sole object of establishing a rule of right for persons and property, and of laying down forms of procedure by which crime might be punished, innocence protected, and justice obtained by the humblest as well as the wealthiest citizen, with the least possible delay and expense to the suitor. The trial by jury, except in political cases, was conferred upon all accused persons as a right. The public police system of the empire has been the model for that of England. "Justice was administered on sound and fixed principles, and by unimpeached tribunals." But not to multiply particulars, it will be sufficient to say, that Sir Walter Scott, a competent judge, though he qualifies his approbation of the details, pronounces that "the Code, as a whole, forms a grand system of jurisprudence, drawn up by the most enlightened men of the age, having access to all the materials which the past and present times afford." Mr. Lockhart says, that "it was drawn up with consummate skill and wisdom, so as to be a boon of inestimable value to France;" and De Bourrienne, a man of infinite sagacity, though of doubtful honour, and who seldom gives Napoleon credit but where the circumstances themselves extort it, admits that "the Code, as a monument of legislation, must procure the Emperor a place among the benefactors of mankind." The greatest tribute, however, which has been paid to its merit, and its perfect adaptation to the uses for which it was intended, is the fact of its re-establishment by the Bourbons, and its retention to the present day as the rule of conduct for all Frenchmen. Well might Napoleon, who personally

BRITISH EXPEDITIONS.

laboured long and earnestly in assisting to perfect the work, proudly exclaim on its completion, "I shall go down to posterity with the Code in my hand." The prudence and policy of enforcing its observance upon the States then recently annexed to France, and which were not so well prepared for its reception, have been questioned; but its voluntary adoption, after the fall of the Emperor, by many of the German and Italian States, which had practically experienced its beneficial effects, is the best answer to all such objections.

While these things were transpiring in France, the British Government was exerting all its powers to defeat the formidable league which was now arrayed against its commerce. It began by endeavouring to create a new species of commerce where none had previously existed, and where the simple wants of the inhabitants were supplied by the produce of the land. Two expeditions had been sent, in 1806 and 1807, against Buenos Ayres, to compel the natives to deal in British merchandise; but the sturdy semi-barbarous population, not only resolutely refused to purchase what it did not require and had no money to pay for, but took up arms in defence of its national independence, and speedily defeating the British troops with considerable slaughter, drove them with disgrace from the insulted coast. The next step was the despatching of an armament against Turkey, to compel the Sultan to abandon his recent alliance with Napoleon, dismiss the French Ambassador from Constantinople, and surrender all his ships of war to the English until a general peace. This expedition was commanded by Sir Thomas Duckworth, who, in February, 1807, passed the Dardanelles, and urged the demands contained in his instructions; but with so little effect, and under such increasing disadvantages and dangers, that, after negotiating for a week, the Admiral became seriously alarmed for the safety of his squadron, and precipitately retired from before the Turkish capital with great loss, both of men and reputation. Petty expeditions, however, constituted, at this period, the British system of warfare. Accordingly, in March, a small army was sent against Egypt, under General Fraser, which easily obtained possession of Alexandria; but, being subsequently pressed hard on all sides by the Turks and Mamelukes, was compelled, after losing more than a fifth of its

ATTACK ON COPENHAGEN.

number, to capitulate, and, on the 20th of September, wholly to evacuate the Egyptian territories. As a set off against these disasters, the small Dutch island of Curaçao, and the Cape of Good Hope—a really important acquisition—were conquered. But the general policy of the English Cabinet was too narrow and selfish to accomplish any great object, or to operate with effect in bringing the war to a close. At length, however, the people of England had begun to perceive and to complain of the imbecile conduct of the Ministry; and this, echoed by the press, eventually stimulated the Government to bolder action.

In the beginning of August, an expedition, consisting of twenty-seven sail of the line, and a great number of frigates and smaller vessels, carrying upwards of twenty thousand soldiers, under the command of Lord Cathcart, was despatched to the Baltic, secretly commissioned to demand from Denmark, the only Northern power which still possessed what might be justly called a fleet, the delivery of its ships and naval stores to Great Britain, to be held in trust till the proclamation of peace. Between the Danes and the English, at this period, the most friendly relations were subsisting, extensive mercantile dealings were mutual, and ambassadors resided at their respective courts. No intimation was given of the hostile intentions of Great Britain; no complaint of misconduct on the part of Denmark, or hint of apprehension as to her ulterior designs, was suffered to transpire: even after the expedition had sailed, Admiralty licences were granted to British merchants trading to Denmark, and Danish ships were encouraged to enter English ports as those of friends and allies. Hence the object of the armament was unsuspected, when Admiral Gambier, with his armed freight, passed the Sound and the Great Belt, and, entering the Baltic, blockaded the island of Zealand, on which Copenhagen, the capital of the kingdom, is situated. It was not until ninety pennons were flying round these unprepared shores, that Mr. Jackson, the British Minister, thought fit to communicate to the Crown Prince the requisitions of his Government, which were then stated to have originated in a fear that the French Emperor would not long permit Denmark to remain neutral, but would seize and employ her fleet in his meditated attempt to subjugate England.

The Danish Prince, with just indignation, repelled the demand, as

ATTACK ON COPENHAGEN.

an unwarrantable attempt to deprive his country of its independence, and prepared to offer what resistance he could to the unprovoked aggression of his pretended friends. The British, however, were too numerous, and their course of proceeding had been too well organized, for a hasty and ill-arranged defence to be availing. The troops were disembarked; and while one portion was sent into the interior of the island, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose name, already celebrated in India, was now first heard in connexion with European warfare, the majority were occupied, in conjunction with the fleet, in bombarding Copenhagen; which, after bravely withstanding the enemy for three days, during which many public

buildings, churches, libraries, and an immense number of private habitations, and great part of the population, were destroyed by the cannonade and a dreadful conflagration, was compelled to surrender its citadel and forts. The captured fleet was immediately fitted out for sea; and all the naval stores, together with private property of

MILAN DECREE.

extensive value, were embarked, and the English withdrew with their booty. Comment upon the principle of such an outrage would be superfluous. On the ground of expediency, the defenders of the Administration, by which it was directed, have sought to justify its enormity.

Russia was among the first to proclaim her indignation at this odious violation of the rights of nations. Alexander expressed his regret at having ever entered into engagements with England; and gave vent to the bitterness which he had cherished against the British Cabinet, for its parsimony during the Polish campaign. He exposed, with scorn, the mismanagement of the English expeditions, and characterized the Ministry as mercenary and selfish. He annulled every convention that had been entered into between Russia and Great Britain; avowed the principles set up by the Armed Neutrality, which he termed a monument of the wisdom of the Great Catherine; and finally laid an embargo on all British vessels and property in his dominions.

Napoleon obtained intelligence of the attack of Copenhagen while in Italy, but took less public notice of the event than was generally expected. Perhaps, indeed, he was not sorry for its occurrence, as it converted neutral Denmark into an ally of France, and furnished an excellent answer to whatever protestations might be made by England against his aggressions in the Peninsula. He merely issued a new decree against British commerce, which was dated at Milan, on the 17th of December, by which all the nations of Europe were prohibited, not only from trading with England, but from dealing in articles of English manufacture. Agents were appointed for almost every seaport and trading town on the Continent; and these were ordered not to permit the entrance of any ship without a certificate of origin, to prove that no part of the cargo was British produce. It is almost needless to say that this manifesto, like its predecessors on the same subject, though it served to embarrass and complicate commercial dealings, was inoperative for the purpose intended. British goods still found their way into the markets of Germany, Russia, Italy, the Peninsula, and France; and Napoleon himself, with his Empress and household, were consumers of proscribed articles,—which, to save appearances, were treated as the produce of countries in alliance with the empire. De Bourrienne relates some amusing instances which

occurred, during his residence as minister at Hamburg, of the ingenious practices of the Germans for the inland transport of English merchandise, which there was never much difficulty in running on the coast. At a village near Hamburg, the gravel-pits were filled at night with moist sugar, and thence in the morning conveyed into the city for the ostensible purpose of mending paths and roads. The searching officers were deceived for a time ; but the continuance of the repairing mania induced them to watch more narrowly, and eventually the sand carts were seized, and the trade brought to an end. At another village, near Altona, a sudden mortality arose ; and as the burial-ground of the inhabitants was within the city, hearses, with all the panoply of death, were constantly passing to and fro. At last, it was remarked that, notwithstanding the number of funerals, there was no visible decrease of the population ; and, on examination, it was found that the hearses and coffins were filled with sugar, coffee, vanilla, indigo, and other British colonial merchandise.

A few days before the close of the year 1807, Napoleon took leave of his Italian subjects, and set out on his return to Paris. While passing the Alps, he stayed a short time at Chambéry, where the son of Madame de Staël, having obtained an audience, begged that his mother might be permitted to return to Paris, assuring the Emperor that it was not her intention to give umbrage to the Government. Napoleon, however, was inexorable. When formerly in France, she had ridiculed his Imperial pretensions, and entertained the inhabitants of the Faubourg St. Germain with caricature imitations of his conversation, and of the manners and habits of the kind and good Josephine. Neither this, nor the desire of the authoress to supplant the Empress, had been forgotten : hence the entreaty of young De Staël was coldly listened to, and sternly refused. Napoleon carried his resentment further, perhaps, than the circumstances warranted. He spoke with a bitterness, almost amounting to rancour, of Necker, the grandfather of his supplicant ; whose greatest fault, as a minister of Louis XVI., had been his faith in the natural goodness of mankind, which induced a too ready compliance with the will of the people. The financier was stigmatized as " a man of one idea, a fool, an old maniac, a maker of theories and controller of systems, who judged of men from books, and of the world from a

VISIT TO DAVID.

map." This was not merely uncourteous, but coarse ; and so contrary to the general urbanity of the Emperor, that, had it not been reported upon good authority, the whole dialogue might reasonably have been set down as one of the many calumnies invented to degrade him, who, being placed out of the reach of personal chastisement, should more than any one have abstained from offering an insult.

He and Duroc, who travelled with him, reached Paris on the 1st of January, 1808 ; and, three days afterwards, Napoleon, in company with the Empress Josephine, paid a visit to the studio of David, the

celebrated painter, then occupied on his large picture of the Coronation. Napoleon had been introduced to this great artist by the younger Robespierre, and received some marks of kindness from him, while staying in Paris, in a state of utter destitution, to solicit employment from the War Office, in 1792, previously to the siege of Toulon. To this, as much perhaps as to his universally acknowledged talents, David was indebted for the subsequent patronage and friendship of the Emperor. Napoleon detested the principles of the Jacobins ; and

REPORT OF THE INSTITUTE.

the painter had been one of the most violent members of that faction, having sat, a busy actor, on the Committee of Public Safety, a branch of the terrible revolutionary tribunal. The study of external grace, of mental refinement, of the best and purest feelings, and deepest sympathies of humanity, necessary to skill in his profession, had, at that time, produced little effect on his heart. An expression of his, when taking his seat within the bar, at which the Terrorists, for form's sake, presented their victims before leading them to the guillotine, has been preserved, and exhibits a degree of callous brutality, not unworthy of Marat or the elder Robespierre. "Let us grind," he said, jestingly, "plenty of the *red*!" At the dissolution of the Convention, however, David had ceased to interfere with politics; and the reputation of his genius afterwards obliterated the memory of his criminal participation in the horrors of the Revolution.

In the course of the month of January, the statutes of the Bank of France were completed. About the same period, also, the National Institute made a report on the progress of literature, the sciences, and arts, since the year 1789. "This important mission," says L'Ardèche, "had originated with Napoleon, at a moment when the genius of the man, freed from the passions of the monarch, had leisure to contemplate the general interests of civilization." Each of the classes composing the Institute presented its separate report on those branches of human knowledge which came more especially within the sphere of its labours. Chénier was the reporter of that class which represented the ancient philosophical French Academy; De Lambre and Cuvier exhibited the advancement of physiology and mathematical science; Dacier represented that section of the Institute from which the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-lettres has since been formed; and Le Breton gave in the report of the class devoted to the Fine Arts. "The work of the Institute," says a French writer, "remains as a monument of the greatness of the people; who, amid the horrors of civil commotion, and the incessant anxieties of foreign war, were enabled to cultivate, with profit, the domain of intelligence, and to attain high rank in the triple pursuit of science, literature, and art; while Europe and the world believed their capacity to be exclusively military. This," adds the same author, "furnished an eloquent reply to the revilers of the revolution; and, consequently, an indi-

PROGRESS OF THE ARTS.

rect justification of all those who, like Necker, contributed, by their economical theories and financial schemes, to the explosion of that great crisis."

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE PENINSULA—OCCUPATION OF PORTUGAL—FLIGHT OF THE BRAGANZAS—SPAIN—ABDICATION OF CHARLES IV., AND PROCLAMATION OF FERDINAND VII.—MURAT ENTERS MADRID—NAPOLEON AT BAYONNE—INSURRECTIONS—JOSEPH BONAPARTE KING OF SPAIN. 1808.

E BOURRIENNE, speaking of the affairs of the Peninsula, confidently asserts, that Napoleon had never entertained a design against Spain or Portugal, until the vacillating policy of the former, and the refusal of the latter to adopt the Continental system, forced upon him a consideration of the state of those kingdoms. This, corroborating the Emperor's own disavowal of a premeditated plan of conquest and appropriation, may be admitted as exonerating him from the imputation of entrapping the rulers of those countries into

THE PENINSULA.

the conduct which led to their overthrow. Charges of treachery, perfidy, outrage, and robbery, have been, from time to time, echoed, but they are not all applicable. The injustice, and even the immorality of his proceeding, as well as its fatal consequences, were afterwards admitted by Napoleon himself. "I disdained," he said to Las Cases, "to descend to crooked and common-place expedients. I struck from too great an elevation for that; but I confess that I engaged in the business without sufficient preconsideration. Its immorality and injustice, therefore, were too glaringly apparent; and the transaction, since my failure, has assumed a disgusting aspect—being exhibited in hideous nakedness, void of all loftiness of idea, and unsupported by the benefits I intended to confer upon the people of the wretched countries which I seized. . . The war, however, proved my ruin. It compelled me to divide my forces, and multiply my efforts, and left my principles assailable. At the time it was undertaken, England had lost the esteem of the Continent by her unjustifiable attack upon Copenhagen. My movement against the Peninsula occasioned a revulsion of public feeling. England then seemed justified, and I alone the aggressor. Britain, from that moment, was enabled to resume the offensive. The trade of South America was thrown open to her; she was encouraged to form an army in the Peninsula; and eventually became the victorious agent of Europe."

Reference has been already made to the conduct of Spain with regard to the occupation of Portugal, and the march of Junot to take possession of Lisbon. The Portuguese Regent, on receiving intelligence of the advance and destination of the French, thought it prudent to make a shew of compliance with Napoleon's demands; and, after seizing the few British subjects still remaining in his dominions, and registering their property, he sent extraordinary ambassadors to the Sovereigns of France and Spain to intimate his unconditional adoption of the blockade of Britain, and to request that the march of their forces upon his capital might be countermanded. Junot, however, was by this time in the midst of Portugal, hastening forward, by forced marches, to seize the Royal Family. The strength of the French army, to which had been added the promised Spanish force, overawed the inhabitants of the country, and the undefended capital lay within two or three days' march of the invaders. The Regent,

OCCUPATION OF PORTUGAL.

conscious that such resistance as he could offer would be ineffectual, forthwith opened a correspondence with Lord Strangford, the British ambassador, who was still off the Tagus with the squadron of Sir Sidney Smith, for his present protection and a convoy to the Brazils. This being granted, the members of the house of Braganza embarked, on the 27th of November, 1807, in a Portuguese ship of the line, hastily rigged and fitted out; and on the 29th, set sail across the Atlantic—a few hours only before Junot made his appearance at the gates of Lisbon, which were opened to him on the following day.

The Portuguese, greatly enraged at the pusillanimous flight of their Royal Family, which they attributed to British councils, were henceforward disposed to view more favourably the French proclamations, which announced that the invading army came but as friends and allies, to save Lisbon from the fate of Copenhagen, and relieve the people from the yoke of the maritime tyrants of Europe. A portion of the population, indeed, hailed the French as liberators, and the rest looked on apathetically at what was generally considered a mere change of governors, careless as to the independence of a nation which hardly knew what Liberty meant. It was, therefore, with a tranquillity, which could scarcely have been expected, that the "Prince of Brazil" was declared to have abdicated his throne, and Portugal to have become a province of the French empire, with Junot, who was shortly afterwards created Duke of Abrantes, as its Governor General. The French flag, henceforth, superseded the Portuguese, and the arms of the Empire were substituted for those of Braganza. The fortifications along the coast were repaired and improved, and the army of occupation distributed throughout the country, so as best to guard against a descent of English troops. The triple partition of the kingdom, which had formed the basis of the treaty of Fontainebleau, was overlooked at the time, and never adverted to afterwards.

In the meantime, the affairs of Spain were becoming highly complicated. Godoy, the Queen's lover, by humouring the imbecile Charles IV., had acquired absolute dominion over the kingdom, a marriage alliance with the Royal Family, and precedence of all the nobles of Castille. The treasures of South America were at his

SPANISH AFFAIRS.

disposal, and he employed them in the grossest debaucheries and most open profligacy. The people had long beheld the infamy of the Court with disgust and abhorrence. The Prince of Asturias, heir to the throne, and Don Carlos, his brother, under the advice of the Canon Escoiquiz, Ferdinand's tutor, and the Duke del Infantado, taking advantage of the popular discontent, formed a powerful party among the nobles and clergy, with the purpose of dethroning the King and punishing the royal minion. The support, however, which Godoy derived from the countenance of his master and mistress, and from those who shared his favours and hoped to rise by his influence, rendered him too powerful to be overthrown by his opponents. The animosity of the two factions, and the intrigues to which their mutual weakness compelled each to have recourse, rendered the country a prey to disorder and violence. Ferdinand openly avowed himself the enemy of Godoy, and called for his removal. The Prince of the Peace, on the other hand, accused Ferdinand not only of aspiring to the crown, but of entertaining designs against the life of the King.

This was the state of affairs when each party, almost at the same period, applied to Napoleon for his assistance and protection. Godoy, as has been shewn, stipulated for an independent principality in Portugal, and Ferdinand requested for a wife some member of the Imperial Family. The Emperor, to use his own words, "resolved to turn the circumstances to his advantage, by freeing himself from the Spanish Bourbons, continuing the family system of Louis XIV. in his own dynasty, regenerating Spain, and binding her to the destinies of France." With these views, he wrote to Charles, promising to protect him against the malevolence of his son; and, as a preliminary measure, he ordered the army of reserve, which had been assembled at Bayonne, to cross the Pyrenees at different points, and take possession of the fortresses by which the frontier of Spain was defended. New troops were added to the expedition, which consisted altogether of about seventy thousand men, and Murat was appointed General-in-chief. Moncey and Bessières were sent forward into the Basque provinces, Dupont to Valladolid, and Duhesme to Catalonia. St. Sebastian, Barcelona, Pampeluna, and the other fortified towns in the north, readily opened their gates to the French

OCCUPATION OF SPAIN.

as allies, who thus became possessed of the chief strongholds of the kingdom without the necessity of striking a blow. Murat himself advanced upon Madrid, and, in the beginning of March, 1808, fixed his head-quarters at Burgos.

The Spaniards soon perceived that the French had entered their territory in the character of invaders instead of friends, and their indignation knew no bounds. They demanded the cause of hostile demonstrations, and loudly accused Godoy of treachery to the nation, in inviting foreign troops into the kingdom. In this moment of despair, all eyes were turned towards the Prince of Asturias, as the last hope of the realm. Disturbances occurred at Madrid, and the Prince of the Peace was openly menaced with popular vengeance. The Court now became seriously alarmed, and Godoy counselled that the King and Queen should follow the example of the Portuguese Royal Family, and seek refuge in Spanish America. Charles and his unworthy consort could form no wish in opposition to the will of their favourite, and preparations were immediately commenced for their departure to Seville, whence they intended to embark. Troops, intended to serve as an escort to the fugitives, were hastily withdrawn from Madrid to Aranjuez, where the Court then was; but the populace, thinking this a device to leave the capital unprotected to the entrance of the French troops, increased their clamours against the Monarch, his wife, and her lover; and, on the 17th of March, a large party proceeded to Aranjuez, where, seeing the royal carriages and baggage in readiness for a journey, they attacked the palace, and demanded the head of the traitor Godoy. It was with great difficulty that the latter escaped with life. Being, after strict search, discovered in a granary, where he had sought concealment, he was dragged forth by the mob, who pelted and maltreated him, and would certainly have put him to death, but for the intervention of Ferdinand, who requested that he might be reserved for punishment by the ordinary tribunal. The tumult was at last appeased by a proclamation of the King, setting forth that the Prince of the Peace was dismissed from all his offices, and that his Majesty intended to remain with and share the fate of his subjects.

The next day, however, further outrages were committed in Madrid. The house of Godoy was broken into and pillaged; and

ABDICATION OF CHARLES IV.

all who were supposed to be his friends were subjected to insult and injury. The Prince of Asturias, who had hitherto taken no active part in the popular proceedings, now appeared at the head of the insurgents, and demanded the deposition of his father; who, terrified at the scenes he witnessed, and deprived of the advice of his favourite, consented, on the single condition that the life of the Minister should be spared, to relinquish his crown and retire to some province remote from the seat of government. The act of abdication was published on the 20th of March; and the Prince of Asturias, in whose favour it had been made, thenceforth assumed the title of Ferdinand VII., and commenced his reign with the confiscation of all the property of Godoy, who was forthwith ordered for trial.

Immediately intelligence of these events reached Burgos, Murat,

MURAT AT MADRID.

who, by detachments of soldiers sent to Segovia and Toledo, had already encircled the capital with between twenty and thirty thousand troops, hastened his march to Madrid; which he entered on the 23rd, at the head of about six thousand men, selected from the Guards, and the corps of Moncey and Dupont. The inhabitants scarcely betrayed

a symptom of feeling on the occasion; even ordinary curiosity seemed to have been studiously repressed. There was no crowd, no greeting of welcome, or sign of disapprobation, as the foreign troops paced the streets; but the ordinary loungers of the highways and public places looked on in ominous silence, with affected unconcern, or at most a scowl of suspicion, at the march of the intruders.

On the 24th, Ferdinand also made his public entry into Madrid. The citizens, so inanimate and passionless the day before, were now filled with enthusiastic joy. The entire population assembled in the streets and squares through which the royal procession was to pass, and many went out on the Aranjuez road to meet and salute the

FERDINAND VII., KING.

new King, and escort him to the capital. Every class joined, for the moment, in extolling the man who had released the nation from the ignominious domination of Godoy and his audaciously unprinci-

pled paramour. Ferdinand alone seemed uneasy and under constraint. His repeated applications to Napoleon remained unanswered; the French were in possession of his kingdom; and his doubtful title required to be acknowledged by a master.

The representatives of the various foreign Courts then at Madrid, hastened to congratulate Ferdinand on his accession—the French ambassador alone absenting himself from the new Court, until the will of the Emperor on the subject should be declared. Murat was applied to for his recognition; and, in order to conciliate his favour, the sword of Francis I., one of the trophies won by the Emperor Charles V. at the battle of Pavia, was delivered in a rich casket to the Marshal, to be by him presented to Napoleon. Murat, however, though not insensible to the flattery bestowed upon him, could not be induced to compromise himself further than by expressing his personal good-will and friendship for the Prince; the right of recognising

SPANISH COURT INTRIGUES.

whom he said belonged solely to the Emperor. It appears, that Murat was desirous of obtaining the sovereignty of the Peninsula for himself; and that his conduct at the period was entirely influenced by this wish, and the hope of its fulfilment. His hesitation to recognise Ferdinand, however, reassured the old King; who, finding himself out of immediate danger, retracted the act of his abdication, as having been extorted from him, and despatched messengers to Paris, imploring protection for himself, his Queen, and Godoy, and offering in return to place his crown and future destiny at the disposal of Napoleon. "A descendant of Louis XIV.," says De Bourrienne, "a successor of Charles of Anjou, solicited, as a favour, an asylum for his family, and craved that the paramour of his wife might not be separated from them!" Both Charles and his wife also applied, separately, to Murat, for the liberation of the Prince of the Peace. The King declared that his own life depended upon saving that of his favourite; and the Queen, in order to injure the cause of Ferdinand, hesitated not to denounce that Prince as illegitimate, and thus, if possible, to add another and darker shade to the infamy of her name and life.

Murat, who had his own game to play, hesitated to declare himself openly for either party; but secretly fomented the quarrel, and became the confidant of each. His conduct, however, was not so cautiously regulated, but that some Spaniards, as well as the officers of his army, became convinced that the brother-in-law of the Emperor looked upon the throne as reserved for himself; and intrigues were everywhere set on foot to turn the circumstances of the moment to the account of the several factions into which the population, or rather the popular leaders, were divided. The Emperor received statements of the revolt of Aranjuez, and the proceedings consequent on that event, from all quarters; and seems to have been perplexed as to what course he should pursue. Neither Charles nor his son were generally popular; but the assumption of Murat had wounded the national pride, and prematurely disposed the people to resistance. Napoleon's apprehensions as to the result, and his just appreciation of the Spanish character, were recorded at the time, in a letter written from Paris to Murat, on the 29th of March, 1808. "I am afraid," he said, "lest you should deceive me, and yourself also, with respect to

NAPOLEON'S LETTER TO MURAT.

the situation of Spain. Events have been singularly complicated by the transactions of the 20th of March. I find myself greatly perplexed. Do not believe that you are about to attack a disarmed people, or that by a mere parade of your troops you can subjugate Spain. The revolution of the 20th of March proves that the Spaniards still possess energy. . . They have all the courage, and will display all the enthusiasm shewn by men who are not worn out by political passions. The aristocracy and clergy are masters of Spain. If they are alarmed for their existence or privileges, they will bring into the field against us levies *en masse*, which may perpetuate the war. I am not without partisans; but if I assume the position of a conqueror, they will abandon me.

"The Prince of the Peace is detested, because he is accused of having betrayed Spain to France. This is a grievance which has assisted Ferdinand's usurpation. The popular party is the weakest. The Prince of Asturias does not possess a single qualification necessary for the head of a nation. That, however, will not prevent his being ranked as a hero, in order that he may be opposed to us. I will have no violence employed against the personages of this family. It can never answer any purpose to excite hatred and inflame animosity. Spain has a hundred thousand men under arms, which are more than necessary to carry on an internal war with advantage. Scattered over the country, they may serve as rallying points for an insurrection throughout the monarchy. . . England will not allow to escape the opportunity of multiplying our embarrassments. She daily sends packet-boats with advice to the forces maintained by her on the coast of Portugal, and in the Mediterranean; and she enlists into her service Sicilians and Portuguese. The Royal Family having remained in Spain, instead of emigrating to the Indies, nothing but a revolution can change the state of the country, which of all countries in Europe is, perhaps, least prepared for one. Those who perceive the monstrous defects of the Government, and the anarchy which has been substituted for lawful authority, are the minority. The greater number profit by the vices and anarchy which abound.

"I can, consistently with the interests of my empire, do a great deal of good to Spain. What are the best means to adopt? Shall I go to Madrid, and take upon myself the office of Grand Protector,

LETTER TO MURAT.

in deciding between the father and his son? It seems that it would be difficult to support Charles IV. on the throne. His government and his favourite are so very unpopular, that they could not maintain their ground for three months. Ferdinand is the enemy of France, and it is for that reason he has been made King. His elevation to the throne would be to serve the factions, which, for five-and-twenty years, have sought the destruction of France. A family alliance would be but a feeble tie. Queen Elizabeth, and other French Princesses, perished miserably—immolated to the atrocious spirit of vengeance. My opinion is that nothing should be precipitated, but that we should take counsel of events as they arise. It will be necessary to strengthen the bodies of troops which are to be stationed on the frontiers of Portugal, and wait.

“I do not approve of the conduct of your Imperial Highness in so precipitately making yourself master of Madrid. The army ought to have remained ten leagues from the capital. You had no assurance that the people and the magistracy were about to recognise Ferdinand without a struggle. The Prince of the Peace must necessarily have partisans among those employed in the public service; there is also an habitual attachment to the old King, which might lead to certain results. Your entrance into Madrid, by alarming the Spaniards, has powerfully assisted Ferdinand. I have ordered Savary to attend the new King, and observe what passes: he will concert measures with your Imperial Highness. I shall hereafter decide upon the final course to be pursued. In the meantime, the following is the line of conduct I wish you to pursue:—You will not pledge me to an interview in Spain with Ferdinand, unless you consider from the state of things there that I ought to recognise him as King. You will treat with respect and attention the King, the Queen, and Godoy, requiring for and paying to them the same honours as formerly. You will so manage as to prevent the Spaniards from entertaining any suspicion of the course I mean to pursue; about which, indeed, you will find the less difficulty as I do not know myself.

“You will make the nobility and clergy understand, that if the interference of France in the affairs of Spain be requisite, their privileges and immunities shall be respected. You will assure them, that the Emperor wishes for the improvement of the political Insti-

LETTER TO MURAT.

tutions of Spain, in order to place her on a footing of equality with the advanced civilization of Europe, and to free her from the government of favourites. You will tell the magistrates and inhabitants of towns, and the enlightened classes, that Spain stands in need of political reorganization, and requires a system of laws calculated to protect her people against the tyranny and usurpations of feudality, with institutions that may revive industry, agriculture, and the arts. You will describe to them the tranquillity and plenty enjoyed in France, notwithstanding the wars in which the country has been constantly involved; and the splendour of religion, which owes its existence to the Concordat which I signed with the Pope. You will explain to them the advantages they may derive from political regeneration;—order and peace at home, respect and influence abroad. Such should be the spirit of your conversation and your writings. Do not hazard anything hastily. I can wait at Bayonne, or cross the Pyrenees; and, strengthening myself towards Portugal, go and carry on the war in that quarter.

“I shall take care of your particular interests; do not, therefore, think of them yourself. Portugal will be at my disposal. Let no personal object engage you or influence your conduct; that would be injurious to me, and still more so to yourself. You were too hasty in your instructions of the 14th. The movement which you ordered to be made by Dupont was too sudden, and assisted the event of the 19th of March. The directions must be altered and new arrangements made, of which you will receive communications from my minister for foreign affairs.

“I enjoin the maintenance of the strictest discipline. The slightest faults must not go unpunished. The inhabitants must be treated with the greatest attention. Above all, the churches and convents must be respected. The troops must avoid all misunderstanding with the bodies and detachments of the Spanish army. Not a single flash in the pan must take place on either side. Let Solano march beyond Badajos; but watch his movements. Do you yourself trace out the marches of my army, that it may be kept at a distance of several leagues from the Spanish corps. Should war be once kindled, all would be lost.

“The fate of Spain can be decided only by political views and

negociation. I charge you to avoid all explanation with Solano, as well as with the other Spanish generals and governors. Send me two expresses daily. In case of events of superior interest, you will despatch officers of ordonnance. You will immediately send back the bearer of this despatch, and give him a detailed report."

This was not a letter written for posterity; yet, as a state paper, few documents hitherto composed in the nineteenth century have greater interest in history. It exhibits the profound knowledge of mankind which Napoleon possessed, and his intuitive capacity to turn that knowledge to advantage in detail, as well as in the aggregate; on nations, classes, and individuals, as well as on mankind considered in the abstract, where the distinctions of race and country cease to be more than the inequalities on the surface of an orange. This was a species of philosophy which even Locke and Voltaire had to learn when they treated of Government and Laws as things capable, from their nature, of generalisation. It was to this extensive knowledge of men in their several characters, that Napoleon was indebted for his elevation to empire; and which prove that, however he might have been assisted by fortunate circumstances, he was not their mere creature, but was capable, under any state of things, of achieving greatness through the strength of his mind, his faculty of steady observation, the ardour of his studies, and his incessant labour.

Four days after writing to Murat, namely on the 2nd of April, Napoleon was induced, by the conflicting reports which continually reached him, to set out in person for the frontier, in order to judge on the spot what was best to be done. He reached Bourdeaux on the 4th; and waited there till rejoined by Josephine on the 10th, when the Emperor and Empress proceeded to Bayonne, where they arrived on the 15th.

Ferdinand, meanwhile, informed of the Imperial journey, had been advised by Savary to render his explanations personally, as most likely to influence the Emperor's ultimate decision. The Prince, accordingly, after a vain attempt to open a more friendly communication with his father, appointed a council of Regency, with his uncle, Don Antonio, at its head, to conduct the government during his absence, and quitted Madrid to repair to Bayonne. His progress through the provinces was like the triumphal march of a returned

LETTER TO FERDINAND.

conqueror. The people greeted his presence with enthusiasm, mingling, however, with their applause expressions of hatred towards the French, and hints of suspected treachery and foul play. So zealous was the attachment of the populace for the victor of Godoy, that many persons strewed their cloaks and other garments in the road, that the wheels of the Royal carriage might pass over them, and the marks of the King's visit be thus preserved. It seems scarcely credible that this then popular Ferdinand should, in 1823, have required foreign bayonets to maintain him on the Spanish throne, in opposition to the will of his people, whose indignation his manifold tyrannies had provoked. At Vittoria, the Prince received a letter from Napoleon, in which the latter addressed his correspondent as "Royal Highness" only; censured him for having long before, without the knowledge of his father, applied for a wife of the Imperial blood; blamed him for having availed himself of an insurrection to subvert his father's throne; intimated that the Prince of the Peace was to be considered as under French protection; hinted that, by exposing the follies of the Spanish Queen, Ferdinand might cause his own legitimacy to be really doubted; and closed, by assuring the Prince, that if the resignation of Charles IV. should appear to have been voluntary, the Emperor would acknowledge the title of Ferdinand VII.

The Prince and his friends were greatly alarmed at this unexpected tone of rebuke; and, for two or three days, seemed in doubt whether to proceed on their journey, or at once retreat. As the Emperor, however, had expressed his desire for an interview, the Prince thought it best to go forward and trust to the honour of one "whose heroic character was in itself a pledge against meditated treachery." It was in vain that Don Mariano Urquijo, a nobleman of considerable talent and diplomatic skill, and Jose Hervas, the brother-in-law of Duroc, contended that Napoleon meant to depose the Bourbon dynasty, and annex the kingdom to the French empire; and urged Ferdinand, while yet he had the power, to fly to some remote part of the country, whence, being free, he might treat with the Emperor on more equal terms. Ferdinand, as pusillanimous as he was ambitious, feared to anger the man whose arbitration he had sought; and, instead of listening to the judicious counsel of his advisers, wrote to Napoleon

FERDINAND AT BAYONNE.

an abject letter of propitiation, appealing to all his acts to prove that he desired nothing more than to be ranked as a devoted friend and adherent of France. When about to pursue his journey, the people of Vittoria, finding their entreaties disregarded, sought to detain the Prince by force, and cut the traces of the mules which were harnessed to his carriage; nor would they permit him to proceed until he personally assured them of the existence of a perfectly good understanding between himself and the French Emperor. He, and his brother Don Carlos, the Duke del Infantado, Signor Cevallos, the Canon Escoiquiz, and others who accompanied him, reached Bayonne on the 20th of April, and were received by Napoleon with courtesy and kindness. The two Princes dined at the Imperial table, and were highly pleased with the attention they received, though it did not fail to be observed that their entertainer studiously avoided applying to Ferdinand the regal style. The same evening, the Prince received, through Savary, a message to announce, that until the arrival at Bayonne of Charles IV., whose presence was speedily expected, and the settlement of the dispute, Ferdinand would be treated only as Prince of Asturias.

Negotiations were forthwith entered upon on behalf of the Prince. Escoiquiz exerted all his eloquence to persuade Napoleon that, by protecting Ferdinand, he would gain the love of all Spaniards: and, in order that this argument should carry conviction to his auditor, he avowed his own intention to govern for his pupil, and offered to do so, subject in all things to the control of the Emperor. Napoleon, however, had now resolved that the Bourbons should cease to reign. From their proceedings he had been enabled to form an estimate of their total incapacity; and "beheld," he says, "with compassion, a great people, ripe for change, in subjection to such drivelling intriguers." He wished to become "the Providence of Spain, and to apply remedies to the wretchedness of its people. It would be best," he added, "for both France and Spain, that the Peninsula were annexed to the Empire. Charles and Ferdinand are equally incapable of wise government; and it is absolutely necessary that so beautiful a country should have institutions in accordance with the spirit of the age; that the civilization of her people should be advanced, her grievances redressed, and a firm alliance cemented between her and

RECOGNITION OF CHARLES IV.

France." The importunities of Cevallos, to the same effect as those of the Canon, were met by similar avowals of the policy which the Emperor intended to adopt. In a few days, Ferdinand, conscious that his suit was hopeless, sought, through the agency of Don Pedro de Labrador, permission to return to Madrid; but was informed by Champagny, the Imperial minister, that his departure, before an understanding respecting the proceedings of Aranjuez were come to, would be construed into a want of respect for Napoleon. This was accompanied by a more significant answer, in the doubling of the guard of honour which had been assigned the Princes, the watching of their motions and those of their attendants, and the seizure and examination of all letters that passed the frontiers.

On the 29th of April, a letter, addressed by Ferdinand to his uncle, Don Antonio, whom he had left Governor of Madrid, was intercepted; and being found to contain expressions of disrespect towards the Empress, and of hatred towards the French people, who were termed "accursed," and stigmatized as treacherous, Napoleon, the same evening, by way of retorting upon the Prince, caused to be published, in the Imperial Gazette, the letter of Charles IV., in which that Monarch had protested against his compulsory abdication, and charged his son with usurping his throne; at the same time, it was announced that the King and Queen would arrive at Bayonne on the morrow. This was a death-blow to the hopes of Ferdinand; who regarded it as an unequivocal declaration of the sentiments of the Emperor in favour of the old King's claim to the crown.

On the 30th, Charles and his consort, accompanied by Godoy, who had been released from prison, entered the French territory; and were received with all the honours usually paid to friendly and powerful sovereigns. The Prince of Neufchâtel and the Duke of Placentia met and congratulated them on the banks of the Bidassoa, where also a detachment of troops was in waiting to escort them to the city. The garrison of Bayonne was under arms, colours were flying on the vessels in the harbour, the cannons of the port and citadel were fired, and the whole population poured out to welcome them with acclamations. The Princes and the Grandees of their train swelled the crowd to pay homage to the Royal visitors; and Ferdinand, when his father had alighted at the Government palace, offered to

TUMULTS IN SPAIN.

follow him to his apartments. The King on observing him, however, waved him back with his hand, demanding in a tone of extreme bitterness, "Whether he had not already sufficiently outraged his parents' gray hairs?" Napoleon, on the same day, paid the Royal pair a visit of ceremony; and, on the 1st of May, invited them to dinner.

The subsequent proceedings of the agents of Charles and his son were little more than a series of accusations and recriminations; the father protesting that he had been forcibly deprived of his kingly authority, and his life endangered by the criminal ambition of the Prince; and the latter alleging that the abdication was voluntary, and appealing to the decision of a Cortes for confirmation of his right to the crown.

In the meantime, tidings were received by the Emperor of popular tumults at Toledo and Burgos, in which several French soldiers had been killed. These, although easily suppressed, plainly indicated the state of opinion in Spain, and might have induced Napoleon to pause; but that being already engaged, he feared it would injure the almost magical influence of his name to turn aside from his stated course. He appears to have believed, also, that the disturbances originated solely with the lower classes, and that they would be confined to a few localities, where the effervescence of the moment would exhaust its fury, and leave the people powerless. Murat, it is said, assisted to mislead him into this opinion, and to destroy the impressions under which he had written the admirably conceived and almost prophetic letter of the 29th of March. The disaffection of the Spaniards towards the French, however, was universal. The departure of Ferdinand and Carlos first, and afterwards of the King and Queen, together with the liberation and flight of the Prince of the Peace, had enraged all classes. The suspicion that the Emperor meditated the destruction of the national independence everywhere gained ground, and Madrid was in a state of excessive agitation. On the 1st of May, it was rumoured throughout the capital, that Don Antonio, the Regent, Don Francisco, Charles's youngest son, and the Queen of Etruria and her children, were about to proceed to Bayonne, at the command of Napoleon. Doubt, mingled with tokens of stern determination, was now visible in every countenance, as the people

INSURRECTION AT MADRID.

assembled in the evening at the gate of the Sun and around the Post-office, looking anxiously for the arrival of decisive intelligence from the frontier. It was said that most of the long *capas* worn by the crowd concealed arms, and it is certain that a French soldier was assassinated in the streets.

Next day the citizens assembled more numerous, and their appearance was more unequivocally threatening. The departure of the remaining members of the Royal Family was the signal for a general attack on the French troops. Murat ordered the soldiers to arms; and, after vainly endeavouring to intimidate the populace by a formidable display of military force, was compelled to give the word for the first two ranks of the Guards to fire. This, aided by a volley of grape shot from two or three pieces of artillery, and a charge of cavalry, had the effect of dispersing the mob; but the citizens, driven from the open streets, took refuge in their houses, from the windows of which they were enabled to pour a deadly storm of bullets upon the soldiery. Thus the conflict was maintained till mid-day, when some members of the Spanish Government, acting in concert with Murat, published a proclamation, offering a general amnesty to the rioters if they immediately ceased hostilities. This, for a few hours, produced peace; but the mob, being informed of the advance of fresh troops, again became furious, and had recourse to their knives and carbines. In the street of St. Victor they obtained possession of a loaded cannon, and pointing it against an advancing French column, did considerable execution. The slaughter on each side was dreadful, and continued in different parts of the city during the whole night. On the morning of the 3rd, all was once more tranquil, for the rioters had consumed all their ammunition, and began to reflect upon the hopelessness of the attempt in which they were engaged. Carts might then be met in all directions conveying the wounded to the hospitals.

Murat, who, after the departure of Don Antonio, had been chosen President of the Council of Regency, now appointed a military commission to try the prisoners who had been taken, without regard to the amnesty, the terms of which had not been complied with. By this tribunal, several hundreds of the insurgents were condemned to death; but it does not appear that more than ninety-five were shot,

ABDICATION OF CHARLES IV.

and these through a mistake of orders. The number of French soldiers who fell in this commotion is said to have exceeded seven hundred; that of the citizens, and of the peasantry who had flocked into the capital during the disturbance, and taken part in the fray, must have been nearly two thousand.

Intelligence of these proceedings was communicated by Napoleon to Charles IV. and his Queen on the 5th. Ferdinand was then sent for, and his father, handing him the despatch, exclaimed, "Read, read! This is the result of the infamous councils of your friends. They and you have excited this revolt; but having kindled the conflagration, it requires other hands than yours to extinguish it." The Queen added her reproaches to those of her husband; and, in the height of passion, forgetful of the presence in which she sat, she repeated her former assertion, that the Prince was not the son of Charles IV. "Could crime justify crime," says Mr. Lockhart; "could the fiendish lusts and hatreds of a degenerate race offer any excuse for the guilt of a masculine genius, the conduct of this abject Court might have apologized for the policy which it, perhaps, tempted Napoleon to commence, and encouraged him to consummate." Ferdinand, confused and affrighted, offered neither expostulation nor remonstrance; but merely replied, that "he had not intentionally offended his parents, and was willing, if the happiness of his father, or the welfare of Spain required it, to resign his pretensions to the crown, on the instant." Charles, acting as rightful King, then issued a proclamation, in which Murat was named Lieutenant-General of Spain, and President of the Government; and the people were cautioned against listening to the treacherous agents of England, who might seek to excite them against France; and, on the same evening, he signed a formal renunciation of his crown with its vast tributary states and dominions in Europe and America, in favour of his faithful friend and ally the Emperor; merely stipulating that the integrity and independence of the kingdom should be preserved, and that the Apostolic Catholic church should be the only one tolerated in Spain. Five days afterwards, Ferdinand, Don Carlos, Don Francisco, and their uncle Antonio, signed a similar renunciation of their several claims and pretensions; and published also an address to the Spanish people, recommending their submission to the invincible power of

NATIONAL RESISTANCE TO FRANCE.

Napoleon. Charles, his Queen, and the inseparable Godoy, forthwith retired to Compiègne, and the Princes were sent to Valençay; where, for several years, Ferdinand occupied himself with the chace, and embroidering petticoats for images of the Virgin Mary. The most liberal allowances were made by the Emperor, to each of the persons whom his policy had thus expatriated. The placid resignation of these Princes, and their subsequent contentment with their destiny, until events, to which they had in no wise contributed, restored them to their country and birthright, might appear strange; but that, as Sir Walter Scott observes, the whole family, "through the incestuous practice of marrying within the near degrees of propinquity, had come to be of the lowest degree of intellect;" and that, according to another author, "there is a state of incapacity so low, as even to unfit men for being kings, or aspiring to be such."

The Spanish nation was much less debased than its rulers, and no sooner ascertained that the kingdom had become a fief of the French empire, than the whole people, with the exception of those of the capital, who had suffered so severely in the recent tumults, arose as one man, and demanded vengeance on their treacherous invaders. Even in Madrid, and those cities where the enemy had established large garrisons, the strong spirit of resistance was everywhere discernible, though it did not immediately prompt the inhabitants to overt acts. The nobles, the priests, and the peasantry at once made common cause, and communications were opened from city to city, and in every town and village; while insurrectionary movements were organized throughout the Peninsula, embracing both Spain and Portugal, which last had been disgusted by the rapacity of Junot and his officers. Juntas, or select committees, were established in every province, of which that formed at Seville was, by general consent, recognised as the head. The priests preached a crusade against the infidel French; who, it must be acknowledged, had paid little attention to the directions of Napoleon concerning the deference necessary to be paid to the religion of the country, but had not scrupled to desecrate the churches and convents, and thus outrage the most sacred feelings of the inhabitants. The wealthy sent contributions in aid of the patriotic cause; the clergy melted down their plate; and the poor enrolled themselves as soldiers to fight the good

GENERAL INSURRECTIONS.

fight of national independence. At Valencia, a premature outbreak occurred, through the violent harangues of a monk, named Calvo, who, not content with exciting the populace, headed them in an attack

upon the French residents in the city, in which upwards of two hundred persons, though not of the army, were cruelly massacred. Solano, the Governor of Cadiz, being suspected of leaning towards the Emperor, was put to death. At Seville, Carthagená, and various other places, similar atrocities were perpetrated. Most of the Spanish soldiery embraced the cause of the people. The French were insulted wherever they appeared; and, when met separately, or in small numbers, were generally sacrificed by the knives of the peasantry—such acts being readily absolved by the priests, who,

JOSEPH, KING OF SPAIN.

indeed, taught their auditors to esteem the slaughter of the enemies of their faith as an acceptable service to God and a passport to Heaven. At the ports, and wherever it was found practicable, communications were entered into with the British vessels which hovered around the coasts ; and deputies were speedily sent to England, to solicit assistance and supplies to enable the people to expel their foreign masters. It need scarcely be added, that the court of London hailed this formidable resistance to Napoleon's political system with the utmost enthusiasm. It was the first time that the *people* of the Continent had manifested a strong feeling of opposition to the regenerating principles which the French Revolution had rendered fashionable.

The Emperor, although he had evidently understood the temper of the Spaniards, was not prepared for such determined and well managed resistance. He seems, however, to have still thought that the popular resentment would subside if the independent existence of the kingdom were provided for, and a constitution granted which should confer on the people a greater share of liberty than they had previously known. He first thought of appointing his brother Louis to the vacant throne, and, accordingly wrote to that prince the following letter. "My Brother.—Charles IV., King of Spain, has just abdicated. The Spanish nation has loudly appealed to me. Certain that I shall never have solid peace with England till I have impressed on the Continent the necessity of a grand combined movement, I have resolved to place a French prince on the throne of Spain. The climate of Holland is injurious to your health ; and, besides, I fear Holland will never escape from her ruins. In the whirlwind of the world, whether there be peace or war, she possesses no means of maintaining herself. . . If I name you King of Spain, will you accept ? Can I count upon you ?" This offer Louis, who, from the establishment of the Continental system, felt that a crown was exceedingly burdensome, and who probably already meditated the resignation of that of Holland, without hesitation, declined. The once proud sovereignty of Spain and the Indies was next tendered to Joseph, the most prudent, and one of the ablest of the Emperor's brothers, whose government of Naples had afforded the utmost satisfaction to his subjects and to Napoleon. The Neapolitans would fain have retained their mild and benevolent Monarch ; but the desire

MURAT, KING OF NAPLES.

of the Emperor is said to have been expressed so as not to admit of being rejected without giving offence. Joseph, accordingly, towards the end of May, departed for Bayonne, to be invested with his new authority.

In the meantime, Murat, as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, had procured the Council of Castile and other provincial councils, over whom the proximity of French troops, and the fear of French vengeance, operated more powerfully than patriotic considerations, to send addresses to Napoleon, urging on him the resuscitation of the ancient glory of Spain, by transferring the crown to a member of the Imperial Family, and professing the utmost obedience and attachment, in return for the expected amelioration of their Institutions, under a constitution which should define the authority of the King, and secure the privileges, liberties, and rights of the people. To these Napoleon responded, on the 25th of May, by a proclamation which convoked an Assembly of Notables from all parts of Spain, to meet on the 15th of June, at Bayonne, to settle a constitution for their country and receive a new Sovereign. On the 5th of June, King Joseph arrived at the Imperial residence, and, on the 6th, a decree was published declaring him King of Spain; at the same time, Joachim Murat, Grand Duke of Berg, was elevated to the throne of Naples.

According to the appointment of Napoleon, a general Junta, consisting, however, of but ninety-five representatives, met at Bayonne, to congratulate the new King, and take measures for the future good government of Spain. The constitution was dictated by the Emperor, himself, and was nearly the same as that adopted by the Cortes in 1810; and which, after having been abrogated by Ferdinand VII., when placed on the Spanish throne by the Allies in 1814, and subsequently restored by the Revolution of 1820, has been made the basis of that under which Isabella II. now wields her sceptre. But, notwithstanding the unanimous adoption of the Constitutional Act, and the admission of the Junta that it was in all respects a boon to the nation, the nobles, who signed it, took the oath of allegiance to Joseph with evident reluctance. The Duke del Infantado, indeed, though appointed a member of the new administration, paused in the midst of his oath, and declared that he could make no further asseverations until the nation, by its provincial assemblies, had recog-

SPANISH ALLEGIANCE.

nised the abdication of Charles and Ferdinand, and the election of King Joseph—and this in the presence of the King and Napoleon himself. The latter, indignant at this display of independence, could not restrain the bitterness of his feelings. “As a gentleman, Sir,” he exclaimed, “it would be more honourable in you, instead of disputing the terms of an oath which you intend to break on the first opportunity, to put yourself at once at the head of your partisans, and fight openly and loyally. Your passport shall be instantly delivered to you if you choose it, and I give you my word of honour that the advanced posts of my army shall allow you to pass without molestation.” The Duke stammered out an apology, but was interrupted. “You are wrong,” said the Emperor; “this is a more serious matter than you seem to consider it. Your oath will be speedily forgotten, and you, perhaps eight days hence, will render yourself liable to be shot as a traitor.” In mere personal matters, the conduct of the Spanish representatives has been justly characterized by Napoleon as an accumulated mass of impudence and baseness. “The moment my decision was known,” he says, “the crowd of intriguers that swarm in every court endeavoured to acquire the favour of Joseph, as they had that of Charles and Ferdinand, and hesitated not to impute all that was odious and criminal to those whom they wished to exclude from place and power.” The grandees and hidalgos of Spain were, in fact, with very few exceptions, as degraded and unprincipled as their princes. It was the middle and lower classes alone which retained the spirit of their adventurous and chivalric ancestors, and which, though greatly under the influence of the most bigotted ecclesiastics in Europe, felt that their beautiful country, for its own sake, was worthy of a struggle.

On the 10th of July, King Joseph left Bayonne to proceed to Madrid, escorted by the Junta which had sworn allegiance to him, and by many grandees and state officers, who had voluntarily crossed the frontier to do him homage. The news which arrived from all quarters, however, induced the cortège to halt at Vittoria, until it should be seen whether the measures adopted by the French generals for the pacification of the country rendered it prudent to enter the capital. The whole country was in a state of insurrection. The Juntas of the several provinces and towns had caused the Act

CRUELITIES AND REPRISALS.

of the Constitution to be publicly burned by the common hangman, and the King to be designated as a monster and barbarian. The harbours and bays were crowded with British vessels, and the population of Biscay, Catalonia, Navarre, Valencia, Murcia, Andalusia, Estremadura, Galicia, Leon, the Asturias, and a great portion of the two Castiles, were already organized; and, through the liberal assistance of England, well armed and equipped. The brave and intrepid, though indiscreet, Murat, no longer commanded the French armies, he having set out to receive formal investiture of his Italian kingdom. Everything threatened a turbulent and unsatisfactory, if not a brief and disgraceful reign. Joseph, as he might well be, was dismayed, and thought it best to await the issue in a city well garrisoned and at no great distance from the frontier.

The confidence of the French generals and soldiery, however, was unbounded. The Spanish regular troops which had joined the insurgents were few in number, and the majority of those in arms were therefore undisciplined levies, without an acknowledged chief, or any regular resource for daily supplies. The priests and monks were the chief paymasters; and furnished, from their cells and granaries, the greater part of the scanty provisions which sufficed the Soldiers of Independence, as well as the arms and ammunition which they were to use against the insolent invaders of their land. The conviction, that this means of support must necessarily be soon exhausted, led the Imperial commanders to form over-hasty conclusions, and were the means, perhaps, of prolonging the war. At first, all Spaniards taken in arms were treated as rebels, and subjected to military execution; and the towns and villages which disputed the march of the French were given up to plunder and ravage. These barbarities quickly occasioned sanguinary reprisals. The peasantry fell upon the enemy's sick, wounded, and stragglers, wherever they could be found, and put them to death, with cruelties which could only have been devised and executed by a people inured to the refined and multifarious modes of torture practised by the agents of the Holy Inquisition. The war thus, at its outset, assumed a savage and atrocious character, which, had it been persisted in, must eventually have ended not merely in subjecting but exterminating the vanquished. When such excesses became reciprocal, however, the evil cured itself, and the

SPANISH DISASTERS.

usages of civilized nations came to be gradually recognised on each side.

The commencement of hostilities was marked by a series of disasters on the part of the insurgents. On the 9th of June, Le Febvre had defeated the Arragonese; and during that month Bessières had been successful in several partial engagements. General Cuesta, who commanded the Spanish levies of Castile and Leon, however, after being beaten near Cabezon, had contrived to effect a junction with the

JOSEPH ENTERS MADRID.

Galician army under General Blake; and, smarting from his recent disgrace, proceeded towards Burgos, determined to hazard a general action. Bessières, having notice of the combined movements of the Spaniards, hastened to meet them, ere their arrangements should be completed; and, on the 14th of July, came suddenly upon them, near Medina del Rio Seco, attacked and defeated them with immense slaughter, and for a time put an end to all appearance of disaffection in the neighbourhood. Twenty thousand of the insurrectionary soldiers are computed to have been killed in this battle, which was the most calamitous encounter the Spanish forces had yet sustained. Intelligence of the victory reached Napoleon while yet at Bayonne, and drew from him expressions of the highest gratification. "Bessières," he exclaimed, "has put the crown on Joseph's head. The resistance of the Peninsula is ended." The King seems to have been of a similar opinion; for he no longer hesitated to advance from Vittoria to Madrid, which he entered, in state, on the 20th of July, without disturbance, though it may be surmised without any great degree of exultation. There were no popular demonstrations of joy—none, indeed, greeted his arrival with a welcome, save the municipal authorities, who felt, perhaps, that their own interest and safety demanded such homage. Money was liberally scattered among the populace from the carriages in the procession; but the French alone stooped to collect it: the citizens had been taught by their clergy, that the family of Napoleon was descended from the Author of Evil; they were scrupulous, therefore, as to touching what they supposed to be offered merely as a temptation to sin. The same reason operated to prevent the inhabitants from attending the theatres, which were thrown open in the evening in honour of the King's arrival.

In the course of a few days, news of French reverses began to pour into the capital. General Duhesme, underrating the skill and valour of his antagonists, deemed his forces capable not only of subjugating Catalonia, but of advancing to assist in the reduction of Valencia and Arragon. He soon found, however, that he had mistaken the temper of the people; and, after losing many men from the unerring bullets of the Catalonian riflemen, in the mountain passes into which he had inconsiderately ventured, he was compelled to retreat, and eventually to shut himself up in Barcelona. Marshal

DUPONT IN ANDALUSIA.

Moncey, about the same time, conducted an expedition against Valencia, in hopes of being able to co-operate with Duhesme; but although victorious over the insurgents during his march, when he ventured to attack the city, the whole population, male and female, rose to repulse the aggressors. The inhabitants, *en masse*, rushed to man the walls; the monks—with a sword in one hand and a crucifix in the other—encouraging them to fight for the honour of God, and the restoration of King Ferdinand. Moncey, unable to accomplish his purpose, and disappointed at the continued absence of Duhesme, was at length compelled to raise the siege, and retreat precipitately on the main body of the French army, then occupying the ancient kingdom of Castile.

The division of Dupont was still more unfortunate. It had been sent forward into the southern provinces of Spain, immediately after the entrance of Murat into Madrid. This movement, however, having been reprehended by Napoleon, had been arrested at Toledo, where the General remained till evident symptoms of disaffection required the presence of his troops at Cadiz, not merely to defeat insurrectionary designs, but to protect the port, and a French squadron which lay there, from falling into the hands of the English, who were watching the harbour. Dupont, accordingly, moved forward through the defiles of the Sierra Morena, passed the Guadalquiver, and obtained possession of Cordova. On arriving here, however, he found that the citizens of Cadiz had declared for the national cause, and taken possession of the French vessels; and that the Junta of Seville was organizing large forces to be added to an army, already amounting to ten thousand men, encamped at St. Rocque, near Gibraltar, under the command of General Castaños. Thus situated, the French could neither advance nor retreat. Behind, the Sierra Morena was occupied by Guerilla troops; and the army of Andalusia was in front, receiving daily additions of men, and ample supplies of provision and ammunition. Dupont solicited reinforcements both from Portugal and Madrid. Junot, however, was fully occupied by insurrections of the natives, and dreaded besides a threatened descent of the English; while, from Castile, only two brigades could be spared to assist in extricating the adventurous general from his perilous situation. With this augmentation, Dupont, whose men were reduced to the necessity

SURRENDER OF DUPONT.

of reaping the corn in the fields for subsistence, thought it better to move forward, and endeavour to bring Castaños to a general action, than wait to be attacked. He accordingly advanced, and easily obtained possession of Baylen and La Carolina, and took the old Moorish town of Jaen by storm. Here, however, he was presently attacked by Castaños; and, after a brave resistance, driven out of the place, and obliged to fall back on Baylen. The Spanish General at this time learned, from an intercepted despatch, the distressed circumstances of the enemy, and profiting by the information, brought up, on the 16th of July, all the forces he could muster, and, attacking the French on several points, dislodged them from Baylen, and drove them back, with considerable loss, on Andujar. In this action, Gobert, one of Napoleon's generals of brigade, was killed. On the night of the 18th, Dupont resumed the offensive, and made a desperate effort to recover Baylen; but after a fight which lasted upwards of fourteen hours, the French found themselves surrounded by a superior force, and without the means of retreat. Dupont made a last desperate effort to avert the loss of the engagement by a gallant charge at the head of all his troops; but, being defeated, he had no resource but to surrender himself and the soldiers under his immediate command as prisoners of war. The loss of the invaders in this action exceeded three thousand men in killed and wounded. The division of General Vedel, which had not been engaged, was excepted from the capitulation—Castaños agreeing that it should be sent back in safety to France. This stipulation, however, was afterwards disregarded by the Spaniards, who, at the instigation of General Morla, detained the whole army close prisoners; acting on the false idea, that the unjustifiable conduct of the French Emperor rendered every species of perfidy towards his instruments venial, if not commendable.

Napoleon, who had quitted Bayonne on the 22nd of July, was at Bourdeaux when he heard of the Convention of Baylen. His chagrin and indignation were extreme. He bit his lips, and exclaimed with great emotion to one of his suite, "For an army to be beaten is little. The chances of war are uncertain, and a defeat may be repaired; but the capitulation of an army is disgraceful. It is a stain on French military glory, and the wounds of honour admit of no cure. The

JOSEPH RETIRES FROM MADRID.

moral effect too is terrible. Had there been no other means of preventing the troops from falling into the power of the enemy, they should have died with arms in their hands. Their death would then have been glorious, and their fall should have been avenged." The event was, indeed, disastrous; for, independently of the loss sustained in killed and prisoners, and the capture of the richest portion of Spain by the insurgents, the idea, which had so long operated as a spell upon the Continent, that the arms of France were invincible, was dissolved; and Europe saw that adequate skill and courage alone were required to enable the conquered nations to cope with Napoleon himself. It has been observed, that the Spaniards subsequently obtained no similar advantages over their enemies. This fact, however, is less important than that a signal defeat had been sustained by the French soldiers—an opening made in what had been previously deemed their impenetrable phalanxes.

Joseph Bonaparte did not obtain intelligence of the surrender of Dupont till the 26th or 27th of July, when, learning at the same time, that Castaños was advancing towards the capital, receiving strong reinforcements in his march, the King, believing the city to be untenable, quitted Madrid, and retired to Vittoria. To his honour it should be mentioned, that previously to his departure he summoned the members of the administration, and left to them the option of either following his fortunes or joining the insurgents—promising to take no advantage of their decision, however adverse to himself.

Shortly after these events, Le Febvre Desnouettes, who from the middle of June had been engaged in the siege of Zaragossa, felt it necessary, in order to avoid being insulated, to abandon his enterprise, and, falling back, to rejoin the main body of the Imperial army. The siege and defence of this city are memorable for the undaunted bravery which they called forth. The town was defended chiefly by the citizens, who had placed themselves under the command of Don Jose Palafox, a young officer of some military skill and great gallantry; and though the place was by no means strongly fortified, the people resolved not to surrender, but to perish under the ruins of their habitations rather than open their gates to the enemy. The heroic renown of ancient Spain was better sustained at Zaragossa than at any other place during the whole Peninsular war. On the 27th of June, the French, after a

SIEGE OF ZARAGOSSA.

fierce and well-managed attack, became masters of a suburb called Terrero, which enabled them to invest the city more closely than before, to shower bombs into its streets and upon its houses, and, amid the conflagration which these dreadful missiles occasioned, to attempt an entrance to the city at various points, at the same time. The citizens, however, were not to be dismayed. Men, women, and children rushed to the walls and fought with the assailants; priest and layman, matron, maid, and nun, wielded such weapons as they could use or procure, to save their homes from ravage by the hated French. Provisions at length ran short within the walls, and famine and sickness began to thin the ranks of the defenders; but those who survived relaxed not in their vigilance, and would listen to no terms of capitulation from the enemy, although they might have obtained their own conditions. About the end of July, the French obtained possession of the large convent of Santa Engracia within the walls, and were thus enabled to carry on their operations in the very streets of the city. Le Febvre, conceiving that this advantage would be decisive, sent to Palafox the following brief summons: "Head-quarters, Santa Engracia.—Capitulation!" The answer returned shewed the unyielding spirit of the Spaniards: "Zaragossa.—War to the knife!" The fighting was, henceforward, carried on in the streets and on the walls, in the churches and houses—the contending parties frequently occupying different apartments of the same house, the passages connecting them being choked with dead bodies. Dupont's surrender became known in the beginning of August; and Le Febvre, finding the struggle in which he was engaged hopeless for the present, blew up the convent of Santa Engracia, set fire to several of the surrounding houses, and raised the siege. No one had previously conceived that degenerate Spain was capable of such exertion, or of exhibiting such patriotism.

Napoleon, meanwhile, pursued his journey to Paris, unconscious of the opposition his troops had everywhere encountered, and careful not to let what he did know be communicated to the French people; who, dazzled by the splendid addition of the Peninsula to the empire, cared little to criticise the means by which the acquisition had been made. At Pau, Toulouse, Montauban, and the other southern towns through which the Emperor passed, the streets were spanned by triumphal

NAPOLEON'S RETURN TO PARIS.

arches, and strewn with flowers and laurel branches. The fronts of the houses were covered with tapestry and paintings; the population thronged to meet and escort him on the road; and the municipal authorities, almost with one accord, declared that they could not find language adequate to express their admiration of their Sovereign and his actions. Even Nantes and La Vendée, where attachment to the Bourbons had been longest preserved, caught the prevailing tone of enthusiasm, and the inhabitants crowded to congratulate the restorer of peace and prosperity to their country. Amid such scenes of felicitation, Napoleon, on the 14th of August, the eve of his birthday, returned to the palace of St. Cloud; and on the following day, which was celebrated with more than customary rejoicing throughout the empire, he was presented with a number of magnificent presents from the Emperor Alexander.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ENGLISH OPERATIONS—VIMIERO—CONVENTION OF CINTRA—NEW LEVIES IN FRANCE—NAPOLEON AND ALEXANDER AT ERFURTH—LEGISLATIVE SESSION—SPAIN—NEW INVASION BY THE EMPEROR—THE INQUISITION ABOLISHED—CAMPAIGN OF SIR JOHN MOORE—CORUÑA—ARMING OF AUSTRIA—NAPOLEON RETURNS TO PARIS. 1808—1809.

AVISH expenditure and disastrous results in the conduct of the war against France had caused the British people, more than once, to exclaim against the continuance of hostilities. No sooner, however, was intelligence received of the seizure of Spain and Portugal, and the noble stand which had been made by the inhabitants against the domination of the Emperor, than all classes united cordially with the Government, and even urged it, to render assistance to the inhabitants of the Peninsula in their opposition to foreign aggression. Mr. Sheridan declared, in the House of Com-

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

mons, that "the period had arrived for striking a decisive blow for the liberation of Europe;" and Mr. Canning, while he disclaimed all participation in the false and petty policy which had so long fettered England, by limiting its exertions to the furtherance of what were termed British interests, pledged himself, and the administration of which he was a member, to pursue such measures as might be calculated not only to free Spain from her invaders, but to secure political and commercial freedom to Europe. New supplies were accordingly voted; and arms, ammunition, clothing, and money shipped for Spain on the instant. The previously existing war with that country was declared to be at an end. The Spanish prisoners were equipped and sent home; and a large body of British troops prepared to follow them, with all speed. Assistance of the last-named description the Spaniards would have declined, there being, they said, more than enough of themselves to secure the independence of the nation; but the English had not previously possessed so favourable a field of exertion, and the Government resolved to seize the opportunity for opposing all its resources to the growing power of France.

Early in June, an expedition, consisting of about ten thousand men, was placed under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and shipped from Cork for the Peninsula; the General himself being allowed to select the scene of his operations. Sir Arthur, on touching at Coruña, received intelligence of the defeat of Dupont, and of the precarious tenure by which Spain was held by the Imperial army. This determined him to disembark in Portugal; where Oporto was already in arms, had expelled its French garrison, and successfully resisted a regular attempt of General Loison, with four thousand troops, to reduce the city to subjection. Insurrections had broken out in various other places, and the whole population of the kingdom was ready to rise whenever there should be a prospect of an equal contest. Proceeding along the coast, Sir Arthur was enabled to communicate with the insurgents at Oporto, and to concert measures for the co-operation of the Portuguese. Here also he was joined by a corps of British soldiers, which had been previously sent out to support Castafios in Andalusia, but had not reached its destination till the capitulation of Baylen rendered its assistance unnecessary.

Thus strengthened, and assured of the approach of additional forces,

VIMIERO.

the English General, on the 8th of August, disembarked his army in Mondego Bay, and at once commenced his march towards Lisbon, anxious to strike a decisive blow before a change in the aspect of Spanish affairs should disengage the French, and enable Bessières to send assistance to Junot. On the 17th, the English encountered the division of Laborde, posted on an eminence near the town of Roliça, and attacking at once in front and upon the flank, drove the enemy from the ground with the utmost gallantry. Sir Arthur, for want of cavalry, was unable greatly to improve his success; and Laborde was thus enabled to retreat in good order upon Torres Vedras, in the neighbourhood of which Junot was concentrating all his forces to decide by a general engagement the fate of the campaign. On the 21st, the opposing armies met near Vimiero. The strength of the English was about sixteen thousand men; the French numbered only fourteen thousand; but the latter were greatly superior in cavalry and artillery; and of the British not above half the troops were engaged. The French were the assailants; but after a desperate conflict, Junot, having lost thirteen cannon and upwards of two thousand men, was compelled to retreat in the utmost confusion. The unfortunate interference of another party—Sir Harry Burrard, an officer of superior rank to Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had just landed on the coast with reinforcements, and taken the command-in-chief—prevented the English from pursuing the flying enemy, and reaping the full advantages of their victory. General Wellesley had directed one part of his troops to advance on Torres Vedras, so as to intercept the direct retreat of Junot to Lisbon, and the other portion to hang on his rear and allow him no time to rally. Sir Harry, more diffident than his junior officer, countermanded Sir Arthur's orders, and thus rendered Vimiero, as to its immediate results, a mere battle of posts: while, to add to the complication of matters, on the morning of the 22nd of August, Sir Hugh Dalrymple arrived from Gibraltar and superseded Sir Harry Burrard, as the latter had superseded General Wellesley the day before.

The delay and indecision occasioned by this shifting of commanders, left the French at full liberty to gain and strengthen themselves in the position of Torres Vedras, from which it had been Wellesley's chief object to exclude them. Junot, however, was in no condition

CONVENTION OF CINTRA.

to maintain the war. The British were in front, flushed with recent triumph, and all around him the insurgent population had been inspired with hope and confidence by the valour and success of their Allies. A short time after Dalrymple had taken the command, negotiations were opened for the total evacuation of Portugal by the French, which ended in what is called "the Convention of Cintra," signed on the 30th of August. By the stipulations of this celebrated treaty the French were to be conveyed to their own country, with their arms, artillery, and private property; and the British were to be put into possession of the enemy's magazines and stores, and a small auxiliary Russian fleet, then laying in the Tagus.

The people of England heard, with the greatest indignation, of this arrangement with the French, by which the latter were enabled, under the denomination of private property, to plunder the Portuguese to almost any chosen extent, and to escape safely with their booty, not only with the connivance, but at the actual cost of Great Britain, which received no equivalent for assisting the spoilers. The shuffling of generals—the three having been changed within twenty-four hours—was compared to a concerted gambling transaction; and strong suspicions were generally entertained, that the mismanagement was not wholly fortuitous. A court of enquiry afterwards acquitted Dalrymple and Burrard of any offence more serious than want of judgment; but the determined manner in which the whole country had expressed its disgust and resentment, had the good effect of making the Government more cautious for the future in its selection of officers to support the honour of the British name.

Napoleon was seriously annoyed, but not dismayed, by the disasters of his generals in the Peninsula; and he was little likely to contemplate the abandonment of an object, because he found unforeseen difficulties in the way of its accomplishment. Dupont, Le Febvre, and Junot, had been defeated; but the Emperor, although he deplored these first reverses of the Imperial arms, did not, therefore, feel that he himself was less invulnerable than before, or that the immense power of France was diminished. The armies, which his economical and prudent administration enabled him to maintain, without the imposition of extraordinary taxes, amounted to upwards of half a million of men, who were distributed in the various States

composing the empire. The military genius by which he was surrounded was such as no age or country had surpassed. His marshals and generals had been elevated to command for their superior talents and courage; his soldiers had the knowledge that they were not excluded from rank and power by any consideration of birth or fortune; and all were certain that distinguished service never failed to meet fitting and ample reward. Secure in the advantages, of which these circumstances seemed the pledge, Napoleon, on the 4th of September, caused his minister, Champagny, to make a statement to the Senate, of the affairs of Spain and Portugal, shewing the benefits which would accrue to France from the union of those countries with the empire; the facilities which would be thus afforded for enforcing the Continental System against England; the necessity of subjecting Spain to a Prince in whom France could confide; and the propriety of renewing the family system of Louis XIV. in the Imperial dynasty. This statement concluded with the reading of a message from the throne, desiring an immediate levy of eighty thousand conscripts for the vigorous prosecution of the war. The Senate, without remonstrance or hesitation, replied, with unanimous accord, to the Emperor's demand: "The will of the French people is the same with that of his Majesty. The war with Spain is politic, just, and necessary."

Napoleon, in anticipation of this ready compliance of the Legislature, had already put his veteran troops in motion from the Rhenish frontier, directing that their places might be supplied by the new recruits. The force destined for the invasion of the Peninsula was nearly two hundred thousand men, including the most splendid cavalry in Europe, and a strong body of the picked men constituting the Imperial Guard. On the 11th of September, these troops were reviewed in front of the Tuileries, when the Emperor personally appealed to them, in one of those spirit-stirring addresses which had never failed to increase their attachment to his person, and their enthusiasm for the glory of France. "Soldiers!" he said, "after having triumphed on the banks of the Danube and the Vistula, with forced marches you have passed through Germany; now, without a moment of repose, you are required to traverse France. Soldiers! I have need of you. The hideous presence of the Leopard [so

DEPARTURE OF THE ARMY.

Adieu, British Lion!

Napoleon always designated the British Lion, probably because the ancient shield of England bore the cognizance of a leopard] sullies the continent of Spain and Portugal. At your aspect he will fly in terror. We will bear our eagles in triumph to the columns of Hercules, and avenge the outrages inflicted on us. Soldiers! You have surpassed the renown of modern armies; but have you equalled the glory of the Romans, who, in one and the same campaign, were triumphant on the Rhine and the Euphrates; in Illyria and on the Tagus? A long peace and enduring prosperity will be the reward of your labours. A true Frenchman could not, ought not to think of repose, until the seas are free and open to all. Soldiers! All that you have done, and what you are about to do, for the welfare of the French people and my glory, shall be indelibly impressed upon my heart."

The first corps of this magnificent army, composed of the formidable battalions which had acquired such high fame as the victors of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland, departed from Paris, on the 23rd of September, under the command of Marshal Victor. As they marched through the streets, the inhabitants of the capital greeted them with the most animating plaudits; the Prefect of the Seine and the Municipal Body received them at the barrier, with the formalities usually

JOURNEY TO ERFURTH.

reserved for Princes; while the maimed heroes of former campaigns came out from the hospitals to bid them "God speed," and display the honourable scars which they had acquired in the wars of the Great Nation, and remind their comrades of the provision which the munificence of the Emperor had provided for his disabled servants.

Napoleon, before placing himself at the head of the army, set off to the North, to confer with the Emperor Alexander, who had been invited to meet him at Erfurth. The roads leading to this place were literally choked with the equipages of the French nobility and petty German princes, hastening thither to pay their homage to the two men, who at that time were esteemed the arbiters of the world. The French Emperor travelled by way of Mayence, where he arrived without stopping, except to pass in hasty review the numerous regi-

INTERVIEW AT ERFURTH.

ments echeloned on the route, and marching towards Spain. Public festivities and rejoicings occurred in every town and village through which he passed; and his whole journey seemed like the triumphal progress of a god of peace and salvation, rather than the career of an erring and mortal hero, whose fame mainly depended upon the deadly battles he had won. Napoleon reached Erfurth early in the morning of the 27th of September, and was welcomed with the most lively congratulations. The Kings of Saxony and Westphalia were already in waiting, and accompanied him, after breakfast, on the Weimar road, to meet the Czar; who, although he had left his capital on the 14th, was last at the appointed rendezvous. Two or three leagues from the city, however, the Emperors met. Alexander instantly alighted from his carriage, Napoleon dismounted, and they embraced with the greatest cordiality. Both potentates then got on horseback, as did the Archduke Constantine, who accompanied his brother, and the various courtiers who were present: the drums beat the charge; royal salutes were fired by the artillery; and the bells, from all the churches of Erfurth and the neighbourhood, responded to the shouts of the delighted populace, and of the numerous spectators who had gathered from all quarters to witness this singular meeting. Alexander, on the occasion, wore the grand cross of the Legion of Honour, and Napoleon that of St. Andrew of Russia. The French Emperor, surrounded by his own troops and the vassal Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, did the honours, and Alexander was invariably his guest. "We exchanged," said Napoleon, "the most striking testimonies of affection, and passed some days together, enjoying the delights of perfect intimacy and the most familiar intercourse of private life. We were like two young men of fortune, who, in our common pleasures, had no secret from each other." No one would have conceived that such apparent friendship had no better basis than political expediency, and that the regard which was then manifested on both sides would, in a year or two, be turned into the most deadly enmity and hatred.

In order to give the Czar an opportunity of forming a correct estimate of the various excellences of the French drama, on which he had pronounced a high eulogium at Tilsit, Napoleon had procured the attendance of the principal performers of the Théâtre Français; among others, of Talma, St. Prix, Damas, and Després;

THEATRICALS.

Madame Raucourt, and Mademoiselles Duchesnois and Burgoing. Alexander appears to have become enamoured of the latter; but was dissuaded from pressing his suit, by a remark of Napoleon, that the lady would soon make her Imperial lover sufficiently known, in the saloons of Paris, to prevent his being afterwards considered in France as a hero. At the theatre, the two Emperors, the King of Saxony, and the other Sovereign Princes, usually occupied the same box. The pieces selected for representation were

chiefly from the works of Corneille and Racine, the masterpieces of French genius. With the performance of Voltaire's *Œdipus*, Alexander was inexpressibly gratified; and at the line—

“ L'Amitié d'un grand homme est un bienfait des Dieux,”

he was so far carried away by the feelings of the moment, that he turned suddenly towards Napoleon, grasped his hand, and indicated by its kindly pressure that he felt the truth of the aphorism, and was

IMPERIAL LIEUTENANT.

gratefully conscious of the "*bienfait*" conferred on himself. The courtly audience did not fail to make the same application; and all eyes were turned on the Imperial box, and the glittering array of great men by whom it was filled. Perhaps none in the assembly cared to think what hollow hearts were then beating under the ribands and stars exhibited at that gorgeous spectacle.

At Erfurth, Napoleon made the acquaintance of two men, whose names have shed a lustre upon German literature,—Goethe and Wieland: the latter has left an interesting record of the conversation that passed on his introduction. "The Emperor," he says, "preferred the military and political systems of the Romans to those of the Greeks, whose greater proficiency in art and literature he considered to have been detrimental to themselves in fomenting their internal dissensions. He deemed Ossian a greater poet than Homer, yet relished only vigorous serious and tragic poetry. Ariosto he treated as little better than a buffoon, and, indeed, appeared to despise the gaiety of light literature. His manners and conversation were exceedingly fascinating; but there was a statue-like firmness about him that seemed not to belong to living flesh and blood."

At one of the dinner parties given at this period, a question arose concerning the Papal Decree, known as the '*Golden Bull*,' which, previously to the establishment of the Rhenish Confederation, had formed the Constitution recognised by the electors of the German Empire. The Prince Primate, in quoting this document, assigned its date to the year 1409, but was corrected by Napoleon, who observed that the Bull was published in 1336, in the reign of the Emperor Charles IV. A curiosity was immediately expressed to learn how the Emperor could be acquainted with such minute matters of learning. "When I was a lieutenant in the regiment *La Fère*," said Napoleon, smiling at the marked surprise of his princely auditors, "I was in garrison three years at Valence, and being little addicted to society lived very retired. I happened fortunately to lodge in the house of a bookseller, a well-informed and obliging man, to whose library I had ready access. I read through the books it contained more than once, and have forgotten little of their contents, whether relating to military or other affairs." On another occasion, the Czar, on entering Napoleon's dining-room, was about to lay aside

POLITICS.

his sword, but found that he had forgotten it. The French Emperor saw his embarrassment, and instantly tendered his own weapon. Alexander accepted it with evident satisfaction, and exclaimed earnestly, "I accept your Majesty's gift as a pledge of your friendship. You may be assured that I shall never draw it against you."

Amid the succession of fêtes, by which the meeting at Erfurth was externally marked, politics were not entirely neglected. Napoleon had observed, with great anxiety, that Austria, for some time, had been engaged in increasing her military establishment, making new levies, on the principle of the French Conscription, forming armies of reserve, strengthening her cavalry, and introducing better discipline generally among her soldiers. Secret associations were, at the same time, being organized throughout Prussia, Hanover, and some other German States, under the covert protection of the native princes, for the purpose of instigating the population to a general rising against the domination of their conquerors. The Prussian and Austrian Monarchs, notwithstanding their affectation of a sincere desire for the maintenance of peace, were, as Napoleon well knew, galled and uneasy at their repeated humiliations, and little to be trusted in their protestations and assurances of "confidence, attachment, and esteem." It was natural, therefore, that he should seek to cement a closer alliance with Russia to counteract the intrigues of powers which could not be supposed to feel otherwise than inimical to France. It is, however, impossible to ascertain the precise nature of the discussions at Erfurth. It has been stated, but apparently as a matter of conjecture only, that Napoleon, at this time, disclosed to Alexander his intention of divorcing the Empress Josephine, and solicited an alliance with one of the Russian archduchesses—a proposal to which the Czar is said to have listened favourably, but was unable immediately to assent, in consequence of his father's will having rendered the consent of the Empress-mother necessary to the marriage of the Princesses. Alexander is also said to have stipulated for the retention of Finland, for certain provinces of Turkey, and for a share of the division of Austria and Prussia as the price of his assistance, should those States be tempted again to take arms against France. It is certain that Russia hesitated not to acknowledge Joseph as King of Spain and the Indies; and the two Monarchs wrote a joint letter to

POLITICS.

the King of Great Britain, proposing a general peace, on condition that all the contracting powers should be left in possession of whatever they had gained during the war. The time for English acquiescence, however, had not yet arrived. The Court of London, conceiving hopes from the late successes of its troops against General Junot, had taken Spain and Sweden under its protection, and refused to treat, unless those countries were admitted to an equality with the other negociators. The letter of the Emperors nevertheless was not without its utility, as it served to exhibit to the various Courts of Europe the intimate relations subsisting between Napoleon and Alexander. The former, with all his penetration, had not then discovered the real character, or rather the absence of fixed character and principles, of his ally; a trait, which, in after years, induced him to exclaim with bitterness, "The Emperor of Russia is a true Greek of the Lower Empire."

After having visited, in company with his royal guests, the battle-field of Jena, and distributed a sum of three hundred thousand francs (twelve thousand five hundred pounds), to repair the damage done

NAPOLEON AT VITTORIA.

to the property of private individuals during the occupation of the country by French troops, Napoleon, on the 14th of October, took leave of the Czar, and returned to Paris; where he arrived on the 18th, and four days afterwards accompanied the Empress to visit the National Museum, for the purpose of inspecting the magnificent works of art there deposited, and bestowing rewards upon the most talented French artists.

On the 25th, the Emperor opened the Legislative Session in person. He spoke confidently of what he should be able to effect in the Peninsula; and dwelt, with unusual emphasis, upon the satisfaction he derived from his close alliance with Russia. "It is a special blessing of that Providence," he said, "which has hitherto protected our arms, that passion has so blinded the English, that they have ventured to quit their own element, and present an army on the Continent. In a few days, I shall put myself at the head of my troops; and, with God's help, will speedily crown, at Madrid, the King of Spain, and plant my eagles on the walls of Lisbon. The Emperor of Russia and I, henceforth, will continue united for peace or for war."

On the 29th, Napoleon quitted Paris; and, according to Sir Walter Scott, "traversing the earth, as a comet does the sky, working changes wherever he came," he arrived, on the 3rd of November, at Bayonne. On the 5th, he advanced his head-quarters to Vittoria, where the civil and military authorities of the city met him at the gates, and would have conducted him to a palatial residence prepared for him, but the Emperor, who saw that not a moment was to be lost, alighted from his horse at the first inn he observed; and, calling for maps, writing materials, and a detailed report of the position of every corps of the French and Insurrectionary armies, instantly dictated a plan for the future conduct of the war, and ordered the marshals and generals of his suite to their several posts. These arrangements were completed in about two hours, and next morning the Imperial armies were in motion for the conquest of the Peninsula.

At this time, there existed three independent Spanish armies, owning no authority but that of their chiefs, who, severally jealous of each other's power, and aiming, perhaps, at more ambitious objects than the independence of their country, neglected to concert their

SPANISH ARMIES.

operations, but acted in all respects upon their separate irresponsible judgment. In number alone were these armies powerful. Their numerical strength was one hundred and thirty thousand men; but they were badly supplied with provisions, ammunition, and other necessities, and were impatient of the restraints of regular discipline. Their commanders, too, were men of little experience, though of indomitable pride and obstinacy, who would listen to no advice or suggestion; but characterized caution as cowardice, and self-sufficiency as the height of courage and heroism. The tactics of such men were not likely to be of the highest order, or to lead to such a disposition of their forces as might be deemed formidable by Napoleon. General Blake commanded the army of Galicia, which lay extended along the western frontier from Bilbao to Burgos; Castaños was at the head of the central army, composed chiefly of Andalusian troops, with his head-quarters at Soria; and Palafox, the defender of Zaragossa, commanded the eastern division, consisting of the soldiers of Arragon, whose line stretched between Zaragossa and Sangüessa. The three armies thus formed a feeble crescent, of which the horns were advanced to the French frontier, and the centre drawn back, so far as to be scarcely capable of maintaining a proper communication with either of the wings. The blunder that had proved fatal to almost all the armies which had been opposed to Napoleon, was here repeated with additional absurdity. A well combined force of a third of the number in the hands of an able general, would have been more effective than the whole Spanish army thus loosely disposed. The Emperor perceived his advantage at a glance; and apprehensive of the approach of a less tractable foe, in the British army, which had recently expelled the Imperial troops from the kingdom of Portugal, he resolved to crush the insurrectionary forces by which his army of invasion had been hitherto held at bay, before additional assistance could reach them. His plan was to engage each corps separately, and after destroying them, and obtaining possession of Madrid, to proceed, without delay, to meet and attack the British in Portugal.

Soult pushed forward on the morning of the 9th of November, against a division of the army of Galicia, which was posted at Burgos; and after taking that town by assault, pursued the fugitives to

BATTLE OF TUDELA.

Reynosa; where the insurgents, being joined by Blake and the remnant of his corps, which had been defeated on the same day at Espinosa by General Victor, attempted to make a stand, but after a brief and ineffectual resistance, sought refuge among the mountains of Leon. Ney, Lannes, and Moncey, in the meantime, marched against Castaños and Palafox, who, having united their forces, awaited the advance of the French at Tudela, where, on the 22nd, a battle was fought, and the Spaniards were defeated with the loss of seven thousand men in killed and wounded, thirty cannon, and seven stand of colours, besides all their baggage, provisions, and ammunition. Castaños, with the wreck of his troops, fled towards Valencia, briskly pursued by Ney; and Palafox took the road to Zaragossa, where he was followed, and once more besieged by the intrepid Lannes.

Napoleon now prepared to take possession of Madrid, which the defeat of Castaños had left unprotected, except by an army of newly raised troops posted in the pass of Somo-Sierra, a mountain defile, about ten miles from the city, which the Spaniards believed to be impregnable. The Emperor might have gone by way of Valladolid, and thus have avoided any obstacle; but knowing the character of the Spaniards, and the importance which they attached to local points,

SOMO-SIERRA.

he was willing to convince them that no resistance they could offer to the progress of his arms was likely to avail them. While Soult, therefore, was detached to the west to meet General Moore, who had assumed the command of the British troops in Portugal, Napoleon, on the 29th of November, taking with him his brother Joseph, advanced on the capital. The narrow gorge of Somo-Sierra was defended by twenty thousand men and sixteen pieces of artillery, which completely swept the steep road in front of the position. The march of the French advanced guard was for some time arrested by the well-sustained fire from the batteries; and neither the presence of the Emperor himself, nor the impetuous valour of the Guard, could overcome the vigorous resistance of the patriotic, but badly-directed, Spaniards. Napoleon, however, having advanced to the mouth of the defile, in the very teeth of the guns, at once conceived the possibility of storming the pass by a daring charge of cavalry. Krazinski and his brave Polish Lancers were immediately ordered upon this perilous duty; and, eager for distinction, they galloped up the ascent, dashed over the entrenchments, and, in a few minutes, every obstacle was overthrown. The French army passed over the bodies of their opponents, sabring, at their pieces, the cannoniers who disdained to fly. The few

Spaniards who escaped death, fled in the greatest disorder, in various directions—some taking the road to Segovia, others to Talavera, and a

STATE OF MADRID.

few only to Madrid. From Somo-Sierra to the capital, scarcely a Spaniard was to be seen during the march of the French.

On the 1st of December, the Emperor's head-quarters were established at San Augustino, in the immediate neighbourhood of Madrid. The inhabitants of that city had been eight days occupied in preparing for its defence. There were eight thousand regular troops in the place, and nearly forty thousand peasants from the surrounding country, who had caught up the gallant war-cry of Palafox, and threatened the invaders with "war to the knife." The government of the city was vested in a supreme Junta, at the head of which were placed Generals Morla; Castellás, the commander of the Spanish regulars; and Yriarte, a nobleman, whose patriotic professions had captivated all classes. The population of Madrid was in a state of dreadful commotion. The capture of the defile of Somo-Sierra had stricken terror to the stoutest heart, yet none ventured to speak of surrender. It was a feeling of despair which possessed them, and which vented itself in acts of violence and blood. Every person charged with favouring the cause of France was assassinated by his countrymen; bands of men, armed and accoutred like brigands, patrolled the streets, night and day, to detect and execute vengeance upon the suspected. The bells of the churches and convents tolled incessantly; the citizens shut up their shops and houses, and assisted in unpaving the streets and raising barricades; the houses on the

skirts of the city were secured and looped-holed for musketry; and the whole population, toiling day and night, seemed to evince a

DEFENCE OF MADRID.

determination that Napoleon should find in Madrid a second Zargossa.

At noon, on the 2nd of December, the capital was summoned to surrender; and had it not been for Castellás, the officer who brought the message would have been torn in pieces by the mob. In the evening, when the French artillery and infantry arrived, the city was on one side invested. "The night," says Colonel Napier, "was clear and bright; the French camp was silent and watchful; but the noise of tumult was heard from every quarter of the city, as if some mighty beast was struggling and howling in the toils." At midnight, the city was again summoned; and, shortly afterwards, the batteries began to open. On the 3rd, the Buen Retiro, a palace which had been fortified as a kind of citadel, and the palace of the Duke of Medina Celi, were stormed, and the city a third time summoned by the besiegers, when Morla, the governor, accompanied by Yriarte, came out to request a suspension of arms, and to testify their penitence for the part they had taken in the insurrection. Napoleon received them angrily; charged them with bad faith in not observing the treaty of Baylen, suffering Frenchmen to be assassinated, and seizing the French squadron at Cadiz. He permitted Morla, however, to return to the city, to urge on his countrymen the futility of resistance, and to acquaint them with the favourable terms which the Emperor was still willing to grant, on condition of immediate capitulation. The peasantry and common people continued to fire on the outposts of the assailing army during the night; but the civil authorities being unanimously of opinion, that the defence should be abandoned, the gates were thrown open, at eight o'clock, on the morning of the 4th, the French took possession of the city, and the inhabitants were speedily disarmed. Castellás, who, throughout, had opposed the surrender, when he found that step decided upon, contrived to withdraw his troops and sixteen cannon, and to retreat in safety. An irregular defence of one or two posts in Madrid, was kept up for some time after the public announcement of the capitulation; and when, at length, the peasantry saw that their efforts were in vain, they broke their muskets, spiked their cannon, and rushed through the streets, frantic with rage and despair. At the point where the firing continued longest, it was found that the commander had been St. Simon, a French royalist emigrant;

ADDRESS TO THE SPANIARDS.

who was accordingly ordered for trial by a military commission, but, at the intercession of his daughter, the Emperor spared his life.

A few hours after the entrance of his army, Napoleon issued the following proclamation to the Spanish people:—"You have been misled by perfidious men who have engaged you in an useless struggle. For several months you have experienced all the miseries of subjection to popular faction. The defeat of your armies has been little more than the affair of a few marches. I have now entered Madrid, and the rights of war would justify me in making a great example, and washing out in blood the injuries inflicted on me and my nation: but I am still disposed to clemency. In my proclamation of the 2nd of June, I told you that I desired to be the regenerator of Spain. To the rights which were ceded to me by your princes of the last dynasty, you have compelled me to add the right of conquest. That, however, has not changed my inclination to serve you. I still wish to second what is generous in your efforts, and to bring you to a right understanding of your true interests.

"Spaniards! Your destiny is in my hands. Reject the poisons which the English continue to spread among you. All who are opposed to your greatness and prosperity I will destroy, and I will break the fetters which weigh you down. I have already conferred on you a liberal constitution; have exchanged in your behalf an absolute for a limited monarchy. It depends on yourselves whether that constitution shall be abided by. Should all my exertions prove futile, and you refuse to respond to my confidence, it will only remain for me to treat you as a conquered people, and to place my brother on another throne. I will, in that case, set the crown of Spain on my own head; and doubt not but I shall know how to make it respected by all classes, for God has given me both the will and the power necessary to surmount all obstacles."

Such addresses, however insensible the Spaniards might have appeared to their import at the time they were published, could not fail to produce great effects. They created new and strange ideas, which, working in the minds of the people, induced them to enquire seriously after the practical significance of freedom and good government, and thus by disturbing the reign of prejudice, prepared them for mighty changes. The natives of the Peninsula were satisfied for

ABOLITION OF THE INQUISITION.

the time with their ancient institutions, because they were ignorant that better existed; but in the repeated mention of constitutional and popular rights, and of the interest of the people in the national administration, there was ample food for reflection. It was a beginning of knowledge and of self-importance, and these, becoming common in a country, seldom fail to procure for it, in the end, the recognition and establishment of right. Thus Napoleon's invasion of Spain, though without doubt unjustifiable in itself, by creating a more general intercourse with England and France—the most civilized nations in the world—and diffusing the political enlightenment of those countries, was a source of lasting advantage to all classes of the inhabitants.

The Emperor, having secured the peaceable possession of Madrid, seen the shops and theatres reopened, and enjoined the observance of strict discipline upon his soldiers, fixed his residence at a country-house about four miles from the capital called Chamartin, where he received the corregidor and municipality of the city, who came to solicit that King Joseph should resume the crown and government. The haughty spirit by which Spain had been previously actuated, seemed to quail at the presence of the great Napoleon. The reply of the vanquisher to this courtly deputation, was afterwards embodied in an Imperial edict. It ran as follows:—"I regret the evils which Madrid has endured; and in order to save it and the country from still greater evils, and to relieve all classes from the pain of suspense, I have already adopted measures for tranquillizing the people. I have preserved the religious orders by limiting the number of monks. There is no man of sense who does not consider that they were too numerous. With the surplus revenues of the convents, I have provided for the wants of the curates, who form the most industrious and useful portion of the clergy. I have abolished the tribunal of the Inquisition, which Europe and the age have denounced. Priests ought to direct the conscience, but not to exercise any external and corporeal jurisdiction over the people.

"I have suppressed the rights usurped by the *seigneurs* [territorial lords], in the times of the civil war. I have suppressed all feudal rights; and every person may henceforth establish inns, ovens, mills, nets and fisheries, and give free scope to his industry. The selfishness, the wealth and prosperity of a small number of men, are more

ABOLITION OF FEUDAL PRIVILEGES.

injurious to your agriculture than the heats of the dog-star. As there is but one God, so in one State there ought to be only one measure of justice. All partial jurisdictions have been usurped, and are contrary to the rights of the nation. I have destroyed them... There is no obstacle capable of long retarding the execution of my will. The Bourbons have ceased to reign in Europe. The present generation may entertain various opinions of my proceedings, according to the passions by which they have been agitated; but your posterity will bless me as your regenerator; they will place among the memorable days of their history those in which I have been among you, and from thence will be dated the prosperity of Spain." Napoleon was no where more feared and hated than in Spain; yet,

REVIEWS.

although the generation to which he addressed himself, has not passed away; the Spaniards have already acknowledged, that the share of liberty they at present enjoy, and their hopes for the future, are but results of the Imperial invasion.

During his residence at Chamartin, Napoleon read in the *Moniteur* an answer of the Empress to a congratulatory address from the Legislative body, in which Josephine had placed that body at the head of the political hierarchy, saying, that "it represented the nation." So jealous was the Emperor of the influence of the press, and so cautious to allow no authorized expressions to get abroad, that might by construction be turned against his arrogation of power, that he conceived it necessary immediately to counteract the effect of the objectionable phrase by a correction from his own pen. In his note published by the official paper, it was stated that "the chief representative of the nation is the Emperor." Upon this M. l'Ardèche remarks, "Many have exclaimed against this pretension, yet it was supported by the facts of the case, and was conformable to legal order. The people, who by their acclamations had at first raised Napoleon to the throne, and afterwards by their deliberate suffrages confirmed his elevation, looked rather to find a representative in him than in an assembly to which they were strangers. And besides, was the Legislative body able to govern France, and to face the exigencies of the occasion, under which the country had to contend with all Europe, like Napoleon? Doubtless not: well was it, therefore, that the present and future destinies of the nation, of which the Emperor was the true representative, were placed in his powerful hands, instead of being vested in those of an useless assembly, which was itself but an emanation of the Imperial will, and utterly incapable of accomplishing what the vigorous arm and great genius of the Dictator realized."

On the 9th of December, Napoleon reviewed on the Prado, at Madrid, the troops commanded by Marshal Le Febvre; on the 10th, the contingents of the Rhenish Confederation; and on the 11th, the cavalry, among which he especially distinguished the Polish Lancers, who had conducted themselves with such bravery at the pass of Somo-Sierra. At the same time he conferred on the colonel of that regiment the cross of commander of the Legion of Honour. These reviews were preparatory to new operations for the complete subju-

SIR JOHN MOORE.

BRITISH RETREAT.

length, having advanced a few marches beyond Salamanca, and being joined by Baird, he obtained intelligence of the defeat of Blake, Castaños, and Palafox, and the capture of Madrid; that Soult, with an overwhelming army, was in his front, and that Napoleon in person was advancing with the utmost rapidity to cut off his communications with Portugal, and intercept his return. In this difficult situation, nothing remained for the British army but a precipitate retreat to the coast. The retrograde march accordingly commenced on the 26th of December, towards the north-west of Spain. The route lay through the mountainous province of Galicia, a tract of country but little known to the best informed among the officers, where there was scarcely any trace of roads, and it was impossible to procure provisions. The marches were long and hurried, the weather was dark and tempestuous, the ground covered with half-melted snow, and the fords impassable. The soldiers, from extreme privation and despair, became insubordinate, straggled from their ranks to plunder and maltreat the inhabitants, whom they charged with cowardice and treachery; and who retaliated with the ferocity common to their character. An unusual number of women and children had accompanied the movements of the army, and their sufferings augmented the horrors of the tumultuous flight. The greater portion of these perished by the way; and at length the whole of the sick, the wounded, the baggage, and even the treasure chests, were abandoned to the French, who were pursuing close in the rear. The soldiers seized every opportunity to procure intoxicating liquors; and, under the excitement of these stimulants, committed the most disgraceful outrages, which, notwithstanding constant threats of punishment, were daily repeated.

Twice or thrice, when favourable positions offered, Moore halted, and gave orders to prepare for battle. On these occasions, the British soldiery vindicated their character for generous heroism. At the sound of the trumpet their courage and discipline returned; they fell into their ranks, the stragglers hastened up, and every countenance was reanimated at the prospect of a contest. Soult, however, knowing the spirit as well as the condition of his opponents, carefully avoided a doubtful conflict; and the English continued their disastrous retreat to Coruña, where the transports, appointed to receive them,

CORUÑA.

rode at anchor. The length of the retreat was upwards of two hundred and fifty miles; and, on arriving at his destination, Moore had less than fifteen thousand men remaining.

On the 16th of January, 1809, while preparations were making for embarkation, Soult appeared on the heights above Coruña, and rendered a battle or a convention necessary to the escape of the British. Moore chose the braver alternative. The French attacked in heavy columns about two o'clock in the afternoon, and seemed, for a time, to have the advantage; but through the gallantry of the men and officers, the tide was soon turned in favour of the British. The foe was repulsed at all points; and the embarkation, after the soldiers had destroyed their ammunition and guns, and shot their horses, was effected without further molestation. The gallant com-



DEATH OF MOORE.

mander of the victorious army, however, fell on the field of his triumph. "While earnestly watching the result of the fight near the village of Elvina," says Colonel Napier, "Sir John was struck on the left breast by a cannon ball; the shock threw him from his horse with violence; he rose again in a sitting posture—his countenance unchanged, and his steadfast eye still fixed upon the regiments engaged in his front. No sigh betrayed a sensation of pain; but in a few moments, when he was satisfied that the troops were gaining ground, his countenance brightened, and he suffered himself to be taken to the rear. . . . Several times he caused his attendants to stop and turn him round, that he might behold the field of battle; and when the firing indicated the advance of the British, he discovered his satisfaction, and permitted the bearers to proceed. At intervals he asked if the enemy were beaten; and at length being told they were, observed, 'It is a great satisfaction to me to know that we have beaten the French.' . . . The battle was scarcely ended, when his corpse, wrapped in a military cloak, was interred by the officers of his staff on the ramparts of the citadel of Corufia. The guns of the enemy paid his funeral honours; and Soult, with a noble feeling of respect for his valour, raised a monument to his memory."

Napoleon had come up with the army engaged in pursuing Moore at Benevente, on the 29th of December; but, perceiving that the English were in full retreat, he halted at Astorga, where leaving Ney with eighteen thousand men to secure the subjection of the surrounding country, and assigning to Soult the continued pursuit of the British, he returned towards Madrid. In the course of this expedition, the Emperor fixed his head-quarters for a few hours at Tordesillas, in the outer buildings of the convent of St. Claire, in which died Jane the Foolish, mother of the Emperor Charles V. The convent had been anciently a Moorish palace, and still contained an excellent bath, two splendid saloons, and excellent conservatories. The Emperor inspected the buildings with more than ordinary curiosity, and was admitted to the presence of the venerable abbess, a lady seventy-five years of age, with whom he for some time conversed, and to whom, at his departure, he granted several favours, and a promise of protection for the benevolent sisterhood over which she presided.

SUCCESS OF THE FRENCH.

Meanwhile, the French armies were everywhere successful. The immense number of soldiers, indeed, distributed throughout the Peninsula, could scarcely fail, wherever they appeared, to suppress all opposition. In the towns and cities the Juntas were dissolved; and those who had exhibited the greatest violence against the sovereignty of King Joseph, fled for refuge to the British ships, or to the Spanish dominions in South America. The French, however, proceeded less violently than had been generally anticipated. An

AUSTRIAN PREPARATIONS.

amnesty was granted to all offenders, with but ten exceptions, on condition that the insurgents should immediately lay down their arms, and take the oath of allegiance to the new King. This was certainly lenient, when it is remembered that the Spaniards had, in the first outbreak of popular fury, massacred the French, notwithstanding that large numbers of their victims were wholly unconcerned in the invasion of the country, and in many instances had resided there long before the hostile troops had crossed the frontier.

At Valladolid, where he was compelled, by the bad weather, to remain for two or three days, the Emperor received intelligence that induced him to abandon his purpose of returning to Madrid. The Austrian Government, as has been previously mentioned, had increased its regular forces, and organized an extensive militia, or *Landwehr*. Napoleon, in anticipation of ulterior events, had sought the interview with Alexander at Erfurth, in order principally to keep the latter disengaged from any new coalition that might be formed in the north under the auspices of England. There had been some reason to suspect the sincerity of Russia; she having been constrained to accept peace from France, and to sanction the establishment of the Continental system, which, though but little attended to in practice, occasioned considerable embarrassment to her commerce, and was highly detrimental to the Russian revenue. The meeting at Erfurth, however, had the good effect of making the designs of the Czar as greatly suspected by England and Austria as by Napoleon. Alexander was, therefore, not admitted to a knowledge of the intrigues then in progress. It is doubtful, indeed, whether he could, had he been inclined, have entered into any new engagements at the period; his resources being not more than adequate to maintain his still subsisting war with Turkey, and one which he had recently provoked with Sweden, by the seizure of Finland.

Austria, with her customary want of prudence and of accurate calculation, finding that she was able to muster an army of not less than half a million of men, conceived herself strong enough once more to grapple with her conqueror; and, accordingly, proceeded to assume a haughty tone, first towards the Princes of the Rhenish Confederation in alliance with Napoleon, and, afterwards, to the French envoys. "She thought," says Sir Walter Scott, "that an

AUSTRIAN PREPARATIONS.

opportunity had occurred of forcing from Napoleon in his hour of weakness what she had been compelled to surrender to him in his hour of strength." The temptation presented by the withdrawal of the troops of Austerlitz from the German territories, the absence of Napoleon in Spain and the opposition he had there encountered, was not to be resisted by the politicians of Vienna, who overrated their own strength, and probably exaggerated the importance of the reverses which the French had sustained in Spain and Portugal; and, moreover, they reckoned upon larger supplies both of men and money from Great Britain, than the result appears to have warranted. The Emperor was anxious, however, to provoke a declaration of hostilities on the part of Napoleon, rather than be the first to break faith. He had no hesitation as to being the actual aggressor, but merely wished for an opportunity of making it appear otherwise to the world. One other consideration seems to have had great weight with Austria. The French Emperor would not be likely to quit Spain in person till his conquest was secured, and there was little doubt but England, having chosen that field for her exertions, would for some time to come give him full occupation. Napoleon, however, like his favourite poet Ossian, loved scenes of strife and danger, and when the tempest raved wildest around him, his energies and resources were best brought into action. The French had carefully abstained from seeking a breach with Austria, for Napoleon wished to see the Peninsula wholly freed from the English, and the people at peace under their new King, before he embarked in any fresh undertaking; but they could have known little of his character, who deemed him capable of listening to the blast of the war-trumpet without heeding its summons. He no sooner heard that the *Landwehr* was called out, that French despatches had been seized and opened in the Austrian dominions, and appeals to the patriotism of the Germans issued from Vienna, than he commenced his preparations for war.

In the meantime, the Emperor suppressed a convent of Dominicans, at Valladolid, where a French soldier had been assassinated, and his body found in the vaults of the building. The monks, to the number of forty, were called into the Imperial presence, and bitterly reproached for the base murder they had committed. In a moment of excitement, Napoleon walked into the midst of the "pious fathers"

THE ABBÉ DE PRADT.

alone, when several of them kneeled to him, and kissed his feet in humiliation. "Had there been one true monk among the group," says Hazlitt, "the scene might have ended differently."

It was at Valladolid, also, that Napoleon met the Abbé de Pradt, who had just quitted Madrid. The Emperor spoke to him of the state of the country, and the determined opposition offered by the Spaniards to the establishment of a government infinitely more liberal, and better adapted to secure the prosperity of the Peninsula, than that for which the inhabitants contended. The disaffection of the people seems to have astonished him. The Abbé solved the problem

NAPOLÉON LEAVES SPAIN.

by a reference to the farce, in which the wife of Sganarelle quarrels with a stranger for attempting to hinder her husband from beating her. Napoleon laughed, and said, "Well, I did not know what Spain was. It is a finer country than I thought it. I have made Joseph a more valuable present than I had dreamed of." Before quitting the city, the Emperor conferred several favours upon a Benedictine brotherhood; which, during the height of the insurrection, had concealed and facilitated the escape of several wounded French soldiers, when sought out for slaughter by the insurgents. The residents of this monastery chiefly devoted themselves to spiritual exercises and the cultivation of literature, to which humanizing avocations, probably, may be ascribed the absence of the sanguinary spirit by which most of their countrymen were actuated.

The last public act of Napoleon, in Spain, was to declare his brother, Joseph, Generalissimo of the French forces in the Peninsula; and having done this, he set off on horseback towards Paris with such extraordinary haste, that he is said to have performed the journey to Burgos, a distance of seventy-five English miles, in five hours and a half. This almost incredible rapidity and the change of route from Madrid to Bayonne, begat many surmises as to the cause; but it was not long ere the true reason transpired. He arrived at Paris on the 23rd of January, 1809.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—AUSTRIA DECLARES AGAINST FRANCE—BATTLES OF PREISSING, ABENSBERG, LANDSHUT, AND ECKMUHL — RATISBONNE TAKEN — EBERSBERG — CAPTURE OF VIENNA — ESSLING — DEATH OF LANNES — HOSTILITIES IN HUNGARY AND POLAND — ARMY OF ITALY — RAAB — WAGRAM — AUSTRIA SOLICITS AN ARMISTICE — ENGLISH EXPEDITION TO WALCHEREN—ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE NAPOLEON—TREATY OF SCHÖNBRUNN. 1809.

AT the time of the meeting between the Allied Sovereigns at Erfurt, Francis had written to Napoleon, to assure him of the good disposition of Austria. "I joyfully embrace the opportunity," said the writer, "of your Imperial Majesty's approach to my frontier, to renew the expression of that amity and high esteem which I have pledged to you; and I send my Lieutenant-general, Baron de Vincent, to convey to you, Sir, my brother, the assurance of these unalterable sentiments. If false interpretations, circulated regarding the interior organic institutions of my monarchy, have, for a moment, induced doubts respecting the sincerity of my intentions, the explanations of

LETTER OF NAPOLEON.

Count Metternich to your Majesty's minister will have entirely removed them. . . Deign to accept my assurance of unalterable attachment and consideration." In civilized states, it has been wisely ordered, that the Monarch should descend as seldom as possible to the business of diplomacy, in order that he might not be suspected capable of practising the same duplicity as a mere minister, who has a less sacred character to maintain. The repeated instances of gratuitous regal perfidy exhibited towards Napoleon, might mislead us to suppose that Sovereigns conceived treachery to be among their special prerogatives, but for our knowledge of the fact, that the sophists of the day had decided, that no offence against virtue or honesty was committed by any breach of faith or want of candour towards "the common enemy of Europe." Justice was outraged only when Napoleon disregarded it; Truth had a two-fold significance, as applied for or against him; the most solemn treaties were esteemed but as waste parchment, when they contained stipulations in favour of the "Corsican Soldier of Fortune." The whole code of morality seems to have been resolved into legitimacy and its opposite.

The French Emperor, although he could not fail to see and feel the operation of this new doctrine, seldom took advantage of his knowledge to demand from his enemies better pledges than their word. Thus he had dealt with Austria and Russia; and thus even, as far as his personal interest was concerned, with Prussia; and, notwithstanding his being now perfectly aware of the intrigues on foot against his authority, and his own conviction, and that of the French people generally, that the terms granted after the victory of Austerlitz had been too favourable to the enemy, nothing could induce him to be first in breaking the engagements into which he had voluntarily entered. In order, however, that Francis might not imagine that he was the dupe of the shallow artifices resorted to by the Austrian Cabinet to disguise its preparations, he replied to the Emperor's letter, in a tone somewhat more expostulatory than the communication itself might have seemed to require. "I thank your Imperial and Royal Majesty," he said, "for the letter you have been pleased to write. I never entertained a doubt of your Majesty's honourable intentions; but, for a moment, I was not without fear of beholding hostilities renewed between us. There is at Vienna a faction which

LETTER OF NAPOLEON.

affects apprehension, in order to precipitate your Cabinet into violent measures, which will be the cause of misfortunes greater than any that have preceded. As master, I was in a condition to have dismembered your Majesty's monarchy; or, at least, to have left it less powerful. I desired not this. What your empire is, it is through my forbearance; a proof that I have no further designs against your territories. I am ever ready to guarantee the integrity of your empire, and to undertake nothing adverse to the great interests of your realm. Your Majesty, however, must not again bring under discussion what has been settled by a war of fifteen years' duration. Everything tending to interrupt tranquillity ought to be avoided. Your last levy might have provoked hostilities, had I apprehended, in these preparations, a combination with Russia. . . I had reason to believe, when we concluded the Treaty of Presburg, that our affairs were settled for ever; and that I might bend my whole attention to the maritime war, without being opposed or distracted. Let your Majesty distrust those who, by constantly speaking of the dangers of your monarchy, disturb your own peace and that of your family and people. They alone are to be feared—they alone evoke the dangers they pretend to dread.

“By an upright, frank, and candid bearing, your Majesty will secure to your subjects and yourself, that happiness of which, after so many troubles, there must be much need; and be assured of having in me a man decided never to undertake anything against your interests. Let your conduct shew confidence, and it will be returned. The best policy in these days is sincerity and truth. Let me beseech you to explain any causes of uneasiness as they occur. I will instantly dissipate them. Let your Majesty permit me one word more:—You should be guided by your own judgment—your own feelings; they are much better than those of your advisers. I entreat you to construe my letter in good part, and to discover nothing therein which is not for the welfare and tranquillity of Europe, and of your Majesty.”

Napoleon's unlooked for return to Paris disconcerted the projects of the Austrians by compelling a premature declaration. Metternich, for some time, endeavoured to evade the subject, by explaining that the preparations of his government were merely defensive, and that

AUSTRIA DECLARES WAR.

the insults which had been offered to the Princes of the Confederation, and to French subjects in Austria, were unauthorized by the Court. He promised that these grievances should be redressed, and the offenders punished; but after three months wasted in fruitless negotiation, during which the Archduke Charles, who had been placed once more at the head of his brother's forces, had organized and disposed his troops, the French Minister, in the beginning of April, communicated to the Senate the apprehensions existing of an almost immediate war with Austria. The Legislature without hesitation voted a new conscription of forty thousand men, and presented an address to the Emperor, approving his exertions for the preservation of peace, and his precautions against being surprised by hostilities originating in the machinations of insidious foes.

In the meantime, Austria had actually commenced the war; not, however, by a bold manifesto against France, but against the Princes of the Rhenish Confederation. The announcement was contained in a note addressed by Prince Charles to the General-in-chief of the French troops in Bavaria, on the 9th of April, and couched in the following terms:—"According to a declaration of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria to the Emperor Napoleon, I advertise the French General-in-chief, that I have orders to advance into Bavaria with the troops under my command, and to treat as enemies all who shall offer resistance."

A copy of this note was instantly forwarded by courier to Strasburg, and thence by telegraph to Paris. Napoleon received the intelligence on the 12th of April at St. Cloud; and two hours afterwards set out, without guards or equipage, and almost without attendants, for the scene of operations. The Empress Josephine accompanied him as far as Strasburg. On the 16th, the Emperor's head-quarters were at Dillengen, where he met the King of Bavaria, to whom he promised the restoration of Munich, whence he had just been driven by the Archduke, within fifteen days. On the 17th, Napoleon advanced to Donawert, where he published the following brief but energetic address to the army:—"Soldiers! The territory of the Confederation has been violated. The Austrian General commanded us to flee the very aspect of his arms, and to abandon our Allies. I am here with the speed of lightning.

NAPOLÉON'S PREPARATIONS.

"Soldiers! I was surrounded by you, when the Austrian Sovereign came to my bivouac in Moravia. You then heard him implore my clemency, and swear to me the friendship of a brother. Vanquishers in three wars, to our generosity Austria owes everything. Thrice is she perjured! Our past success affords a pledge of the victory that now awaits us. Forward, then, and at our presence let our enemies acknowledge their conquerors!"

The effect of this proclamation is said to have been immense. Several of the Princes and a large portion of the people of the North of Germany were preparing to rise against the French, and to join in liberating their country. The celerity of the Emperor's motions, however, made him seem almost ubiquitous, while his determination and the amazing extent of his resources struck terror to all whose calculations had been based upon ordinary proceedings. The dull and superstitious Germans, who had not yet compromised themselves, were awed into submission; and those who were actually in arms felt sore misgivings as to the event. It has been asserted, on good authority, that the Archduke Charles himself was not wholly free from the phantasy, that it was useless to oppose Napoleon till his destiny should be accomplished. The rapidity of the French, indeed, might well have alarmed their opponents. At no previous time had Napoleon made such exertions. Troops, gathered from the very extremities of the empire, were brought up as by magic. The German contingent came forth freely. The recruits of the conscription were raised, equipped, and marched to the scene of action with such despatch, and in such good order and discipline, that they seemed to have become veterans at once. The foe was half paralyzed ere a blow was struck.

The Austrian force had been divided into nine *corps d'armée*, consisting of thirty thousand soldiers each, besides an immense reserve, which brought up the numbers opposed to Napoleon to nearly five hundred thousand troops. Of these, the Archduke John had marched two divisions towards Italy, and Prince Ferdinand a third into Galicia; while Charles himself crossed the Inn with the six remaining corps, to maintain the conflict with the grand army of Napoleon. The French troops did not exceed forty thousand men; and those which the Confederation placed at the disposal of their

Protector, amounted probably to fifty thousand. Had Charles known how to avail himself of his immense advantages, Germany, to the Rhine, might have been freed from the presence of the French ere Napoleon had appeared in the field. As it was, the Emperor, by a series of combinations more masterly than any even that he had yet produced, was enabled in less than the fifteen days, which in his promise to the King of Bavaria he had assigned to his operations, totally to defeat the overwhelming masses which had previously threatened him.

On arriving at Donawert, he found that his line was too much extended between Augsburg and Ratisbonne, and so enfeebled in the centre, that, had the Austrians pushed on, the consequences would, in all probability, have proved fatal to the French army, by cutting it in two, and intercepting its supplies and communications. This was an error which Napoleon sought instantly to rectify, alarmed at the possibility of the Archduke's perceiving it in time to turn it to account. Orders were despatched, on the 17th of April, to Massena, who commanded the right wing, to advance by a lateral march from Augsburg to Pfaffenhofen; and to Davoust, who led the left, to approach the line of the centre by a similar movement from Ratisbonne to Neustadt. The Emperor, in person, marched forward with the centre, to occupy the intervening space between the other divisions. These daring manœuvres commenced on the morning of the 18th; Davoust had about eight and Massena twelve or thirteen leagues to march to their respective rendezvous. Napoleon, after allowing sufficient time for the operations of his marshals, advanced against the Archduke Louis and General Hiller, who commanded two divisions of Prince Charles's army. The Austrians were attacked and defeated in two engagements on the same day—those of Pfaffenhofen and Tann. On the 19th, a brilliant action took place at Peissing, when the *Terrible* 57th, commanded by the brave Colonel Charrière, justified its designation, by attacking and defeating in succession six Austrian regiments, which endeavoured to dispute its march.

On the 20th, Napoleon made a sudden assault upon Prince Louis and Hiller, at Abensberg. The enemy stood their ground for some time with determined bravery; but, during the battle, Davoust came up on their right-flank, and, almost at the same moment, Massena

appeared in their rear, carrying death and panic through the Austrian ranks. The Archduke, and such of his troops as could extricate themselves, fled in terror from the field, leaving the French in possession of eight stand of colours, twelve pieces of cannon, and eighteen thousand prisoners. The movement on Abensberg was spoken of by Napoleon, in after years, as the finest of all his military conceptions. Whether viewed as to its immediate or remoter consequences, it was equally important. The Emperor had not only out-manceuvred Prince Charles by concentrating his forces, so as to make them superior on any given point of action to their opponents; but, by his celerity, he had once more appalled the Austrians, and deranged all the operations of their Chief.

On the 21st, the fugitive troops of Hiller and Louis, having rallied upon a fresh division of their countrymen, were overtaken at Landshut, and again routed with immense loss. In this battle, General Mouton, at the head of a column of grenadiers, charged across one of the bridges of the Iser, which the enemy had set on fire, and one end of which was entirely enveloped in flames; and, after a sanguinary struggle, the French obtained possession of the town. Here the Austrians lost thirty pieces of cannon, nine thousand prisoners, and all their ammunition and baggage.

Immediately after this engagement, Napoleon received intelligence of the movements of Prince Charles, which induced him to move

ECKMÜHL.

forward without delay towards Ratisbonne. The Austrian main army, numbering upwards of a hundred thousand men, was strongly posted at Eckmühl; but the skilful combinations of the Emperor rendered the numerical superiority of the Archduke unavailing. The whole French army, marching by different routes, was brought to bear upon the Austrians at the same moment, thus distracting their attention and paralyzing their exertions. Napoleon charged, at about two in the afternoon of the 22nd; and, after a fight of upwards of five hours, the Austrians were dislodged from their entrenchments, and sustained a complete defeat. Prince Charles, on quitting the ground, left twenty thousand prisoners, fifteen colours, and nearly all his artillery, in the hands of Napoleon. This battle is said to have been one of the most scientific ever fought; "the divisions appearing on the field, each in its due place and order, as regularly as the movements of the various pieces in a game of chess." At night-fall, the Austrians fled in the utmost disorder, losing a great number of men by the way, through their own impetuosity and the vigorous pursuit of the French. The Archduke Charles was saved by the speed and strength of his horse only.

On the 23rd, the victorious army presented itself before the gates of Ratisbonne; and, after a brief summons to surrender the place, commenced the assault. A breach was speedily effected in the ancient walls of the city; but the enemy's fire upon this point was so well sustained, that volunteers could not be found to make the attack. Marshal Lannes at this moment seized a ladder, and,

RATISBONNE.

rushing forward, fixed it himself against the walls. "I will shew you," he exclaimed, "that your General is still a grenadier." The soldiers followed him, the wall was scaled, and the fight renewed in the streets of the city, where some of the habitations, by accident or design, were speedily set on fire. In the midst of the storm of shot and flame which now raged around, a body of French rushed forward to charge a column of Austrians, that still retained possession of the outlet of a burning street. Their progress was interrupted, for a moment, by some waggons belonging to the German train. The French were about to remove them into the neighbourhood of the blazing houses. "Let them alone," shouted the Austrian commandant to the French officer; "they are tumbrils of powder. If the flames reach them, both armies must perish." The conflict ceased for a time, and the soldiers on each side occupied themselves in removing the ammunition from the scene of danger; and then resumed their own less certain if not less speedy work of destruction. Finally, the Austrians were driven from the town, leaving their cannon, baggage, and eight thousand prisoners in the hands of the victors.

Napoleon, who had himself directed the attack, was wounded in

NAPOLEON WOUNDED.

the right foot by a musket ball. "It must have been a Tyrolese," he exclaimed, "who has struck me from such a distance. Those fellows fire with wonderful precision." The officers around remonstrated with him, for exposing his person so heedlessly. "What can I do?" he replied,— "I must needs see how matters go on." At the report, that the Emperor had been wounded, the alarmed soldiers thronged around him, to enquire the nature and extent of his injury, which rendered Napoleon so impatient to satisfy all of his safety, that he would scarcely suffer his foot to be dressed, ere he remounted his horse and rode along the lines, to restore confidence. Never was the customary greeting of the troops, "Vive l'Empereur!" given with more animated enthusiasm than on this occasion.

The original aspect of the war was now entirely changed. The French, who a few days before had been haughtily ordered to depart from Germany, were everywhere victorious; while Austria, which had engaged in the contest from hatred to Napoleon, and in the hope of conquest in his absence, was again reduced to the necessity of struggling for national existence. "At no period in his momentous career," says Sir Walter Scott, "did the genius of the Emperor appear more completely to prostrate all opposition; at no time did the talents of a single individual exercise such an influence on the fate of the universe. The forces which he had in the field had been not only unequal to those of the enemy, but they were, in a military point of view, ill-placed and imperfectly combined. Napoleon arrived alone, found himself under all these disadvantages, and, by his almost unassisted genius, came, in the course of five days, in complete triumph, out of a struggle which originally bore a character so unpromising. It is no wonder that others should have annexed to his person the degree of superstitious influence claimed for the chosen instruments of destiny, whose path must not be crossed, and whose arms cannot be arrested."

On the 24th, Napoleon reviewed his troops, and distributed honours and rewards with a liberal hand among those who had most distinguished themselves during the brief campaign. Bestowing the cross of the Legion of Honour on a soldier of the Guard, the Emperor paused for a moment, as if recollecting the countenance before him, and enquired the man's name. "Your Majesty ought to know it,"

ADDRESS TO THE ARMY.

replied the veteran, "since, when you were in extremity amid the Syrian desert, it was I who gave you water from my flask." Napoleon was highly gratified at the recognition; and, striking the soldier familiarly on the cheek, said, "I make you a knight, with an annuity of twelve hundred francs; but what will you do with so much money?"—"Drink with my comrades," answered the guardsman, "to the health of him who is so necessary to us." Davoust was created Prince of Eckmühl; and the other generals and officers, according to their respective services, received additions of rank, or gratuities in money or estates. On the same day, the following address was issued to the troops:—"Soldiers! You have justified my anticipations, and have supplied the place of numbers by your bravery. You have gloriously marked the distinction which exists between the soldiers of Cæsar and the armies of Xerxes. In a few days we have triumphed in the three battles of Tann, Abensberg, and Eckmühl, and in the engagements of Peissing, Landshut, and Ratisbonne. A hundred pieces of cannon, forty colours, fifty thousand prisoners, three thousand baggage-waggons, and all the regimental treasure-chests, have been gained by the rapidity of your marches and by your courage. The enemy, intoxicated by a perjured Cabinet, seemed no longer to have preserved a remembrance of you. You have promptly restored them to reason; and have shewn yourselves more terrible than ever. But lately, the Austrians crossed the Inn, and invaded the territory of our Allies, flattering themselves that they should be able to carry the war into the bosom of our own country; to-day, defeated and terror-stricken, they are flying in disorder. Already have my advanced guard passed the Inn: in less than a month we shall be in Vienna."

On the 25th, the King of Bavaria, according to the promise of Napoleon, re-entered his capital of Munich; thus twice restored to his throne by the friendship of the Emperor. In the meantime, the Archduke Charles retreated precipitately with the broken remnant of his army into the mountainous defiles of Bohemia, hoping, perhaps, by this course to draw the attention of the French from Vienna, which was incapable of making a protracted defence. The Emperor, however, knew that the chief resources of the Austrians lay in the seat of government; and that the capture of that city would bring the war

EBERSBERG.

to a close much more speedily than a mere succession of victories, however brilliant. He, therefore, directed his march upon the capital, determined, by a second occupation of that city, to compel Francis to sue once more for peace.

On the 30th of April, the Emperor slept at Burghausen, where the Countess d'Armansperg waited on him to supplicate the delivery of her husband, whom the Austrians had carried away prisoner on account of his admiration of Napoleon, and condemnation of the aggressive war conducted by the government of his own country against France. On the 1st of May, the Imperial head-quarters were at Reid, where the Emperor himself arrived during the night. On the 3rd, the French van arrived before Ebersberg, where the wreck of the corps of the Archduke Louis and General Hiller, reinforced by a strong body of their countrymen, had posted themselves in the village—which was defended by a strong castle—and along the steep and rocky banks of the unfordable river Traun. A single bridge communicated with this position, which was so well guarded by cannon as to appear altogether impregnable. Hiller had with him nearly thirty-five thousand soldiers; and his object was to maintain himself in his defences till he should be able to renew his communications with the Archduke Charles, and concert measures for covering Vienna, by defending the course of the Danube.

General Clarapède, at the head of his division, which formed part of Oudinot's corps, and consisted of about seven thousand men, began the attack, and, amid a tempest of bullets, charged across the bridge into the town. The enemy, in order to dislodge their opponents, set the place on fire, and the houses, being chiefly constructed of wood, the flames spread with the utmost rapidity, and soon enveloped the whole village, extending to the rails of the bridge. The fire arrested the progress of Bessières, who had just passed the river with the cavalry to sustain Clarapède. The latter, being thus cut off from support, was compelled during three hours to maintain his ground against the combined efforts of the Austrian army. At length, however, a passage was forced through the midst of the flames; and Generals Le Grand and Durosnel coming up, on different points, the enemy abandoned their position, and fled in utter disorder. The French soldiers in this engagement performed prodigies of valour, and

EBERSBERG.

accomplished their object with comparatively insignificant loss—only three hundred killed and six hundred wounded. The Austrians lost twelve thousand men, of whom about seven thousand five hundred were prisoners. Hiller's routed troops retreated to Enns, the bridge of which they burnt, to prevent pursuit; and afterwards continued their flight along the left bank of the Danube, hoping to form a junction with the army of Prince Charles. Napoleon, in the bulletin published upon the occasion, thus speaks of the battle of Ebersberg:—"The division of General Clarapède covered itself with glory. The impetuosity of the tirailleur battalions fixed the attention of the whole army. The bridge, the town, and the natural defences of Ebersberg, will be durable monuments of French bravery. The future traveller will pause and exclaim, 'It was here, notwithstanding this superb position, this difficult bridge, and strong castle, that an army of thirty-five thousand Austrians was defeated and dislodged by seven thousand Frenchmen.'"

The Emperor slept on the 4th of May, at Enns, in the castle of Count d'Awesperg; and, on the 6th, established his head-quarters at the celebrated abbey of Molck, the cellars of which, during the campaign of 1805, had furnished to the army several millions of bottles of wine. On an eminence, a short distance from Molck, in the direction of Vienna, the ruins of the castle of Diernstein were

SIEGE OF VIENNA.

pointed out to Napoleon, who suddenly drew his bridle, and assuming a meditative air, remained for some time gazing abstractedly on the remains of the ancient fortress. "Behold," he said at length, turning to Lannes, who accompanied him, "the prison of Richard Cœur de Lion. He, like us, went to Syria and Palestine. The Lion-heart, my brave Lannes, was not braver than thou, though more fortunate than I, at St. Jean d'Acre. A Duke of Austria sold him to an Emperor of Germany, who shut him up yonder. Those were times of barbarism: how different from our civilization! It has been seen how I treated the Emperor of Austria, when I could have made him my prisoner. Ah, well! I shall again treat him in the same way. Yet it is not I who will this; but the age. Crowned heads must now be respected. A conqueror in a stronghold!" When Napoleon thus reasoned, he forgot that the legitimate Sovereigns of Europe were warring against the very civilization to which he alluded; and that, consequently, their proceedings were not likely to be influenced by its dictates. "The genius of the nineteenth century," says a French writer, "governed the proceedings of the Emperor at the bivouack of Austerlitz; the barbarism of the middle ages consigned him to the rock of St. Helena."

On the 8th of May, the French head-quarters were at St. Polten; and on the 10th, the city of Vienna was invested. The Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Empress, was governor of the capital, and made all the preparations in his power to resist the enemy; but the troops under his command were not sufficiently numerous to defend the city, the extensive fortifications of which could not be properly manned without a large army. The citizens, however, at the call of the young Prince, readily assumed arms, and fired on the French advanced posts, which, notwithstanding, were established in the course of the day in the suburbs. Napoleon, on the morning of the 11th, summoned the garrison to surrender; but the bearer of the message was refused admittance within the walls, and maltreated and nearly murdered by the populace of the faubourgs. Batteries were then speedily erected near the ramparts, and a heavy bombardment commenced. In a short time, the whole city appeared to be in flames; and the inhabitants, in the utmost consternation, entreated the Archduke to abandon all attempts at defence, lest the capital

CAPITULATION OF VIENNA.

should be entirely destroyed. The Emperor and Empress of Austria had quitted the place on the approach of the French, and retired to Buda in Hungary. The Archduchess Maria Louisa, who was confined to her chamber by illness, alone of the Imperial Family remained in Vienna. A shower of bombs was at first directed on the palace; but as soon as Napoleon was informed of the situation of the young Princess, he ordered that quarter to be spared, and the deadly missiles to be poured in other directions. It need scarcely be added, that this Archduchess was the same who, a few months later, became Empress of France.

During the night of the 11th, Prince Maximilian, perceiving that resistance was hopeless, and fearing, from some French movements which had been reported to him, that a division of Napoleon's army was about to cross an arm of the Danube, and thus cut off his retreat, evacuated the city with the troops of the line and landwehr, leaving General O'Reilly to sign a capitulation on the following day. At six o'clock in the morning of the 13th, Oudinot, at the head of his grenadiers, took possession of the Austrian capital. Napoleon did not enter the city, but once more established his head-quarters at the palace of Schönbrunn, whence he immediately issued the following

THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES.

order of the day:—"Soldiers! A month after the enemy had passed the Inn, on the same day, at the same hour, you have entered Vienna. Their landwehrs, their levies *en masse*, their ramparts created by the impotent rage of the Princes of the house of Lorraine, have been unable to abide your mere looks. The Princes of that house have abandoned their capital; not as soldiers of honour, who yield to the circumstances and reverses of war, but like perjured men pursued by their own remorse. Flying from Vienna, their adieus to the inhabitants have been murder and conflagration. Like Medea, they have strangled their children with their own hands.

"Soldiers! The people of Vienna, to use the words of the deputation from its suburbs, disheartened and abandoned, will become the objects of your attention. I take under my especial protection all the peaceable inhabitants: as to turbulent and wicked men, I shall make them examples of justice. Soldiers! Be kind to the poor peasants—to those honest persons who have so much right to your esteem. Let us cherish no pride of success; but only behold therein a proof of that divine justice which punishes the ungrateful and the perjured."

It seems certain, that when he wrote this proclamation, Napoleon entertained no thought of soliciting a daughter of the "ungrateful and perjured" Emperor of Austria in marriage, or his expressions would have been less pointed and insulting.

The Archduke Charles, though he had been unable to prevent the fall of Vienna, now hastened, by forced marches, to relieve it—gathering additional troops from all quarters in his advance. His approach was by the left bank of the Danube. That river was swoln by spring rains and the melting of the snow in the mountains, and its bridges had been all broken by Prince Maximilian in his retreat. It formed, therefore, an apparently impassable barrier between the hostile armies. This was greatly in favour of the Austrian General, who, expecting to be joined by his brothers, and being well supplied with provisions, wished to avoid a decisive blow until the number of his troops should afford him an almost certain pledge of victory. To Napoleon, in an enemy's country, without a prospect of reinforcements, and depending on a hostile population for the maintenance of his soldiers, it was of the utmost importance that the war should be brought to a close with as little delay as possible. He accordingly

PASSAGE OF THE DANUBE.

determined on crossing the river, and giving battle to the Archduke, ere new succours should reach him. The place at first selected for this bold attempt was Neusdorf, about half a league above Vienna, where the stream passes in a deep narrow channel under the right bank, which, being steep, commands the opposite side, and seemed to afford means of protecting the passage. About five hundred men were pushed across here, for the purpose of constructing a bridge; but they were immediately attacked and taken prisoners by the Austrians, and the enterprise at this point was abandoned.

The Emperor next descended to Ebersdorf, a village about two leagues below Vienna, where the Danube is divided into several branches, intersected by low woody islands, the largest of which is Lobau. Here a series of bridges were constructed of boats, and such other materials as were at hand; and on the 20th of May, thirty-six thousand French soldiers were enabled to pass to a small plain between the villages of Asperne and Essling. These villages, which formed strong military posts, and were connected by a high road, bordered by a deep ditch, Napoleon immediately caused to be occupied — the former by the corps of Massena, the latter by that of Lannes, while Bessières with the cavalry remained in the plain. The Emperor had no certain intelligence concerning the movements of the Archduke, and was surprised that he had not endeavoured to molest the French in crossing the river; he was anxious and uneasy, therefore, as to the course to be pursued in bringing the enemy at once to an engagement. During the night, many contradictory reports were brought to head-quarters. Lights were seen glancing from the distant heights of Bisamberg, which induced Lannes to imagine that the main body of the Austrians was there concentrated; but Massena concluded, from a pale streak of light, about a league in length, which, from its reflection in the atmosphere, seemed to proceed from a line of watch-fires in a much nearer situation, that the Archduke was only separated from the French army by a rising ground in the immediate neighbourhood. Napoleon gathered all the information he could; but expressed no opinion on the subject. He was on horseback, however, before dawn, to ascertain, from personal observation, the proximity of his opponents. The ground was then covered by light troops, which rendered it impossible to advance for

ESSLING.

the purpose of reconnoitring. On a sudden the skirmishers were withdrawn, and presently the whole force of the Austrians was seen advancing over the brow of the rising ground, which had concealed their encampment on the preceding evening. Their number nearly trebled that of the French, being one hundred thousand men; and they had two hundred and twenty pieces of artillery. The Archduke's army was divided into five strong columns, and headed by the best generals that Francis had in his service.

The conflict commenced about four o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st, by a furious attack on the village of Asperne, which was speedily taken by the Austrians, and as quickly retaken by the French. This exchange occurred several times in the course of the afternoon, and, except for the dreadful carnage which ensued, the exertions of the troops on either side were fruitless. Essling, also, was the object of three general attacks; but here the French stood their ground, and the enemy were on each occasion repulsed with heavy loss. Lannes, who defended this post, was once nearly overpowered by his assailants; but the Emperor, perceiving his danger, sent Bessières to charge the Austrian centre, and thus effected a diversion in his favour. At night, when the firing ceased, Massena remained in possession of Asperne, with the exception of the church and churchyard, where an Austrian division had obtained a lodgment; Lannes maintained Essling; and the French cavalry still occupied the plain. The slaughter had been dreadful on each side. The villages were partly in ruins, and a constant blaze of burning habitations rendered the darkness fearful; while the roads and pathways were choked with dead and wounded.

During the night, both the Archduke and Napoleon received important reinforcements. The Austrian army was again swoln, from the reserves in its rear, to a hundred thousand men, and the French force, by the arrival of the grenadiers of Oudinot, the division of St. Hilaire, two brigades of light cavalry, and a train of artillery, was increased to about fifty thousand soldiers. These additional troops being got into position, the battle was renewed about four o'clock in the morning of the 22nd. The Germans were again the assailants, and again their principal object of attack was the village of Asperne: but the gallant Massena was still the defender of that position,—

ESSLING.

"Massena, who," according to Napoleon, "was endowed with a courage and firmness which excess of danger served but to increase; and who when actually conquered was always as ready to fight the battle again, as though he had been the victor. By a strange peculiarity of temperament, this general possessed the requisite equilibrium in the heat of battle only: it seemed to be created in the midst of peril." Not content with repelling the assaults of the enemy, Massena assumed the offensive, and, attacking the church of Asperne, drove thence the columns established there, and once more became master of the whole village. The Archduke, however, continued to pour corps after corps into the place, till Napoleon, conceiving from the vigour of these attacks, and the comparative inertness of the rest of the Austrian army that its left and centre had been weakened for the purpose of supporting the right, directed a movement of the whole of his disengaged force upon what he supposed the enfeebled points of the enemy's line. Infantry, cavalry, and artillery now advanced rapidly to the attack. Lannes, with the young Guard, led the van, and rushed impetuously against the Austrian centre, in order, by piercing it, to separate the wings of the army. The Archduke's troops were unable to sustain the shock, but staggered backward; and regiments and brigades began to separate, and to act without concert or decision. Prince Charles, perceiving the growing confusion of his soldiers, hastened to the spot, and, with great presence of mind, ordered the chasms in his line to be filled from the reserves; and, seizing a standard, rushed, at the head of his grenadiers, to the charge. The French, however, were gaining ground at all points, and the Emperor regarded victory as certain; when, about seven in the morning, he learned that a sudden swell of the Danube had brought down a number of timber-rafts and spars, and swept away part of the bridges which formed his sole means of communication with the right bank of the river, on which were his stores and reserves. At this disastrous news, the advance of the troops was instantly ordered to be suspended; and the marshals were directed merely to preserve such positions as were necessary to enable the army to effect an orderly retreat to the island of Lobau, the bridge from which to the left bank fortunately remained uninjured.

FRENCH RETREAT.

The Archduke, seeing the French in retreat, now assumed the offensive, and in turn advanced with his whole line. Asperne and Essling were three times attacked with the utmost fury, but without effect, until it became necessary to abandon them in order to follow the main army, for the protection of whose retreat they had been retained. The exertions of Massena surpassed those of all his former engagements. General Mouton also signalized himself for his extraordinary courage at the head of the fusileers of the Guard. Indeed every general and soldier acquitted himself with honour, and fought as if the salvation of France depended upon his single efforts. Never was French valour, or discipline, more severely tested, or better sustained than on the days of the combat of Essling. The keeping of the field had been entrusted to Marshal Lannes, whose skill and courage powerfully contributed to the preservation of his countrymen, whose existence had been so unexpectedly endangered by an accident. This service, however, was destined to be the last which that illustrious soldier, the "Roland" of modern French chivalry, was to render to his country and his sovereign, "the great Captain who had been more his friend than his master." Towards the close of the day, he was struck by a cannon ball which shattered

DEATH OF LANNES AND ST. HILAIRE.

both his legs. Amputation was immediately performed, and with a success which at first induced hopes of his recovery. Lannes himself, however, seemed conscious that his death was approaching, and called loudly for the Emperor, who, when he came, could not restrain his tears at the sight. The Marshal, who had been first noticed by Napoleon at the engagement of Dego, in 1796, almost adored his sovereign, and was irritated to a degree of frenzy at the thought of dying before he should see the end of the campaign. He raved against the surgeons who attended him, and declared that they ought to be hanged for their inability to cure a marshal. He could only be pacified by the Emperor's presence, and clung around him with the fervour of strong affection. "He would hear," said Napoleon, when at St. Helena, "of none but me. Undoubtedly he loved his wife and children better; yet he spoke not of them. He was their protector, I his. I was to him something vague and undefined, a superior being, the providence whom he implored. He was a man on whom I could implicitly rely. Sometimes, from the impetuosity of his disposition, he suffered a hasty expression against me to escape him, but he would have blown out the brains of any person who had ventured to repeat it. Originally his physical courage predominated over his judgment, but the latter was every day improving; and at the period of his death he had reached the highest point of his profession, and was a most able commander. I found him a dwarf: but I lost him a giant. Had he lived to witness our reverses, it would have been impossible for him to have swerved from the path of duty and honour; and he was capable by his own weight and influence of changing the whole aspect of affairs." Lannes was conveyed first to the isle of Lobau, and thence removed to Vienna, where he expired on the 31st of May. The battle of Essling was fatal also to General St. Hilaire, another of Napoleon's best and bravest officers, who was killed on the field. Of less honoured names there fell, it is said, nearly twenty thousand on the side of the French, and a considerably larger number on that of the Austrians. The Emperor was profoundly afflicted at these multiplied and severe losses.

Essling was claimed as a victory both by Prince Charles and Napoleon; though in reality it was nothing more than a check to the

ISLE OF LOBAU.

latter. Had the Archduke, however, used as much alacrity in improving his advantages, as his opponent displayed in repairing his disasters, the result might have been fatal to French ascendancy: but Charles was unprepared for success; and appears to have been rendered more cautious by the very circumstances which should have imparted to his conduct additional decision. Instead of risking any new movement to crush his baffled antagonist, he contented himself with strengthening the positions of Asperne and Essling, and erecting fortifications to oppose any future attempt at passing the river, confining his attention, nevertheless, to the spot at which the enemy had previously debouched. Napoleon, meanwhile, with his diminished

forces, was cooped up in the islands of the Danube, completely separated from Davoust and his reserve, and protected from the enemy merely by a channel of water, about forty yards wide: yet his fertile genius and unexampled activity enabled him to overcome all difficulties. By the morning of the second day after the battle, he had collected materials for repairing the broken bridges, and had re-established his communication with Davoust; thus destroying all possibility of the Archduke's profiting by the temporary strait to which the French had been reduced. Lobau, with almost equal speed, was converted into an entrenched camp, and secured from storm or surprise. The existing bridge from that island was repaired and strengthened, and three others constructed, by means of boats and small craft, for floating troops to any given point, in order to turn the fortifications of the Archduke.

MAJOR SCHILL.

During this period, Prince Ferdinand had penetrated into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, obtained possession of the Polish capital, and pressed northward towards Thorn, where he expected to be joined by a strong body of Prussians. News, however, of the rapid strides of Napoleon, of the victories of Abensberg, Landshut, and Eckmühl, and the fall of Vienna, had preceded the Archduke; and Frederick William deemed it prudent to maintain his neutrality, till there should be a better prospect of avenging the indignities he had sustained. So far faithful did he remain to his engagements, indeed, that he sent troops from Berlin in pursuit of one Schill, an outlaw, formerly a Prussian officer, who, taking upon himself the quarrels of his Sovereign, had vowed eternal warfare against the French Emperor; and, for several months, maintained himself and a corps of between four and five thousand desperate men, by a system of brigandage, which afforded him a pretext to levy contributions alike upon friend and foe.

This notorious freebooter, whom England at the time disdained not to honour with a commission, and to assist with money and arms, wantonly plundered many towns and villages throughout Germany, till at length his incursions became so daring, and his prowess so much dreaded, that several of the most populous cities found it safer to pay for his forbearance than to oppose his progress. Schill was eventually attacked by General Gratien, at Stralsund; and, being surrounded, he and his band were utterly destroyed. The conduct of the King of Prussia towards this partisan, and the advance of a corps of thirty thousand Russians, for the avowed purpose of assisting the French, induced Prince Ferdinand, with all speed, to withdraw into his native States; leaving not only Warsaw, but the Polish provinces of Austria, to fall into the hands of the Czar's contingents. Regnier, the youngest of the Austrian Princes, was at this time rendering essential service to his country, by organizing levies among the nobles and landowners in Hungary, to strengthen the main army of his brother Charles.

The Archduke John, having entered Italy by the passes of Carinthia and Carniola, had taken Eugene, the Viceroy, unprepared. The Austrians had, therefore, become masters of Padua and Vicenza, and compelled the French to retire to Caldiero, on the Adige; where

Eugene, being reinforced, in turn became the assailant, and the Archduke, after a signal defeat at St. Michel, precipitately retreated. After several unimportant engagements, all of which were unfavourable to the Germans, Prince John, with his shattered army, reached the Hungarian territory, intending, if possible, to lead his corps to his brother Charles, to whom it was now seen must be left the task of fighting the decisive battle with Napoleon. Eugene, however, pursuing his enemy closely, overtook him at Raab; and there, being joined by Marmont from Dalmatia, on the 14th of June, the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland, obtained a new and splendid victory, and entirely routed the enemy, which, less than two months before, had attacked him with the most confident hope of being able to destroy the power of Napoleon in Italy, and wrench from his brow the Iron Crown. In this brief campaign, the Italian troops exhibited a degree of bravery and discipline worthy of their ancient renown, and of the eulogies which, from time to time, Napoleon had bestowed on them. After their success at Raab, Prince Eugene and Marmont, ascending the Danube, united their troops with those of Napoleon.

The Emperor now resolved to resume the offensive, before the large Austrian reinforcements, which he knew to be on their march, should have reached Prince Charles. Accordingly, on the 4th of July, having completed his chain of bridges, and recruited his army, Napoleon, at ten o'clock at night, commenced once more the passage of his soldiers to the left bank of the river. The Archduke, though he had obtained vague intelligence of some movement, and directed a strict watch to be maintained in the direction of Lobau, had no apprehension that the whole French army were about to cross—nor was he aware, until the next morning, that any other means of passing had been provided than the single bridge, against which he had established his batteries. At daylight, on the 5th, therefore, he was unpleasantly surprised to find Napoleon in full force on his flank and rear, having turned all his fortifications, and thus rendered them entirely useless. In the course of the day, the villages of Essling and Enzersdorf, the latter of which took fire, were carried, after a fierce contest, by the French, and the Emperor was enabled to choose his position. At six o'clock that evening, the French line extended from Asperne to Glinzendorf; while that of the Austrians stretched from Stadelau to

POSITION OF THE ARMIES.

Neusiedel. The Archduke, however, in order to outflank his opponent's right, made a movement for that purpose; and the French attempted to obtain possession of Wagram; but darkness having fallen ere the necessary arrangements had been completed, the operations on both sides were rendered abortive.

The Emperor passed the night in stationing his troops and getting his artillery into position for the great battle, which was inevitable, on the following day. His greatest care was to strengthen his centre. A number of cannon was, therefore, posted opposite Wagram; Massena was sent to the left of Aderklau, leaving in Asperne a single division, with orders to fall back, in case of any movement upon the isle of Lobau; and Davoust received orders to pass the village of Grosshofen, to be nearer the decisive scene of action. Prince Charles, instead of endeavouring to concentrate his already too greatly attenuated force, still further enfeebled his centre to strengthen his wings, conceiving it to be his opponent's intention to attack him on the flank.

At dawn on the 6th, Bernadotte commanded the French left, having Massena in his second line. Prince Eugene, under the

WAGRAM.

personal direction of the Emperor, led the centre, composed of the corps of Oudinot, of Marmont, and of the Imperial Guard, and the several divisions of cuirassiers, which formed seven or eight lines. The right was under the orders of the brave Davoust.

The battle commenced at day-break. Davoust attacked the corps of Rosenberg, which occupied the position of Neusiedel; but, at first, from the overwhelming numbers opposed to him, he was unable to make any impression. The enemy indeed appeared to have the advantage. Napoleon, whose eagle-eye embraced the whole field, soon perceived the difficulty of his Marshal, and despatched to his assistance a division of cuirassiers: commanding at the same time a battery of twelve pieces, belonging to the division of Nansouty, to open on Rosenberg's flank. In less than three-quarters of an hour the enemy's right was broken, and compelled to retreat with great loss; and Davoust was in possession of the object of his attack. Massena, also, confining his operations within circumscribed limits, attacked and carried a village, from which the Austrians had been enabled to annoy the French centre, and to prevent the performance of the evolutions prescribed to them. Davoust then, turning Neusiedel, pushed on to take Wagram in the rear, while the divisions of Marmont and Macdonald, having formed in column, advanced to charge it in front, at a preconcerted signal.

In the meantime, the Archduke directed an incessant fire upon the village which had been taken by Massena, but the Austrian cannonade was fully answered by the French; the interval between Asperne and Wagram appearing to be an immense line of thundering artillery. The Emperor soon perceived the error which Prince Charles had committed in the disposition of his troops, and was not slow to turn his knowledge to account. The divisions of Broussier and Lamarque were formed into columns of attack, and marched forward, supported by General Nansouty, the horse guard, and a hundred pieces of cannon. This battery, commanded by Count Lauriston, was impelled rapidly towards the enemy. At within half-cannon shot it halted and opened a tremendous fire, which speedily silenced the artillery of the enemy, and carried destruction through the hostile ranks. Macdonald, with the divisions of Broussier and Lamarque, the brigade of fusileers, and the tirailleurs of the Guard,

WAGRAM.

which had been placed under his orders on the field, then advanced at charging pace. The Guards found it necessary to change their front in order to make their attack effective; but all was accomplished with admirable celerity and precision, and in a few minutes a league of ground was cleared. The panic-stricken Austrians raised a cry of terror, and the example of precipitate and disordered flight was set by those who should have been the last to quit their posts. At ten in the morning, it became apparent that the fate of the day was decided. At noon, Oudinot marched on Wagram to support Davoust. The joint efforts of these gallant generals—each emulous of distinction—drove the enemy from that important position; and before evening, the whole Austrian army was flying in disorder over the country, spreading the news of their terrible defeat in every direction. The Archduke Charles retreated to Znaim, in Moravia; and Prince John, who came in sight of the field only just before the battle was decided, was glad to withdraw his disheartened troops before they had attracted Napoleon's attention.

The Emperor himself had directed all the movements, and was seen in the course of the fight wherever the fire was hottest, notwithstanding the entreaties of his officers, and the fact that the appearance of his retinue never failed to draw on him a shower of grape shot. He rode along the lines on a white charger, which had been presented to him from the Shah of Persia, and seemed too much absorbed by the general engagement to be conscious of personal danger. One of the shots, which flew thick around him, struck Bessières from his horse. Napoleon averted his eyes, and a wailing cry arose from the whole battalion of the Guard, which Bessières commanded. The

ARMISTICE.

Marshal, however, was but slightly injured by his fall, the bullet fortunately having been a spent one. The Emperor exclaimed, with a smile, when he saw that the "Bayard" of his army was safe, "The ball which struck you, Marshal, drew tears from all my Guard. Return thanks to it; it ought to be very dear to you."

In this great battle, between three and four hundred thousand men took part, supported by between twelve and fifteen hundred pieces of artillery. Ten stand of colours, forty pieces of cannon, upwards of twenty thousand prisoners, including three or four hundred officers, many of whom were generals, colonels, and majors, were the trophies of victory left, at the close of the engagement, in the hands of the French. The field was covered with dead and wounded; among whom were several general officers, with one of the name of Normann, a Frenchman, who had not scrupled to bear arms against his countrymen.

Thus, for the third time, Napoleon had become master of the fortunes of the house of Lorraine, which he had not long before accused of ingratitude and perjury; and from which, notwithstanding his reproaches and menaces, he, for the third time, willingly received proposals for peace when all hope of successful war against his own power vanished. The Emperor Francis having sent from Znaim to request a suspension of hostilities, an armistice was signed on the 10th of July, Austria agreeing that the citadels of Brunn and Gratz should receive French garrisons until terms for a definitive peace were concluded. Napoleon, during the negotiations, fixed his residence once more at the palace of Schönbrunn. For their important services at Wagram, Oudinot, Macdonald, and Marmont were severally honoured with a marshal's baton.

Bernadotte, relying on the impunity with which he had been suffered on several occasions to interfere with the Emperor's authority, after the last victory, ventured to arrogate to himself the privilege of issuing an independent bulletin, extolling the contingent corps which he had commanded in the engagement, and claiming no small share of the glories of the day. This document ran as follows:—"Saxons! In the battle of the 5th of July, from seven to eight thousand of you penetrated the centre of the enemy's army, and advanced to Wagram, despite the opposition of forty thousand men,

BERNADOTTE.

supported by sixty pieces of cannon. You continued the combat till midnight, and bivouacked in the midst of the Austrian lines. On the 6th, at day-break, you recommenced the contest with the same perseverance; and amid the ravages of artillery, your living columns remained immovable as iron. The great Napoleon beheld your devotedness, and ranks you among his brave Saxons! The merit of a soldier consists in fulfilling his duties: you have worthily performed yours."

Napoleon, justly indignant at this infraction of his prerogative, caused the following private order to be distributed among the marshals of his army:—"His Imperial Majesty expresses his disapprobation of Marshal the Prince of Ponte Corvo's order, which was inserted in the public journals of the 7th of July. As His Majesty commands his army in person, to him belongs the exclusive right of assigning to all their respective degrees of glory. His Majesty owes the success of his arms to French troops, and not to others. The Prince of Ponte Corvo's order of the day, tending to give false pretensions to troops of but secondary merit, is contrary to truth, to discipline, and to national honour. The success of the battle of the 5th, is due to Marshals Massena and Oudinot, who pierced the enemy's centre at the same time that the corps of Davoust turned the left wing. The village of Wagram was not taken during the battle of the 5th, nor till mid-day of the 6th, and then by Marshal Oudinot. The corps of the Prince of Ponte Corvo did not remain immovable as iron, but was the first to retreat; and His Majesty was obliged to cover it by the corps of the Guard, the division commanded by Macdonald, the heavy cavalry of General Nansouty, and a part of the cavalry of the Guard. To Marshal Macdonald belongs the praise which the Prince of Ponte Corvo arrogates to himself. His Majesty desires that this testimony of displeasure may operate as a caution on every Marshal, not to attribute to himself more glory than is due to him. Not to afflict the Saxon army, however, his Majesty desires that this order shall be kept secret."

Bernadotte affected to consider this rebuke as a mere ebullition of *jealousy* on the part of the Emperor; who, however, had he been actuated by such a feeling, or by any save that of unaccountable attachment to a man connected with his family by marriage, and

WALCHEREN.

whom he was willing to believe more wrong-headed than wrong-hearted, would have dismissed the boaster from his service; or, at least, have denied him further preferment. Yet the Prince of Ponte Corvo, by the permission, and partly through the instrumentality of Napoleon, eventually became King of Sweden; and, as might have been expected, evinced his gratitude by making war upon his benefactor.

It was while the Treaty of Schönbrunn was pending that a British expedition, of forty thousand men, was despatched to Walcheren, under the command of the Earl of Chatham, for the purpose of seizing that island, and destroying the shipping and naval establishments of the French at the mouth of the Scheldt. This memorable armament reached Flushing on the 1st of August; and, after capturing that ill-garrisoned city, remained entirely inactive, in the unhealthy swamps of Walcheren, until forty thousand National Guards were sent against them; when, having lost the greater portion of his soldiers by pestilence, the Earl blew up the fortifications of the place he had conquered, and reembarked the remnant of his army for England. This was the most disastrous, and perhaps the worst conducted expedition which a British Cabinet had undertaken since that to Carthage, seventy years before. Mr. Canning, who had opposed its object and management throughout, retired, in consequence of its failure, from the English Ministry.

The victory of Wagram was speedily followed by a general pacification of Germany, and of the States subject to German authority; which having been incited by the Austrian Princes, and, probably, secretly aided by the King of Prussia, as well as openly encouraged and furnished with munitions by the English Government, had taken arms against France. Cassel, in which a formidable insurrection had been organized by a military officer, named Katt, was the first to disavow the proceedings of its insurgents. Brunswick immediately afterwards declared anew its firm allegiance to the Sovereign of Napoleon's choice, and disclaimed all participation in, or sympathy with the proceedings of its hereditary Duke; who, in imitation of Major Schill, had sworn unquenchable hatred and exterminating war against Napoleon, as "the murderer of his father." The Duke, in order to give an appearance of truth to this monstrous accusation, had

DUKE OF BRUNSWICK.

his followers dressed in black, with the lace on their uniforms disposed like the ribs of a skeleton, the fronts of their caps being ornamented with death's heads and cross bones, and his colours being constantly covered with crape. It might have been supposed that no person, save the Duke of Brunswick, had lost a father in the long struggle which that father had first announced, with such terrible denunciations, to his eventual victors and to Europe. The proceedings of the Duke, it may be added, evinced little of the filial piety which he assumed as their motive. Instead of endeavouring to free his *Fatherland* from the presence of the French, he carefully avoided an encounter with the troops of that nation, generally selecting, as objects of his wrath, such defenceless towns and villages as had afforded quarters to the invaders, from the people of which he extorted large sums of money to save their habitations from pillage. At length, being pursued by General Reubell, the "Black Brunswick" fled with the utmost precipitation; and by his extraordinary speed contrived to escape with his band to Heligoland, a possession of the English, at the mouth of the Elbe, whence he was subsequently shipped to Britain.

The Tyrolese were more worthy and less fortunate antagonists of the power of Napoleon. They had awakened on their hills and in their valleys at a delusive call to Freedom. For some centuries they had been subject to the Princes of Austria, retaining, however, their ancient customs, laws, and legislature; but the treaty of Presburg had transferred their allegiance, without their consent, to the newly created King of Bavaria. Their representative legislature had been subsequently suppressed, their public funds arbitrarily seized, the property of their clergy confiscated, and new taxes levied, at the will of their Sovereign. Discontent and hatred had consequently been engendered against their oppressors; and it was no sooner known among them that Austria was once more in arms, than communications were opened with the Princes of that empire, and a general insurrection agreed upon by the hardy peasantry. Andrew Hofer, the keeper of a small inn in the vale of Passeyer, was fixed on for their chief; and it was decided that a quantity of saw-dust thrown on the rivers Inn and Eisach, should be the signal for the people to rise *en masse*. At the appointed time, fires were lighted on the mountain crags, and

THE TYROLESE.

on the ruins of old baronial castles ; and women and children were sent out to call from cottage to cottage " Arise, it is time ! "

The hardy mountaineers were soon in motion ; and, in their first encounter with the Bavarian troops which then held the province, the intrusive army was defeated by Hofer with a loss of not less than nine hundred men. Halle and Innspruck were shortly afterwards taken, and victory everywhere hailed the warriors of independence. The few Austrians, who were sent to the assistance of these brave men, did more harm than good, by attempting to assume undue superiority, and by exciting among them dissension and disgust ; and Chasteler, their general, as soon as he heard of the battle of Eckmühl, retreated to join the Archduke John, leaving the Tyrolese to their fate.

Marshal Le Febvre was now sent against the insurgents ; but they merely retreated further into their mountain recesses, and called forth stronger levies of their countrymen to oppose this new force. In one battle they defeated an army of nine thousand men, though supported by twenty-five pieces of artillery ; and afterwards succeeded in routing the troops commanded by Le Febvre in person. The Marshal had attempted to force the narrow pass of Sterting, where the steep road, bordered on one side by the Inn (there a roaring mountain torrent), is so overhung on either hand by rugged precipices, as to form a dark ravine. Here, as the Bavaro-French vanguard slowly and silently ascended, a human voice was heard, mingling with the dash of the cataract and the cries of eagles disturbed from their eyries, " Hans, is everything ready ? " The single word " Yes ! " was shouted in reply, by an invisible speaker posted immediately over the heads of the troops ; and the first voice had barely time to utter, " In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, let go your ropes, " when a descending crash of huge fragments of rock, and trunks and arms of trees, which had been previously brought thither, and kept in readiness, awakened the surrounding echoes, and, in an instant, upwards of a thousand soldiers were buried in the pass. The fire of unerring rifles then flashed from every nook and crevice, and a portion of the peasantry rushing from concealment, armed with swords, spears, axes, scythes, and other weapons, attacked the astonished invaders, and soon put them to flight, with the loss

ANDREW HOFER.

of almost all their artillery and baggage. Nearly at the same time, General Rusca, who, at the head of an Italian division, had entered the country by the passes of the Adige, was defeated with great loss near Clagenfurth; and Le Febvre sustaining from Hofer a second defeat a few days afterwards, the Tyrol was evacuated by all the foreign troops; and Hofer was appointed head of a provisional government of the inhabitants.

After the decisive battle of Wagram, however, Napoleon sent a stronger force against the patriots—the Emperor Francis having, a second time, formally consigned them to the dominion of Bavaria. They were now informed that those who failed to submit would be treated as rebels; and, in fact, such as attempted to continue the war, which was become too unequal to afford a hope of success, were hunted from rock to rock, and glen to glen, and shot down like wild beasts in their coverts. Some now laid down their arms, others fled into the remoter Austrian States; and Hofer and a faithful few were at last left alone. The gallant peasant-chief, finding resistance useless, and a large price being set on his head, concealed himself in a hut, near the summit of one of the Tyrolese Alps, where he was eventually betrayed by a priest named Donay—the only person, except his family, who knew the place of his retreat. He was seized, put in chains, and conveyed under a strong guard to Mantua; where being tried by a court-martial, he was sentenced to death. It is said that the officers, who condemned him, supplicated mercy in his behalf, but that the order for his execution came from Napoleon himself. Be this as it may, Hofer suffered death with the courage and constancy of a martyr. The soldiers by whom he was shot, rendered him the same honours as were paid to general officers; and his body was carried to the grave by French grenadiers. The remains of the patriot were, in 1823, removed to the cathedral of the Holy Cross, at Innsbruck; where a noble monument has since been erected to his memory, by order of the Emperor of Austria—who, while he lived, interposed not a word to avert his iniquitous doom.

Meanwhile, Napoleon, while residing at Schönbrunn, to superintend the tedious negotiations for peace, narrowly escaped the dagger of an assassin—one of the instruments of the secret societies which

STAPPS, THE ASSASSIN.

had been established under the patronage of the German Legitimist Princes to avenge their many "wrongs"—as though those Princes had been the assailed parties instead of the aggressors. The miseries to which a country, which is the seat of war, is inevitably subjected, added to those inflicted by the Continental system, undoubtedly pressed hard upon the German people; and the justifiable efforts of the *Illuminati* being found insufficient to remove the grievance, it was resolved by a brave, but fanatical youth to have recourse to viler means to rid his countrymen of the supposed oppressor. At a morning review, this enthusiast, in respectable attire, was seen by Rapp and Berthier attempting to approach the Emperor, for the purpose, as it appeared from a paper in his hand, of presenting a petition. Berthier, seeing that the young man's importunities were likely to be troublesome, directed him to apply to Rapp, the aide-de-camp on duty, who would communicate his wishes after the review; but Stapps, for that was the person's name, replied that he would speak with none but Napoleon. Still pressing forward towards the Emperor, he was peremptorily desired by Rapp to fall back. His manners then became suspicious. There was about him the air and determination of one absorbed in some mighty project, yet labouring to appear indifferent. The constraint of his actions, the compression of his lips, and the sinister expression of his eye, were all noted, and he was speedily secured, without violence, by an officer of *gendarmerie*. On being searched, a large carving-knife was found upon the prisoner, together with the portrait of a young female, and two pieces of gold coin. When questioned, he refused to make any disclosure as to his motives or intentions, to any person except Napoleon.

The Emperor, who knew nothing of the arrest till after the review, ordered Stapps into his presence.—"Whence came you?" was his first question. "From Erfurth," replied the prisoner.—"Your age?" "Eighteen."—"What is your father's profession?" "He is the Protestant clergyman at Erfurth."—"What did you intend to do with the knife taken from you?" "Kill you."—"Wherefore?" "Because you are the cause of my country's misfortunes."—"What injury have I done you?" "The same as to every German."—"By whom were you instigated?" "No one. It was my conviction that,

STAPPS.

in slaying you I should have rendered the greatest service to my country and to Europe. This nerved my hand. I saw you at the time of your interview with the Emperor of Russia, and might have

killed you then; but you had left my country to breathe after her calamities, and I thought peace would continue. I was then one of your greatest admirers."—"But had you merely desired to end the horrors of war, you should have killed the Emperor Francis, who was its author." "He is a blockhead. If he were killed, another like him would ascend the throne; but if you were dead, it would not be easy to find such another."—Napoleon, believing the youth's mind to be disordered, sent for Corvisart to examine him. Stapps smiled, and assured his interrogators that he was in perfect health; and this being confirmed by the physician, the Emperor resumed: "Your conduct will cause the ruin of your family. In order to avert this, however, and to be restored to liberty, you have only to ask pardon for the crime you designed to commit, and at the frustration of which an honourably minded man would rejoice." "I seek no pardon,"

DESIGNS ON HUNGARY.

replied the infatuated young man ; “ I feel the most poignant regret at not having succeeded.”—“ Crime, then, it appears, is not odious to you.” “ To kill you is no crime, but a duty.”—“ Whose was the portrait found upon you ? ” “ That of a young woman whom I love ; and who will be greatly afflicted at my failure, as she abhors you as much as I do.”—“ Notwithstanding all this, I am willing to pardon you, on condition that you relinquish your diabolical purpose.” “ I have sworn your death, and shall not desist from endeavouring to compass it.”

“ These,” said the Emperor to his attendants, when the assassin was removed, “ are the effects of German illuminism—the produce of the mystical literature of the day. The rising generation are taught assassination as a virtue. But there is no remedy ; a sect cannot be destroyed at the cannon’s mouth. Yet I still believe there is something more than appears in the affair—the Court of Berlin patronized Schill—there are women in this plot—furies thirsting for vengeance—could I obtain certain evidence on the subject, I would have them seized in the midst of their Court.”

Stapps, when brought to trial, persisted in his original denial of a confederacy ; and exhibited, to the last, the same indifference to life which had distinguished him in his interview with Napoleon. At the place of execution, he exclaimed wildly, while the instruments of death were being levelled, “ Hail, Liberty ! Peace ! Germany ! Down with the Tyrant ! ”

The protracted negotiations with Austria, at length, began to exhaust Napoleon’s patience ; and, in order to hasten the decision of Francis, the Conqueror broadly hinted at a project for revolutionizing and dismembering Hungary—a country much less ignorant and apathetic than the other provinces of the Austrian empire. In this, indeed, matters were so far advanced, that the following proclamation was suffered to be published : — “ Hungarians ! The moment is favourable for recovering your independence. Peace, the integrity of your territory, the inviolability of your existing constitution, with such amendments as the spirit of the age requires, is offered you by the Great Napoleon, who earnestly desires to see you free and happy. Your union with Austria has been productive of nothing but misery and misfortune. Your blood has been shed for her in distant regions ;

PEACE OF SCHÖNBRUNN.

and your interests have always been sacrificed for those of the hereditary States of the house of Lorraine. Your country forms the finest portion of the Austrian empire; yet is it treated as a mere province. You have national manners, a national language, and you boast an illustrious line of ancestry: reassume, then, your rank among nations. Have a Sovereign of your own choice, who will reside among you, and govern for you alone. Unite yourselves into a National Assembly in the fields of Racos, after the manner of your forefathers, and acquaint the French Emperor with your determination."

The effect of this address, added to a reported expression of Napoleon, that "if the settlement of terms were much longer protracted, he would send for the Grand Duke of Wurtzburg, and place the crown of Austria on his head," materially assisted to abridge the future conferences between the German and French diplomatists. On the 14th of October, the definitive treaty of peace was signed at Schönbrunn. By this act Austria ceded to the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, Saltzburg, Berchtolsgrad, and a small part of Upper Austria. The King of Saxony received an addition of territory to complete his line of frontier from Bohemia; and, as Grand Duke of Warsaw, Cracow and Western Galicia were transferred to him. Russia received part of Eastern Galicia, containing a population of four hundred thousand persons; and to Napoleon, as Emperor of the French and King of Italy, was assigned the district of Goritzia, the territory of Monte-Falcone, the city and port of Trieste, the circle of Willach in Carinthia, all the domains of Austria situated on the right bank of the Saave to the confines of Bosnia, Carniola, and part of Croatia and Dalmatia. The French acquisitions were immediately united under one government, designated the Illyrian Provinces; and Napoleon thus became master of both sides of the Adriatic, and was enabled to exclude Austria from all foreign commerce—more especially that which she had maintained with Great Britain in contravention of the Continental System.

The concessions of Austria, though large, were not of such extent as had been generally expected. "Europe, in general," says Sir Walter Scott, "was surprised at Napoleon's moderation; for though Austria yielded up a surface of forty-five thousand square miles, and

NAPOLÉON RETURNS TO FRANCE.

a population of between three and four millions, yet the extremity in which she was placed seemed to render this a cheap ransom, as she still retained upwards of one hundred and eighty thousand square miles of territory ; which, with a population of twenty-one millions, rendered her, after France and Russia, even yet the most formidable power on the Continent."

The French camp before Vienna broke up immediately after the treaty was signed, and Napoleon himself quitted Schönbrunn on the 16th. In his way homeward he visited Munich, and was entertained by the Bavarian Court with the utmost magnificence. He afterwards honoured the King of Wurtemberg with his presence ; and thence proceeded, without further halting, to Fontainebleau, where he arrived on the 26th of October.

CHAPTER XXX.

**NAPOLEON'S QUARREL WITH THE POPE — PAPAL LEGATIONS SEIZED —
FRENCH TROOPS OCCUPY ROME—NAPOLEON EXCOMMUNICATED—SEIZURE
AND ABDUCTION OF PIUS VII.—STATES OF THE CHURCH UNITED TO THE
EMPIRE. 1806 to 1809.**

URING the negotiations for peace with Austria, a misunderstanding, which had for some time subsisted between Napoleon and the Pope, came to an open rupture. Pius VII., when he crossed the Alps in 1804, to consecrate the Imperial crown, had hoped that Romagna and the Legations of Ancona ~~and the Legation of Ferrara~~ would be restored to the Holy See, in recompense for his condescension; and failing to obtain these, he had sought to procure the Emperor's signature to a declaration made by Louis XIV., disapproving of the celebrated articles of 1682, upon which a national Gallican Church had been established, far too independent of the Head of the Church,

DISPUTES.

to be approved at the Vatican. Napoleon, however grateful he might have been for the services of the Holy Father at his Coronation, was little disposed to compromise the interests of France in return for a personal obligation; he therefore declined acceding to any request concerning the Church but such as should be previously approved by a council of bishops. The Pope, in vain, pledged himself that the signature should be kept secret during the Imperial pleasure, and assured Napoleon that the act was of too little significance to require consultation with a third party. The Emperor was firm; and the Pope had the mortification of returning to Italy, humbled in his own eyes, and in those of the Catholic world, by his too-ready compliance with the desires of one who was generally believed to be an infidel. The Pontiff, henceforward, took no pains to conceal his chagrin and resentment; and Rome became the focus of intrigues against Napoleon.

In 1805, when Austria and Russia declared war against France, Pius had rendered all the assistance in his power to the Allies. The Emperor was exasperated, and demanded that the Pope should conclude a treaty offensive and defensive with the Kings of Italy and Naples for the defence of the Peninsula—an arrangement to which the Sovereign of the Two Sicilies had just given a dissembling assent; that the ports of the Roman States should be closed against the English; and that a French garrison of three thousand men should be received into the citadel of Ancona, to defend the place, and to preserve the Imperial line of communication through Italy. The Pope, as father of the faithful, replied to these communications by saying, that he could enter into no league against his children, or that would tend to endanger Roman Catholics in heretical states; that he had no reason to complain of any one; and that he neither could nor would make war against any power whatsoever. To this argument, Napoleon answered, that when Charlemagne invested the Pope with temporal sovereignty, it was necessarily intended to be exercised for the benefit of Italy and of Europe, and not for the introduction and support of heretics. The Church had not scrupled to use its power, when bigotry and despotism needed assistance; even the reigning Pope's predecessor, Pius VI., so recently as 1797, had raised an army to oppose the troops of the French Republic, and

DISPUTES.

create a diversion in favour of Austria. The banner of St. Peter could, it was urged, be no more out of place beside the eagle of France than in company with that of Austria; but in order to remove the scruples of his Holiness, it was added, that he would not be required to participate in any proceedings that might be undertaken against Catholic princes.

Pius had indulged for a moment the fond illusion, that the modern Charlemagne might be won to imitate his semi-barbarous predecessor in superstitious reverence for the successor of the Apostles, or that he might be eventually induced to restore to the fabric of papal power the substance and lustre of the age of Alexander III., when Christ's vicar on earth had kings to hold his bridle, and the neck of an emperor for his footstool. The dream had been dispelled by Napoleon's unyielding determination to render his own authority paramount to that of any other potentate; but the impression caused by a mere glimpse of empire, could not be effaced from the mind of the Sovereign Pontiff; and the once gentle and peaceful Chiaramonti, bishop of Imola, became restless and aspiring, and spoke constantly of the supremacy of his jurisdiction over terrestrial powers; "because," he said, "heaven is above earth, and spirit superior to matter." The vision of his Holiness, or of the cardinals his ministers, appears not to have been sufficiently clear or comprehensive to perceive that, though the political as well as the spiritual knowledge of the Church had been far in advance of the age at the period of feudal power, the philosophy of succeeding centuries had outstripped the slow progress of clerical intellect; and, by exposing the absurdity of priestly pretensions, diminished their influence over men's minds, even in those inclined to give to faith its utmost latitude. Napoleon, whose chief study had been mankind, clearly understood the position of the Pope, and avowed a desire to increase the spiritual authority of that functionary in order to consolidate the religion of Europe; but, at the same time, he was averse to the retention by the Holy See of any political control beyond that which it must necessarily derive from its hold over the consciences of the faithful. The Pope, perhaps, had he understood his true interests, would have yielded to the Emperor, and thus have secured an extended actual dominion, by the sacrifice of a merely nominal sovereignty. Pius, however,

SEIZURE OF THE LEGATIONS.

grew more obstinate as his power to offer effectual resistance diminished.

Finding, therefore, that it would be impossible to bring the Pope to accede to his views, as to the division between them of temporal and spiritual power over all Europe, without other appliances than persuasive rhetoric, Napoleon demanded from the Holy Father, as an indispensable condition of their future amity, that the Court of Rome should adopt the Continental system, expel all foreigners inimical to France, and form a strict alliance offensive and defensive with the Court of Paris; intimating at the same time, that failure of compliance with these requisitions would be punished with the seizure of the Papal territories between the Appenines and the Adriatic. The Pope replied by menacing the Emperor with the thunders of the Vatican; the effects of which, from his unusual forbearance, it was supposed that he dreaded. The age, however, when anathemas were deemed formidable had passed away; and Napoleon, in defiance, issued a decree for the immediate occupation of the marches of Ancona—a proceeding which threw the sacred college into a state of the greatest ferment. Admonitory letters, prayers, sermons, circular notes to ambassadors, and all kinds of spiritual weapons in abundance, were resorted to in behalf of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See. At length, in the beginning of 1808, the Emperor wrote to Pius, intimating that it was time to put an end to all trifling; and that unless within two months he should signify his adherence to the federative treaty of the Italian States, the grant of Charlemagne would be annulled, and the patrimony of St. Peter incorporated with the Empire, but that the acquiescence of the Holy Father would be immediately followed by restitution of the territory seized by the French. “Charlemagne, my august predecessor,” argued Napoleon, “when he granted to the Holy See the fief of Rome and other territories, did not part with the sovereignty thereof, but merely assigned them in trust for the maintenance of a becoming dignity in the head of the Church.” The Pope, however, continued inflexible; and, instead of seeking to avert the dangers with which he was threatened, sent orders to his minister at Paris to demand his passports, and quit France without taking leave.

Thus war was declared by one of the weakest powers of Europe

OCCUPATION OF ROME.

against the strongest, at a time when Austria, Russia, Prussia, Spain, Naples, Portugal, Holland, and all the Germanic States, were crouching before the Monarch who was defied. There is, perhaps, something due to the Pope and his ministers for their courage on the occasion; but it cannot be doubted that they counted largely on the operation of public opinion in their favour, and cherished a hope that Napoleon himself intended rather to intimidate them, than to proceed to actual hostilities. Moreover, they were encouraged to persevere in their proceedings by promises of protection from orthodox Austria, schismatical Russia, and heretical England.

In consequence of the Papal declaration of war, a corps of six thousand men, under the command of General Miollis, on the 2nd of February, 1808, entered Rome, with instructions however to shew the greatest respect to the Pontiff and his ministers, and not to interfere in any way with the civil government of the city. The French Minister, nevertheless, was directed to intimate to his Holiness that, having ventured to occupy Rome, the Emperor was prepared to proceed to extremities for the support of his policy. The following statement of the subsequent proceedings of the French, is extracted from the Apostolical Brief, in which the Imperial troops are declared to have incurred the pains of excommunication. "They seized," says this document, "the castle of St. Angelo; military detachments were posted in the streets and squares of the city; and even the Quirinal Palace (the Pontifical residence) was menaced by numerous bodies of infantry and cavalry, and by pieces of artillery. . . . Since then, scarcely a day has passed but has been marked by some insult to the Holy See.

"All the troops employed in the maintenance of public tranquillity and civil discipline have been incorporated with the French. The Papal body-guard, all chosen men of the order of nobility, were sent to the fortress of Rome, where, after a few days' detention, they were disbanded. Guards have been posted at the gates and principal places of the city; forcible possession was taken of the post-office, and all the printing establishments. The administration of the Government and of Justice, has been interrupted and impeded. Our subjects have become rebels to their legitimate sovereign. The more audacious and corrupted among them, wearing the French and

TUMULTS IN ROME.

Italian tri-coloured cockade, have dispersed themselves on all sides, and indulged in every excess against the ministers of the Church, the Government, and all who still remained faithful to their duty. And notwithstanding all our protestations, journals and pamphlets full of abuse, of sarcasms, and calumnies, against the pontifical power and dignity, are published in Rome, and thence distributed at home and abroad; while our declarations and public notices are torn in pieces and trodden under foot . . . Public papers and writings of every kind, even those in the office of the first Minister of State, have been seized. Thrice have we replaced our first Secretary of State, and thrice has he been violently removed from our own palace. In short, the majority of the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, who remained near us as advisers, have been violently torn from our presence, and removed to a distance." From this, the truth of which there is no reason to question, it appears that the instructions of the Emperor to the Commandant, had been but indifferently obeyed by the invaders. Miollis, however, established as efficient a police as possible for the prevention of outrages; attended personally to see that the Pope received the same amount from the sacred treasury which had been formerly paid for the maintenance of his household; and took care that none should interfere with his Holiness in the exercise of his spiritual functions.

Still Pius, for many months, steadily rejected to compromise his secular rights as a sovereign; being determined probably to await the issue of the war in which the Emperor was then engaged with Spain and Austria, before abandoning his opposition. The French troops in the Papal States were few, and after awhile, the news of Essling arrived, from which it was confidently predicted that fortune had abandoned the Emperor's arms. This moment was seized by the priests and agents of the Romish Court, to excite the populace to insurrection. The Pope, pretending to fear personal violence from the troops of his antagonist, shut himself up in his palace, which he caused to be surrounded with barricades, and guarded by several hundreds of his most faithful adherents, who began openly to insult the French and set them at defiance. Riots and disorders broke out, and blood was shed in several frays; when, to increase the general confusion, his Holiness, on the 11th of June, 1809, fulminated

NAPOLÉON EXCOMMUNICATED.

against Napoleon the following Bull of Excommunication:—"By the authority of Almighty God, the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and our own, we declare that you, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, and all your abettors, have, by the outrages you have committed, incurred the penalty of excommunication, to which sentence we also condemn all those who, since the late hostile invasion of Rome, have committed aggressions within the Ecclesiastical States... Given at St. Mary Major, at Rome, under the Seal of the Fisherman, this 11th of June, 1809, in the 10th year of our pontificate. Pius VII. Pope."

It requires to be mentioned, that this document was accompanied by a Papal Brief, enjoining that "no one, under pretext of such excommunication, should presume to injure, prejudice, or wrong the rights or privileges of the persons thereby placed under ecclesiastical censures; the great object of the Holy Father being to convert the children whom he castigated, notwithstanding that they had occasioned him so much sorrow and tribulation."

The French troops, and such of the populace as still supported their Sovereign, now publicly menaced each other with vengeance. Miollis saw that, unless some decisive measures were taken, the life of the Pope, and the safety of the capital of Catholic Christendom, would be endangered. Napoleon was then engaged in the Austrian campaign, and there was no means of obtaining instructions in time to prevent the apprehended disasters. The Commandant of the Holy City conceived that the best mode of meeting all the exigencies of the case would be to remove the Pope from the scene of danger. Accordingly, on the night between the 5th and 6th of July (the same on which Napoleon bivouacked on the field of Wagram), General Radet presented himself at the Quirinal Palace, and earnestly pressed his Holiness to consent to yield his temporal dominion to the Emperor, in order to prevent the rigorous measures to which his continued resistance would necessarily expose him. "I cannot; I ought not; I will not!" replied the Pontiff. "I have solemnly pledged myself before God to preserve all the possessions of the Holy Church; and I will never surrender what I have sworn to maintain." The General expressed his profound affliction at hearing this determination; but still requested Pius to consider the peril in which his refusal involved him. "What I have said," said the aged Pope,

ABDUCTION OF PIUS VII.

"nothing on earth can induce me to retract. I am ready to shed the last drop of my blood, to lay down my life this instant, rather than violate the oath which I have made before Heaven." Radet then informed his Holiness that he had orders to convey him from Rome. This was a blow for which the good father was certainly not prepared. He meekly replied, however, "This, then, is the gratitude of your Emperor for my services to him, the recompence for my great condescension towards him and the Gallican Church. But it may be that in that respect I have been culpable before God, and he now desires to punish me. I bow with humility to his Divine pleasure." Cardinal Pacca then demanded to know what attendants were to be permitted to accompany the Holy Father; and was informed that none would be allowed to depart from the palace except the Pope and his Eminence. The delay in preparing for the journey was restricted to half an hour. "The will of God be done," said Pius, as he left the apartment to make ready for going into captivity.

Before three in the morning, a carriage was brought to one of the entrances of the palace, which Pius VII. and Pacca entered amid a

THE POPE SENT TO GRENOBLE.

troop of French horse. General Radet preceded them in a cabriolet. At the gate *del Popolo*, another carriage was in waiting, into which the prisoner and his attendant were shifted. During the change, Radet again endeavoured to prevail on his Holiness to relinquish his secular authority, and cede to Napoleon the states of the church. "No," said the Pontiff, abruptly. The door of the carriage was then closed; and in a few minutes the cortège was on the road to Florence. "It now became a struggle," says De Bourrienne, "who should not receive the illustrious exile." The Grand Duchess of Tuscany, astonished that the Pope had been brought to her territory without the authority of the Emperor, caused him to be forwarded in the direction of Turin; and Prince Borghese, Governor General of Piedmont, equally confounded, sent him across the frontier to Grenoble. The abduction of so important a personage must have appeared, to Catholics, a bold enterprise even for Napoleon himself; but executed without his orders, it was regarded as a piece of unparalleled presumption. Priests, bishops, and cardinals, all concurred in denouncing the immediate vengeance of Heaven upon the sacrilege committed on the person of God's vicar, and the faithful shook their heads and waited between doubt and fear for the result; but the world went on as usual, when it was known that, the very morning on which Pius VII. was torn from his palace in the eternal city, the eagles of the excommunicated Napoleon soared triumphantly over those of faithful Austria in the battle-field of Wagram.

The Emperor was at Schönbrunn when he learned, from a Roman courier despatched thither for the purpose, what had transpired. He appears to have been himself somewhat alarmed at the temerity of his officers, but circumstances were too urgent to permit Miollis or Radet to be discredited. The liberation of the Pontiff would not have removed the scandal attending his seizure, but would inevitably have rendered him more obstinate, while it made the Emperor appear undecided, if not weak. Orders, however, were instantly sent to Florence, that in case his Holiness should have arrived there, a suitable mansion, in the Grand Duchy, should be assigned him, and that he should be treated with all the honour and respect due to his sacred character; to Turin, the directions were that if Pius arrived,

ROME ANNEXED TO THE EMPIRE.

he should be conducted to Savona; and to Paris, that an escort should be sent to reconduct the Holy Father to Florence, if he should not have crossed the Appenines; and to Savona, if he should have done so. The Pope was, accordingly, sent back from Grenoble; first to Turin, and thence to Savona, where the Archiepiscopal palace was placed at his disposal, and everything supplied him on the most abundant and princely scale. He remained in this magnificent prison till the commencement of the year 1812. In the interval, however, he was several times offered his liberty to return to Rome, on condition that he would acknowledge the Government established there, and pledge himself to interfere only in spiritual matters; proposals to which the Pontiff invariably returned a brief, but emphatic negative.

Meanwhile, Napoleon, before departing from Schönbrunn, in 1809, issued a decree, upon which was founded the *Senatus Consultum* of the 17th of February, 1810, for annexing the States of Rome to the French empire, in the form of two new departments, called Rome and Thrasymene. The Holy City was declared to be the second in the empire, and its municipal and other authorities were to take precedence next after those of Paris. The successors of the Emperor were to be crowned in the church of St. Peter, as well as in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame. All temporal sovereignty, save that of the Emperor, was abolished; but the Pope, as a spiritual prince, was to be provided with palaces both at Paris and Rome, and to be assigned a revenue of two millions of francs (upwards of eighty-three thousand pounds sterling), free from all taxes or deductions, and chargeable upon landed property. In return for this it was directed, that all future Popes should, at the time of being enthroned, take an oath to do nothing contrary to the four articles of the Gallican Church as resolved on in the Assembly of the Clergy in 1682.

This was the second great step taken by Napoleon towards realizing the noble idea which he had formed, when serving merely as a general in the armies of the French Republic, for "raising Italy from its ruins, uniting once again the Venetians, Milanese, Piedmontese, Genoese, Tuscans, Parmese, Modenese, Romans, Neapolitans, Sicilians, and Sardinians, into one great nation, to be bounded by the

Alps and the Adriatic, the Ionian and Mediterranean Seas,—with Rome, restored as far as was practicable to her ancient splendour, for its capital.” An Italian by lineage and nurture, and well-acquainted with its history, Napoleon loved the land of his forefathers, and had from childhood felt strongly the degradation of its vassalage to foreign princes. He had successfully striven to revive its spirit and enthusiasm in behalf of national freedom, and had released it from the thrall of conflicting petty jurisdictions. He now sought to erect it into a State worthy of its mighty memories and its glorious origin.

Pius himself was indebted for the mild treatment he experienced, chiefly, it may be presumed, to considerations of State. Napoleon desired, and—notwithstanding the obstinacy of his prisoner, which he conceived would be worn down by time and indulgence—hoped, through the instrumentality of the Pontiff, to govern the religious as effectively as he had been enabled for some years to rule the political world. “The Pope,” he afterwards said, “could he have been won, would have been an additional means of binding together all the federative parts of the Empire, and of preserving tranquillity beyond it. I should, with him, have had my religious as well as my legislative sessions. My councils would have constituted the representation of Christianity, and the successor of St. Peter would have been merely the president. I should have called together and dissolved those assemblies, and approved and published their discussions, as Constantine and Charlemagne had done. . . . The Pope would have been Bishop of Rome and of Paris; and the establishment of his Court in the latter capital, would have produced immense political results. His influence over Italy, Spain, the Confederation of the Rhine, and Poland, would have rivetted the federalism of the Great Empire; and that influence which the chief of Christianity possessed over the faithful in England, Ireland, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, would have become the inheritance of France. This explains a speech with which I one day puzzled the Bishop of Nantes, at Trianon. He was forcibly representing to me the manifest utility of the visible head of the Apostolic Church, with respect to unity of faith:—‘Monsieur Bishop,’ I replied, ‘be not uneasy. The policy of my States is intimately connected with the maintenance of the Papal authority. It is necessary for me that the Pope should be

PAPAL INFLUENCE.

more powerful than ever. He will never possess so much influence as my policy would induce me to wish that he should enjoy.'” It is impossible to calculate the consequences to Europe or the world, had these gigantic schemes been realized; which, even in the crude outline, fill us with such boundless astonishment.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DIVORCE OF JOSEPHINE — MARRIAGE WITH THE AUSTRIAN ARCHDUCHESS,
MARIA-LOUISA. 1809—1810.

AT his return to France, after the Treaty of Schönbrunn, Napoleon remained for some time at Fontainebleau, where he was met by the Empress Josephine. It was observable, that the Emperor had lost his wonted frankness of manner and gaiety of tone. He had become suddenly reserved and moody; and his actions and conversation indicated restraint and uneasiness. Even the business of the State seemed irksome and unwelcome to him; and several decrees for the administration of the Imperial Government were signed with an appearance of apathy that was remarked by the whole Court. The quick eye of Josephine at once detected the change in her husband's demeanour, and her heart was filled with forebodings

APPREHENSIONS OF JOSEPHINE.

as to the cause. The prediction of the Negro-sorceress, who in youth had told her that "she should be greater than a queen, and yet outlive her dignity," had been constantly recurring to her since the fulfilment of its first promise; and she had frequently heard, with intense anxiety, the expressed wishes not only of the Emperor, but of his ministers, and the French press and people, that the throne of France might be secured to the dynasty of Napoleon, by a child of his own issue. The affection which she had always borne towards her husband, and which she knew to be returned with equal warmth by him, had long kept her hopes in the ascendant; and when, on settling the Constitution of the Empire, he had been induced to adopt a son of his brother Louis, by her daughter Hortense, she had almost dismissed her fears of a dreary future. This child, however, died in infancy; and Napoleon had not exhibited equal attachment for a second son of the same parties, or at least had not declared similar intentions as to his succession. The apprehensions of the Empress were thenceforward renewed; and every fresh victory and acquisition of her husband served but to increase her dread lest she should eventually be sacrificed to his natural desire of perpetuating his power in his own direct line. Napoleon himself had never hinted at the possibility of a separation between them; but this had appeared only the more ominous, as Josephine knew that he had been frequently urged to such a measure by his most favoured councillors, and that he had more than once spoken of his duty, and that of every member of his family, to make the greatest sacrifices, even those of his personal affections and interests, for the welfare of France.

Until 1808, however, the thought of divorce had haunted the Empress, rather as an unsubstantial dream, or a remote probability, than a thing of certain and speedy approach; but some time previously to Napoleon's departure for Germany, Fouché, having first ventured to sound the inclinations of his master, and found that the latter was undecided between his conceptions of duty to the Great Nation and his firm attachment to the wife of his youth, had ventured, though unauthorized, to suggest to the Empress herself the necessity of a voluntary sacrifice for the good of France, and the completion of Napoleon's happiness. The Emperor, when informed of this outrage of Josephine's feelings, expressed his indignation against

NAPOLEON'S ALTERED CONDUCT.

its perpetrator in no measured terms; but he neglected, and even refused, to punish him, for his audacity, by any other infliction than words; and, from that moment, Josephine appears to have become aware that her fate was decided. She still strove, nevertheless, by the winning grace of her conversation and manners, to adjourn the evil day as long as possible. All the attentions that a naturally kind and gentle heart could prompt towards an object of the most ardent passion, were lavished upon Napoleon. His wishes, his very thoughts, as far as they could be collected, were her laws: her own tastes, desires, and convenience, were nothing, if they seemed in any way to interfere with the gratification of her Lord. She had recourse even to the latent superstition, which she knew to be an ingredient in the Emperor's mental composition, to recover the hold of him which she saw that affection alone had been insufficient to retain; and occasion was taken to remind him that the prediction of Empire, which had been so strangely accomplished in their destiny, had reference to her Star alone.

The Emperor had long struggled with his feelings; but by degrees he had inured himself to the idea of submitting to what he considered the stern necessities of his political existence. It is now believed by many, that the terms of the Treaty of Schönbrunn were rendered more favourable to the house of Austria than they would otherwise have been, by the idea of an alliance with that Imperial Family. This supposition, however, is scarcely supported by fact; but it is certain that when Napoleon returned to Fontainebleau, the divorce had been finally determined upon. Among other tokens of the change which had occurred in the conduct of Napoleon, it failed not to be remarked, that the communication, by means of a private staircase from the apartments of the Empress to the cabinet of Napoleon, which formerly existed, had, in the course of some recent alterations at the palace, been closed. This, Josephine well knew, would not have been done without the express directions of the Emperor, as it was by this passage he had been accustomed to seek the *boudoir* of his wife after the audiences and business of the day; or, at other times, to tap at the door here as a signal for the Empress to descend and hold unrestrained converse with him. Staircase and door had disappeared together; and it was speedily whispered, by those in

CONGRATULATIONS.

attendance, that another disappearance would shortly follow. Napoleon, however, was unable to communicate the tidings of his intended estrangement before quitting Fontainebleau.

On the 14th of November, the Court repaired to Paris, where it was speedily followed by a magnificent train of Kings, Princes, and Nobles, from all the states and dominions which Napoleon had subjected to his sway, or which had sought his alliance as a means of preserving their rank and estates. There was, furthermore, gathered in the capital a brilliant retinue of the Marshals, Princes, and other feudatories of Napoleon's own creation; and to complete the pageant, there arrived also deputations from Rome, Milan, and Florence, and from the synod of the Greek church of Dalmatia; all ostensibly collected to congratulate the victorious Monarch upon his recent triumph, and the happy re-establishment of peace. These distinguished guests were lodged, some at the Tuileries, others at the Elysée Bourbon, and the remainder at various hotels named by the Emperor. The first public audience was given on the 20th of November, when an immense multitude assembled to gaze on what was then considered an earnest of Napoleon's power, as well as his declared intention to make Paris the capital of the world. Entertainments, on the largest scale, were almost daily given; the theatres and places of public amusement were thronged: it seemed as if the wealth of the East, together with the extended sway of the Caliphs, had been suddenly revived by the wand of an enchanter.

Josephine, meanwhile, was undazzled, undiverted by the glory and gaiety around. In happier hours she had dwelt with rapture on the splendour of an Italian sunset, and she felt that, as with that evanescent scene of pomp, the warmth which had cheered her existence, if not the lustre of life, had already deserted her. She was not long, however, to remain in suspense. On the 30th of November, the Emperor and Empress, as usual, dined together, and alone. Josephine appeared to have been weeping; but wore a large hat tied under the chin to conceal her features. The meal, or more properly the formality, for the dinner was untouched, was a silent one. Josephine did not venture to raise her head, and Napoleon merely balanced his knife between his fingers on the table. At length, having sat for the usual time, Napoleon demanded the hour, and,

JOSEPHINE.

without waiting for a reply, arose and withdrew, followed, apparently from habit rather than inclination, by the Empress. The Prefect of the Palace, according to custom, brought the Emperor's coffee to Josephine; but Napoleon, for the first time, took the cup from the salver himself, and having done so, made a sign to the attendants to retire.

The scene which ensued has been related by Josephine:—"When we were alone," she said, "I felt that my hour was come, and watched in the changes of his features the struggle that was passing in his soul. His whole frame trembled: a thrill of horror ran through mine. Napoleon approached me, took my hand and placed it on his breast; then, after gazing on me for a few moments in silence, he

pronounced these dreadful words:—"Josephine, thou knowest how I have loved thee. It is to thee—to thee alone—that I owe the only hours of happiness I have enjoyed in this world. Josephine! my destiny overmasters my will. My dearest affections must be silent before the interests of France." I still retained power to reply: "Say no more—I was prepared for this, and understand its import; but the blow is not the less mortal."

The Empress was unable longer to sustain the weight of mental anguish which pressed upon her. She reeled, uttered a piercing

scream, and fell upon the floor. Napoleon hastily opened the door of the ante-chamber, and calling to De Bausset, the Prefect of the Palace, bade him enter, and assist in conveying the Empress, who had swooned, to her own apartment. The Prefect, with the assistance of the Emperor and the Keeper of the Portfolio, an officer constantly in attendance at the door of the Imperial cabinet, bore their helpless burden to her chamber, where, being placed on a sofa, she was left to the care of her ladies. Napoleon on retiring gave free vent to the distress of his mind, regardless who was present: "The interests of France, and of my dynasty," he exclaimed, "have wrung my heart. The divorce has become an imperious duty, from which I must not shrink. Yet the scene which I have just witnessed cuts me to the soul; and the more so, because Josephine should have been prepared for it this morning by Hortense, to whom I communicated the melancholy obligation which compels our separation. I am grieved to the heart. I thought she had more firmness, and looked not for this excess of agony." As he spoke, the Emperor breathed thick, and articulated with difficulty, pausing between his words, and trembling with emotion; when he ceased, the tears coursed each other fast down his cheeks.

Corvisart, the physician; Hortense, Queen of Holland; Cambacérès, and Prince Eugene, were then sent for, and Napoleon returned to Josephine's apartment, to see if she had recovered. She was still in tears, but looked resigned. The bitter pang of bereavement had passed; and now the dreaded blow had fallen, she felt that dignity was to be won by patient endurance.

About half an hour after the Emperor had retired to his cabinet, Eugene sought an audience. He was pale and agitated; and on being admitted, bowed coldly to Napoleon, without accepting his proffered hand. To the hurried and anxious enquiry of his step-father concerning the state of Josephine, he merely replied, "Permit me, Sire, from this moment, to retire from your service." The Emperor implored him to reconsider his determination; urged that it was not choice, but cruel necessity which had produced the separation; and assured the Prince, that no new marriage he might contract would alter his sentiments with respect to the Empress's children. Eventually, Eugene consented to retain the post of

FÊTES.

Viceroy of Italy and his other offices, as a member of the Imperial Family.

On the following day, Josephine kept her apartments. *Madame Mère* — Napoleon's mother — doing the honours of the household. The Empress, however, at the request of her husband, attended, on the 2nd of December, at the celebration of the anniversary of the Coronation and the victory of Austerlitz, when also *Te Deum* was chaunted at Nôtre-Dame for the peace of Schönbrunn ; and, on the 23rd, she assisted at the fête given in honour of the peace by the city of Paris. This festival was magnificent. All the rank and talent, the wealth, beauty, and grace of Paris were assembled. The rooms were resplendent with lights, with ladies, diamonds, and flowers ; and, at one end of the saloon, thrones had been erected for the Imperial guests ; but Josephine, whose smiles had been wont to diffuse joy among the actors in such scenes, was sad and thoughtful. Having passed through the assemblage, she advanced slowly towards the throne, on which she was to take her seat for the last time. In ascending the steps she required the assistance of Madame de la Rochefoucault, one of her ladies of honour. The consciousness, however, that all eyes were upon her, and that any betrayal of weakness would displease the Emperor, enabled her to maintain at least an appearance of composure.

Napoleon was immediately afterwards announced. He advanced with his usual firmness towards the throne, followed by the Kings of Saxony, Naples, Holland, Bavaria, Westphalia, and Wurtemberg, and a troop of so called independent Princes, and seated himself beside the Empress. The Imperial couple quitted the saloon together, but separated at the end of the gallery ; the Emperor proceeding to the right, and Josephine to the left. The secret of the intended divorce had been penetrated, and the diminished train of the Empress, as she left the scene of festivity, exhibited the little sympathy which exists for fallen greatness. This was the last time that Josephine, as the wife of the Emperor, was seen in public.

On the 15th of December, the Imperial Family was assembled at the Tuileries, when Napoleon, in the presence of Cambacérès, the Arch-chancellor, and the Civil Secretary of State, announced the agreement for separation between himself and the Empress. "The policy of

DIVORCE.

my monarchy," he said, "the interests, the necessities of my people, which have constantly governed all my actions, render it desirable that children of my direct line, inheritors of my love for my people, should succeed me on the throne whereon Providence has placed me. After many years, I have lost all hope of offspring from my marriage with my beloved spouse, the Empress Josephine. This has induced me to sacrifice the dearest affections of my heart for the good of the Nation, and to consent to a dissolution of our marriage. Having attained the age of forty years only, I may still hope to train up such children as Providence may bless me with, after my own spirit and sentiments. . . During fifteen years, my beloved wife has been the charm and solace of my life, and the remembrance of her truth and tenderness will always remain graven on my heart. She received the crown from my hand; it is my will, therefore, that she preserve her rank and title of Empress, in order that she may never doubt of my sentiments towards her, but may always regard me as her best and dearest friend."

Josephine next arose, and, mastering her emotion, pronounced with a voice firmer than that of her husband, an entire acquiescence in his sentiments, and her consent to the dissolution of a marriage which was deemed an obstacle to the welfare of France, and adherence to which might deprive the country of being governed by the descendants of the great man who had been raised by Providence to efface the evils of a terrible Revolution, and to restore the altar, the throne, and social order to the nation. "But the dissolution of my marriage," said the Empress, "will not change the sentiments of my heart. The Emperor will always have in me his best friend."

The Secretary and Arch-Chancellor took official notes of the discourses, which were attested by all the parties present; among whom, it is added, there was scarcely a tearless eye. Next day, the Senate was assembled; and Eugene announced the desire of his mother and the Emperor to dissolve their marriage. "The tears of His Majesty at this separation," said the Prince, "are sufficient for the glory of my mother." The Arch-Chancellor then presented, and the Senate adopted a decree, by which the marriage of Napoleon and Josephine was declared null and void. By this act, two millions of francs per annum were assured to the latter for life, together with

DIVORCE.

her title of Empress—Napoleon, from his own purse, adding a million of francs yearly to her income. The ecclesiastical divorce (though as the marriage had never been celebrated as a religious ceremony, except privately and without witnesses, which was illegal, this appears to have been unnecessary,) was afterwards duly sued for and obtained, the Court of the Archbishopric of Paris imposing upon the Emperor a fine of six francs to be given to the poor. Napoleon sent to the authorities of Paris, one hundred and twenty thousand francs (five thousand pounds) to be distributed to the most necessitous inhabitants, saying, "It is right that, as Emperor, I should pay dearer than others."

In the evening of the 16th of December, the act of separation was signed by Napoleon and Josephine in the presence of the Imperial Family and the great officers of State; and in the morning of the 17th, the Empress retired to Malmaison, which had been assigned as her future residence, and Napoleon went, for a short time, to Trianon. It was subsequently remarked, that on the day of the separation—the 16th—a dreadful tempest raged over Paris, and that, on the same day and hour, Milan was similarly visited.

"Josephine," said Napoleon, when at St. Helena, "was a votary of Art and the Graces. She never assumed a position or attitude that was not captivating. It was impossible to take her by surprise, or make her feel the least inconvenience. She employed every resource of art to heighten her natural attractions; but with such skill as to render every trace of art imperceptible. She never asked for anything, but was in debt to every one. She was gentle and amiable in disposition, and strongly attached to her husband. . . We lived together like a private citizen and his wife, and were most affectionate and united, having, for a long period, occupied but one chamber and one bed. While this continued, few of my thoughts or actions escaped the notice of Josephine. She observed and comprehended everything. . . A son by her would have completed my happiness, not only in a political point of view, but as a source of domestic felicity. As a political result, it would have secured to me the possession of the throne. The French people would have been as much attached to a son of Josephine as they were afterwards to the King of Rome, and I should not have set my foot on an abyss hidden

CHARACTER OF JOSEPHINE.

by flowers. . . Josephine possessed that taste for luxury, gaiety, and extravagance natural to Creoles. It was impossible to regulate her expenditure; she was constantly in debt; and thus there were always disputes when the day of payment arrived. She frequently directed her tradesmen to send in only half their accounts. Even at the island of Elba, her bills poured in upon me from all parts of Italy. . . I am well convinced that I was beloved by Josephine better than any individual in the world. She never failed to accompany me on all my journeys. Neither fatigue nor privation could deter her, and she employed artifice, as well as importunity, to gain her object. If I stepped into my carriage at midnight to set out on the longest journey, to my surprise I found Josephine prepared, though I had no idea of her accompanying me. 'You cannot possibly go,' I have said to her, 'the journey is too long and will be too fatiguing.' 'Not at all,' she would reply.—'I must set out instantly,' I continued. 'Well,' she would answer, 'I am quite ready;' and I was generally compelled to yield. In a few words, Josephine rendered her husband happy, and constantly proved herself his sincerest friend. At all times, and on all occasions, she manifested the most perfect submission and devotedness; and I shall never cease to remember her with tenderness and gratitude." To this character it is only necessary to add, that the Empress was in the daily practice of benevolent and charitable deeds; she was never known to refuse any act of kindness in her power, nor to do or say a disobliging thing. The English *détenus* frequently shared the benefit of her kindness and liberality.

No sooner were the formalities of the divorce concluded, than the Emperor's attention was directed towards the selection of a successor. A negociation was at first entered into with the Emperor of Russia, for the hand of his sister, the Grand Duchess Anne; but the Empress-mother disliked Napoleon, and raised obstacles as to difference of religion, which delayed the proceedings, and, in the mean time, Eugene Beauharnais, who, at the request of his mother, had undertaken to conduct the proceedings, learned from Prince Schwartzburg, the Austrian ambassador at Paris, that the Emperor Francis would have no objection to a family alliance with the French Monarch. The Great Council of France was forthwith summoned, to decide whether an union with Russia or Austria would be most

PROPOSAL FOR MARIA-LOUISA.

advantageous; and it being decided, by a large majority, that an Austrian match was to be preferred, proposals were immediately made for the hand of the Archduchess Maria-Louisa, and accepted without hesitation.

Berthier was thereupon sent to Vienna, officially, to demand the espousal of the Princess. He arrived in that capital in the commencement of March, 1810; and, having delivered the presents with which he had been entrusted, among which was a miniature of the Emperor, by M. Horace Vernet, set in diamonds of immense value, he

was admitted to a solemn audience, at which most of the members of the Austrian Imperial house and the great officers of State were present. The Emperor Francis, the Archduchess, and the Empress-mother, having severally signified their assent to the nuptials, which it was confidently augured "would give to two great and generous nations new assurances of tranquillity and happiness," the marriage

was celebrated at Vienna, on the 11th of March, the Prince of Neufchâtel officiating as the representative of Napoleon, and the Archduke Charles for the Emperor of Austria. On the 13th, the new Empress departed for France; and, at Braunau, took leave of her German retinue, being transferred with much ceremony to the care of the Queen of Naples, the Duchesses of Montebello and Bassano, and a large retinue of the male and female nobility of France. At Munich she was met by an officer, who brought her a letter from Napoleon. At Strasburg, a page brought her a second letter, with a present of the choicest flowers of the season, and some pheasants of the Emperor's shooting. Here also she received a deputation of the municipal authorities, who came to offer their felicitations on her union. Every subsequent morning a page arrived, with a letter from Paris, which the Empress never failed to answer before resuming her journey. She became so interested in this correspondence, that, if the page was by any accident delayed beyond his usual time, Maria-Louisa manifested the utmost anxiety, and made repeated enquiries as to the cause of his detention.

Napoleon himself burned with the impatience of a youthful lover to behold his young and beautiful bride. He had dictated certain details of ceremony for the observance of those who were to conduct her to Compiègne, which had been fixed on for the Imperial meeting; but breaking through these formalities, he and the King of Naples—Murat—stole out from the castle by a private gate, and hastened forward to Courcelles, where, dismounting, the Emperor and his companion awaited, under the porch of the little village church, the approach of the cavalcade. When the carriage of Maria-Louisa arrived, it drew up at a sign from Napoleon, who, springing to the door, at once introduced himself to the Princess, and the cortège was ordered forward to Compiègne. After the first compliments had been exchanged, and the Empress had scrutinized, for a few moments, the features of her husband, whom she had never previously seen, she exclaimed, with evident gratification, "Your Majesty's portrait has not done you justice." At this period, indeed, Napoleon might be accounted handsome. The olive tinge of his complexion had become mellowed rather than heightened by years; his eyes were full and sparkling, his lips finely rounded, his countenance was

CIVIL MARRIAGE.

grave and dignified, without being cold or stern, his hair was dark and glossy, his forehead broad and clear, and without a furrow; and his figure had been improved by a tendency to corpulence, which had then developed itself only by imparting to him a slight and agreeable rotundity. Maria-Louisa was nineteen years of age, tall and graceful, with an animated brilliancy of complexion, flaxen hair, and quick blue eyes. The Emperor fondly hoped for many years of happiness with one to whom, in addition to her prepossessing exterior, report had assigned all the charms of a refined and cultivated mind, simple and elegant manners, and an amiable and docile disposition.

The civil marriage was celebrated at St. Cloud, on the 1st of April, and next day, the religious ceremony was performed by Cardinal

RELIGIOUS RITES.

Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, at the chapel of the Louvre, with the utmost pomp. The great gallery, through which the procession passed, was lined with a triple row of the most distinguished persons in France;

and the chapel itself was graced with the presence of the Imperial Family, the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and great dignitaries of the empire, and deputations from the Senate of France, of Italy, of the Council of State, the Legislative Corps, and all the great public bodies of the State. The city of Paris, on the occasion, made costly presents to both the Emperor and Empress; and rejoicings and congratulations were general, not only throughout France, but in all the Continental States, the people of which believed, that the marriage of Napoleon with an Archduchess of Austria, was a pledge to Europe of a speedy and durable general peace.

On the 5th, Napoleon and his bride returned to Compiègne; where they remained till the 27th, when they departed on a tour

REJOICINGS.

through the northern departments of the empire; in the course of which they visited Belgium, Dunkirk, Lille, Havre, and Rouen, returning on the 1st of June to the Tuileries. Triumphal arches, festivities, every demonstration of the most enthusiastic attachment, greeted them wherever they went. It is said, that even the imprisoned Spanish Prince Ferdinand, at a banquet at Valençay, was so far carried away by the joy with which he was surrounded, as to have proposed "The health of Napoleon the Great, and his august spouse Maria-Louisa."

The return of the Emperor and Empress to Paris, was a signal for the renewal of rejoicings in the capital. The municipality gave a splendid entertainment at the Hôtel-de-Ville, at which, Napoleon and his bride were present. The Imperial Guard also gave a grand fête in the Champ-de-Mars, in the name of the French army. Banquets and balls, indeed, were of daily occurrence; and the whole population seemed to have abandoned itself to gaiety, delirious with the thought that the Great Empire was now established upon a secure basis, and that the abundant blessings of peace would speedily compensate for all the miseries of the long and fierce war in which France had been engaged. In the midst of these demonstrations, however, an accident occurred which threw a shade of gloom over the festivities. An entertainment was given, on the 1st of July, by Prince Schwartzburg, the Austrian ambassador. The Prince's hotel being too small to contain the numerous guests invited, a temporary ball-room, raised to a level with the banquetting apartments of the mansion, had been constructed in the garden with a gallery connecting it with the house. From the ceiling of this saloon, an immense chandelier was suspended, and candles were placed along the walls, and in the gallery. The fête commenced with opera dancing in the garden, which was lighted by coloured lamps, disposed in festoons and emblematical devices through the grounds. About an hour after the company had entered the ball-room, one of the curtains, with which the gallery had been hung, was blown against the candles, and caught fire. The ceiling and walls were instantly in a blaze, and the flames spread rapidly to the saloon. Napoleon led the Empress through a private door, which had been reserved for their use, and after seeing her in the Imperial carriage to the

ACCIDENT.

Place Louis XV., returned to render what assistance he could at the hotel.

The flames had now made considerable progress; but the company had not all quitted the saloon. Soon afterwards, the chandelier fell with a tremendous crash; and the crowd rushing together towards the entrance, the floor gave way, and many persons were crushed to death, or enveloped in the flames. The noise and confusion in the grounds became dreadful; every one hurrying to and fro, seeking friends and relatives, and calling aloud to ascertain if they were safe. When the conflagration began to subside, a young, handsome, and elegantly dressed female was seen to rush forward over the burning rafters, frantically demanding her children. A moment afterwards, the figure disappeared. It was the Princess Schwartzenburg, who, missing her young family from their apartments in the hotel, had gone in search of them and perished, while her children were assembled in the garden out of the reach of danger.

POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

It did not fail to be observed in Paris, and elsewhere, that this melancholy accident was a counterpart of one that had happened during the fêtes by which the marriage of Louis XVI. and Maria-Antoinette—the aunt of Maria-Louisa—was celebrated; and it was gravely declared to be ominous of future troubles: even Napoleon himself is said to have partaken the superstitious apprehensions of the vulgar on the subject.

The union of the Emperor with Maria-Louisa contributed greatly to the domestic happiness of the former. His attachment to her soon equalled that which he had formerly entertained towards Josephine. "She was all innocence and simple nature," he subsequently said; "never suspecting that anything was to be gained by artifice, but always acting with frankness and candour, and without the slightest subterfuge. She freely asked for whatever she wanted, which, however, was rarely the case, and she never thought of receiving anything from tradesmen without immediately paying for it." When Napoleon once enquired of her what instructions she had received at Vienna, relative to her conduct towards her husband, she replied, "To be entirely devoted to him, and to obey him in all things;" and upon this advice she constantly acted during her residence with him.

As a political measure, the Austrian marriage was stigmatized by the Emperor himself, in his exile, as "a gulf concealed by flowers." Mr. Lockhart has given an ingenious, and so far an able, commentary upon this expression. "The alliance of Napoleon," he says, "with the haughtiest of the old sovereign houses gave deep offence to that great party in France, which, though willing to submit to a Dictator, still loathed the name of hereditary monarchy. Nothing, perhaps, could have shocked those men more grievously, than to see the victorious heir and representative of their Revolution seeking to mix his blood with that of his inveterate enemies, and making himself free, as it were, of what they had been accustomed to call the old established *corporation of tyrants*. . . There were also not a few Royalists of the old school who had hitherto acquiesced in his sway, the more easily, because he seemed destined to die childless; and in a contest for the throne of France, they flattered themselves the legitimate heir of the monarchy might outweigh any of his remoter kindred. And, lastly, it is not improbable, that some of Napoleon's

POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

marshals had accustomed themselves to dream of events such as occurred on the death of Alexander the Great." All this reasoning, however, seems to have been adapted to circumstances after they had arisen, rather than to have had any influence in creating them. The glory won for France by the victories of Austerlitz, of Jena, and of Wagram, had shaken the faith of the exclusives of the Faubourg St. Germaine, the last bulwark of the old French Aristocracy, in Bourbon heraldry; and the Austrian match completed their conversion. They at this period began to concede something to the Emperor's superior talents, and to look with complacency upon his Italian pedigree, which traced his family from a line of sovereign princes. They remembered that he had always exhibited a strong partiality for old family names, had recalled the majority of the exiled aristocrats, and had provided for many of them in situations near his person; and an expression of his, when nominating a number of young men of illustrious descent as officers of the army, was now quoted without a sneer:—"These names belong to France and to history. I, as the guardian of their glory, will not allow them to perish."

The *people* at large regarded the marriage as one calculated, in its results, entirely to exclude the return of the still hated Bourbons, and of their intolerable despotism; and conceived that the Imperial throne was strengthened by an alliance which promised permanent peace with one of the most deadly and determined enemies of France. The populace care for little beyond what they conceive to be their immediate interests; and the prospect of tranquillity, at home and abroad, was fraught with visions of returning commerce and prosperity. The event, which it was then generally believed these advantages would follow, was, therefore, hailed with enthusiasm by all classes, as the auspicious commencement of a new and quiet era, in which the evils of the Revolution would disappear, and its advantages become firmly established, under a reign of justice, of comparative freedom, and of social order. So extensively, indeed, was the feeling diffused that the power of Napoleon was consolidated by his new marriage, that the Czar, who, since the interview at Erfurth, had cherished hopes of sharing with the French Emperor in a general partition of Europe, when he heard that the Court of

POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

Vienna had consented to the match, exclaimed in despair, "This, then, consigns me to my native forests." The "flowery gulf" had reference to the hostility towards Napoleon which the Austrian alliance had created in the breast of Alexander; and to that fatal security in the friendship of his new relatives, which, by luring the too ambitious monarch to scenes of distant danger, left his own dominions a prey to growing discontent and factious intrigue.

CHAPTER XXXII.

BERNADOTTE ELECTED CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN — THE CONTINENTAL
SYSTEM—LOUIS BONAPARTE RESIGNS THE CROWN OF HOLLAND.
1808 to 1810.

PREVIOUSLY to Napoleon's last Austrian campaign, the insane conduct of Gustavus IV., King of Sweden, had so entirely disgusted his subjects of all ranks, that, in order to prevent his doing further mischief, it was publicly resolved that the Monarch should be placed under arrest, and compelled to abdicate the Throne which he so unworthily filled. This revolution is universally admitted to have been the most extraordinary recorded in history. Every voice was loud in condemnation of the King and his flagrant misdoings. Not a sword, from loyalty, gratitude, personal attachment, or party feeling, was drawn in his behalf; his very relatives joined in the indignant demand for his immediate dethronement. His seizure took place on

EXPULSION OF GUSTAVUS IV.

the 13th of March, 1809, when his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, was appointed head of a provisional government. The King a few days afterwards signed an act of abdication for himself and his heirs; and in the following May, his uncle was elected to the vacant throne by the National Diet, under the title of Charles XIII.; Gustavus being granted his liberty and a large pension, on the simple condition that he should, thenceforth, retire from Sweden, and cease to interfere with its government or affairs—a stipulation in which his wife and children, comprehending the legitimate heir to the crown, were included.

On the elevation of Charles, his only son, Christian of Augustenburg, was immediately recognised as Crown Prince; and on him, in consequence of his father's age, devolved the chief labours of the government, which he is said to have conducted to the general satisfaction of the nation. He established peace with Russia and France; obtained from Napoleon restitution of the province of Pomerania and the isle of Rugen; and, in return, adopted the Continental System; two or three important reservations being conceded in favour of articles considered to be absolutely necessary for his people. On the 28th of May, 1810, however, Prince Christian suddenly died at a review, not without strong suspicion of having been poisoned, and the succession had again to be provided for.

According to the Constitution of Sweden, the Crown Prince was required to be elected by the Diet. The candidates proposed on this occasion, were the King of Denmark and Norway, Gustavus, son of the deposed King, and the Duke of Oldenburg, uncle of the Emperor Alexander of Russia; but to each of these persons there were weighty objections. It was eventually suggested that it would be most advantageous for the nation, to seize the opportunity for forming a more intimate alliance with France, by the selection of a member of the Imperial Family. Count Wrede, the Swedish Minister at Paris, was accordingly authorized to consult the Emperor respecting the Viceroy Eugene. To this, as it was necessary that the person elected should be a Protestant, there was an insuperable obstacle—the Prince declining to abjure the faith in which he had been educated. Bernadotte, the brother-in-law of the King of Spain, who had been created a Prince of the Empire, and honoured with divers important posts,

ELECTION OF BERNADOTTE.

solely in consequence of matrimonial relationship, and of his wife having at an early period of life received the addresses of Napoleon, was next mentioned; and as he—a Republican-Revolutionist, of the philosophical-democratical sect—was less scrupulous as to creed than Eugene, no objection was made to his nomination.

It has been frequently stated, that Napoleon was opposed to the election of Bernadotte; but this seems to have originated in the consideration that, from the conduct of that person at Jena and Wagram, the Emperor ought to have been so, rather than from fact. The Marshal was proposed merely because it was thought that his elevation would be agreeable to the French Monarch, and a word from the latter would have prevented his election. Napoleon has himself explained his sentiments on the occasion, and there appears no reason to doubt his statement. Bernadotte, he said, was indebted to his marriage with Desirée Clary, the object of Napoleon's early attachment, for his elevation as a Marshal, a Prince, and afterwards as King. All the follies and errors of the man, during the Imperial reign, were pardoned on account of this marriage. It was from regard to Madame Bernadotte, that her husband, after the battle of Jena, was not delivered to a council of war to be tried for his misconduct, in which case he would inevitably have been sentenced to be shot. In sanctioning his last elevation, the Emperor was allured by the glory of seeing a Marshal of France become King; a woman in whose fate he was interested, and who was sister-in-law to his brother Joseph, become Queen; and her son (Napoleon's god-son) a Prince Royal. "It was, perhaps, in my situation," continued the Emperor, "a puerile sentiment. According to my political system, and for the true interests of France, the King of Denmark should have been elected to the throne of Sweden. I might then have governed that country solely by the influence of my contact with the Danish provinces. Bernadotte, however, was elected; and, affecting great dependance upon me, he came to ask for my approbation, protesting, though with too visible an anxiety, that he would not accept the crown unless it were agreeable to me. I, the elected Monarch of the people, could but answer, that 'I would not set myself against the elections of other people.' This was what I told Bernadotte, whose whole deportment betrayed his anxiety, caused by

ELECTION OF BERNADOTTE.

expectation of my answer. I added, that 'he had only to take advantage of the good will of which he had been the object; that I wished to be considered as having had no weight in his election, but that it nevertheless had my approval and best wishes.' I felt, however, a secret instinct that Bernadotte was a serpent whom I was nourishing in my bosom."

So far the account of Napoleon differs, in no essential point, from that which Bernadotte gave to his friend De Bourrienne. The following particulars are supplied by the newly elected Crown Prince, whose common habit of exaggeration, however, must be remembered by the reader. "At first," says Bernadotte, "the Emperor spoke in the best terms of the King and me, and caused to be inserted in the *Moniteur* the act of my election. Ten days subsequently passed without his saying a word about my departure. I was anxious to set out; my preparations were finished; and I resolved on seeing him to request the delivery of the letters-patent, absolving me from my oath of allegiance. He at first appeared somewhat surprised at this positive request, which perhaps he did not expect; but after a slight movement of hesitation, he said, 'There is one preliminary condition to be fulfilled. You must take an oath never to bear arms against me.'—'Is your Majesty in earnest?' I replied. 'Can I bind myself by such an engagement? My election by the Diet of Sweden, the consent given by your Majesty, both to Charles XIII. and myself, have made me a Swedish subject; and the pledge required from me is incompatible with my new obligations.' The Emperor, upon this, frowned darkly; and, indeed, throughout our conversation he looked embarrassed; and when I had finished speaking he said, in a tone of voice rendered so indistinct by emotion that I could scarcely hear him, 'Go, then, our destinies are about to be accomplished.' I afterwards did everything in my power to remove the unjust impressions he had conceived against me, and at one time thought I had succeeded. After listening to me attentively, he extended his hand, pressed mine kindly, as if to assure me of his friendship and protection, in such a manner that, for some time, I deemed his prejudices dispelled. I therefore entreated those, through whom our families were united, to assure his Majesty how earnestly I desired to do everything, not contrary to the interests of Sweden, to

ELECTION OF BERNADOTTE.

second his efforts for the welfare of France. These persons, laughing at my credulity, informed me that scarcely had I left the Imperial presence, when Napoleon said that I was an ambitious man, poorly disguised, who wished to make a grand display of knowledge, and that he had humoured me like a child. He, nevertheless, gave me two millions of francs (eighty-three thousand three hundred pounds) for the cession of my principality of Ponte-Corvo [a fief of the French Empire, which Bernadotte must necessarily have relinquished, whether indemnified or not], half of which was immediately paid down, to enable me to meet the expenses of my journey and installation. The moment I was stepping into my carriage to depart, a person, whom I will not name, came to bid me adieu, telling me that he had that instant left the Tuileries. The Emperor, on seeing that person enter, had accosted him with, 'Well, does not the Prince regret leaving France?' 'Unquestionably, Sire,' was the reply.—'I should have been well pleased,' continued Napoleon 'had he not have accepted his election. But I could not interfere; and after all he loves me not.' 'Sire,' returned the courtier, 'permit me to say that your Majesty is in error. I know the differences which have existed for six years between Bernadotte and your Majesty; but, at the same time, I am certain that he is warmly attached to you.'—'I am willing to believe so,' said the Emperor, 'but we have, in that case, misunderstood each other, and now it is too late; he has his interests and policy, and I have mine.'"

It can scarcely have failed to be remarked, that the narrative of these transactions, by Bernadotte himself, establishes no charge of duplicity against Napoleon, though, in justification of the subsequent hostile conduct of the Prince Royal, such a charge has been repeatedly urged. A subsequent story, got up merely to blacken the character of the Emperor, is too absurd to merit refutation. It is pretended that, immediately after the departure of Bernadotte, Napoleon regretted having given his consent to the election, and openly declared that "he had a great mind to send the Prince to finish, at Vincennes, his studies in the Swedish language;" that a plot was actually concerted to carry the Prince from Stockholm, under the direction of M. de Salazar, a discarded aide-de-camp of Marshal Marmont; who, having taken up his residence in London, obtained money from more

CHARACTER OF BERNADOTTE.

than one "illustrious personage," for making the disclosure; and that this plot failed only in consequence of the conspirators being all, except one, foreigners. The fact is, that Bernadotte, who was naturally envious, vain-glorious, and jealous, had, from motives of spleen, been induced, as far as he could do so without directly incurring the penalty of treason, to oppose the growing power of Napoleon. Hence he had reason to dread the Emperor's resentment; and, acting on the impulse of his own narrow mind, unrestrained by any fixed ideas of principle, after being repeatedly foiled in covert attempts to injure the man whom he feared, he anxiously watched for, and eventually found an opportunity of wreaking vengeance for all his disappointments, both upon Napoleon and the people who had established the Imperial throne. John Baptiste Julian Bernadotte, private of marines, Jacobin-Revolutionist, Marshal of France, Catholic-Lutheran, and Crown Prince of Sweden, in his hatred of the person, but for whose patronage he would have died the death of a traitor, forgot that he was a Frenchman; taught the enemies of his native country the tactics of that country's armies, renounced the ties of nature and of blood, and assisted, by his sword as well as his counsel, to reduce his ancient comrades to slavery under a despotism which he had long affected to abhor. On the whole, perhaps, it is creditable to him that he should have felt anxious to vindicate himself in the eyes of the world, notwithstanding that, in order to do so, he was reduced to the necessity of inventing the greater portion of his pleas of justification. Bernadotte was elected Crown Prince on the 21st of August, and arrived in Stockholm about the middle of October, 1810.

Almost simultaneously with the elevation of Bernadotte, occurred the resignation, by Napoleon's brother, Louis, of the crown of Holland. The maintenance of the Continental System had crippled the resources of the Dutch provinces, which, more than any other country in Europe, depend upon the extent of their commerce: the people, therefore, naturally complained of a policy which was reducing them to beggary; and the Berlin Decrees were everywhere evaded, not without the connivance of King Louis and his ministers, who were compelled to trust for the national revenues to a system of secretly licensing what was publicly declared to be contraband trade.

AFFAIRS OF HOLLAND.

Napoleon, at first, remonstrated against this infraction of the British blockade, and commanded that the smuggled goods should be confiscated, and the merchants who persisted in the traffic punished; but this had little effect. The Dutch sailors and traders continued to import large quantities both of English manufactured goods and colonial produce; and the supply of France and Germany, as well as their own country, amply indemnified them for all risks. Expostulation was succeeded by threats of loss of territory and dethronement; but Louis was not disposed to alter his policy. Napoleon then sent French custom-house officers to the various ports of Holland, and stationed a strong guard along the coast. At Middleburg, in the isle of Zealand, the Dutch smugglers rose in the night and massacred the revenue officers; and after trial and condemnation, the assassins were pardoned by the King. Napoleon was exasperated, and thus wrote to his brother:—"The use you have made of the prerogative of mercy cannot but produce a bad effect. A number of banditti, of murderers whom nobody can pity, are sentenced to death, and your Majesty pardons them. If their crime had been a political one, or merely an infraction of the revenue laws, clemency would have been well applied. The Prince in remitting punishment in such cases proves himself superior to the offence, and public odium falls on the offender; but the Sovereign who pardons wretches like these must be looked upon as weak, or actuated by bad intentions. Mercy cannot be always exercised without danger; and society will not commend it in favour of murder, or crimes of great magnitude, because it then becomes injurious to the interests of the community. The present case will tend to dishearten persons from persevering in the execution of their duty. Its political effect is also bad, for the following reasons:—Holland was the channel through which England had for many years introduced her goods on the Continent. The Dutch merchants have made immense profits by this trade, and that is why the Dutch nation is partial to England and fond of smuggling; and why it hates France, which prohibits smuggling and opposes England. The mercy extended to the Middleburg murderers is a compliment paid to the smuggling propensities of your subjects, with whom you appear to make common cause against *me*.

"It is not to the present alone that you should accommodate your

LETTER OF NAPOLEON.

policy. The future must also be an object of consideration. What is at this moment the situation of Europe? On one side England, through her unassisted exertions, possesses a dominion to which the whole world has been hitherto compelled to submit. On the other hand, the French Empire and the Continental States, strengthened by the union of their powers, cannot acquiesce in the supremacy exercised by England. Those States had colonies and a maritime trade. They possess an extent of coast much greater than England; but having been disunited, England has attacked the naval power of each separately, has triumphed on every sea, and destroyed every navy sent against her. Neither Russia, Sweden, France, nor Spain, which possess ample means for maintaining ships and sailors, dare to send a squadron out of their ports. It is, therefore, no longer from a confederation amongst the maritime powers—which, indeed, would be ineffective, on account of distance, and the interference of the various interests of each—that Europe can expect its maritime emancipation.

“I wish for peace; and would obtain it by any means compatible with the dignity and power of France, at whatever sacrifice our national honour can allow. I daily feel more and more, that peace is necessary. The Sovereigns of the Continent are as anxious for peace as I am. I feel no violent prejudice against England, and bear her no insurmountable hatred. She has followed towards me a system of repulsion: I have adopted against her the Continental System; not, however, as my enemies suppose, from ambitious jealousy, but in order to reduce England to the necessity of adjusting our differences. It is no concern of mine that England be rich and prosperous, provided France and her Allies enjoy the same advantages.

“The Continental System has, therefore, no other object than to hasten the moment for definitively establishing the public rights of Europe and of the French Empire. The Sovereigns of the North observe and enforce the system of prohibition, and their trade has been greatly benefitted by it. The manufactures of Prussia may now compete with ours. You are aware that France, and the whole extent of coast, which now forms part of the empire, from the gulf of Lyons to the extremity of the Adriatic, are strictly closed against

ALTERCATIONS WITH LOUIS.

the produce of British industry. You will perceive from this, the fatal consequences that would result from the facilities given by Holland to the English for the introduction of their goods on the Continent. They would enable England to levy upon us the subsidies which she would afterwards offer to other powers to fight against us. Your Majesty is as much interested in guarding against the crafty policy of the British Cabinet, as I am. Holland is a maritime and commercial power, possessing fine ports, fleets, sailors, skilful commanders, and colonies, which cost nothing to the mother country; and her inhabitants understand trade as well as the English. Holland must have an interest in defending these advantages; and though her situation may, for a few years, be painful, the King of Holland must not be a mere vassal-governor for England. Yet to that result does the protection which you afford to English commerce tend. . . . Under no pretence whatever will France allow Holland to separate herself from the Continental System."

This letter was written in the spring of 1808, about the same time that Napoleon offered Louis the throne of Spain; but it does not appear to have influenced the conduct of the Dutch Cabinet; as the Emperor shortly afterwards demanded the cession of Brabant and Zealand, where the smuggling transactions were chiefly conducted, in exchange for some more northern provinces, and this being refused, the following conditions were, on the 20th of December, 1808, offered to Louis, as the only ones on which the separate existence of Holland could be permitted; namely, — the boundary of the Rhine. The interdiction of all commerce and communication with England. That Holland should furnish the Emperor with a fleet of fourteen ships of the line, seven frigates, and seven brigs, armed and equipped; together with a land army of twenty-five thousand men. The Dutch marshals were to be suppressed, and all the privileges of the nobility revoked which might be inconsistent with the constitution promulgated and guaranteed by Napoleon. "Upon these terms, as a basis," wrote the Emperor, "your Majesty may treat, through your Minister, with the Duke of Cadore; but you may be assured that, on the entrance of the first packet-boat into Holland, I will re-establish my custom-houses; and that upon the first insult offered to my flag, I will cause to be seized, by force of arms, and hung at

ALTERCATIONS WITH LOUIS.

the mast head, the Dutch officer who shall have permitted the insult to my eagle. Your Majesty will find in me a brother, if I find in you a Frenchman; but, if you forget the sentiments which bind you to our common country, you will not take it ill if I forget those which nature has placed between ourselves. In conclusion, the union of Holland to France is what would be most useful to France, to Holland, and to the Continent; as it would be most injurious to England. This union may be effected either by fair means or force; for I have grounds of complaint against Holland sufficient to justify me in declaring war. But, at all times, I shall have no difficulty in agreeing to an arrangement which yields me the boundary of the Rhine, and by which Holland engages to fulfil the above conditions."

In this state, the correspondence between the brothers remained, till Louis was summoned to be present at the festivities of 1809, in the French capital, when the indignities to which he considered himself subjected aroused his spirit, and induced him openly to oppose the will of the Emperor. "I have been deceived," he one day exclaimed aloud, in the hearing of some courtiers, "by promises never intended to be fulfilled. Holland is weary of being the puppet of France." Notwithstanding his expressed resentment, however, he found himself constrained to execute a treaty by which Zealand, Brabant, and the two banks of the Rhine were transferred to France; six thousand French soldiers were agreed to be maintained by Holland; a fleet was to be fitted out by the same kingdom for the service of the Empire; and the admission of English goods into the Dutch territories was strictly prohibited. The King after this speedily sought and obtained permission to return to Amsterdam; and on the 23rd of March, 1810, on receiving some new requisitions from the Emperor, he wrote the following admirable letter in reply:—"If you would consolidate France, and obtain a maritime peace, it is not by such means as the British blockade that you will attain those ends. It is not by the destruction of a kingdom created by yourself; nor by enfeebling your allies, and respecting neither their most sacred rights nor the commercial principles of equality and justice between nations; but, on the contrary, by causing France to be beloved, and by strengthening and protecting allies so faithful as your own brothers.

ALTERCATIONS WITH LOUIS.

"The destruction of Holland, far from being a means of distressing England, will prove a source of prosperity to her, in the industry and wealth which will seek an asylum in that country. There are only three means of attacking England with effect:—detaching Ireland from her, capturing her Indian possessions, or a descent on her coast. The two last are impossible without a navy; but I am astonished that the first has been so easily abandoned. These present a more certain means of securing peace on advantageous conditions, than a system which injures yourself and your allies in an attempt to inflict greater hurt upon your enemies."

The correspondence of the brothers did but embroil them more. Napoleon saw that Louis wanted nothing but opportunity to renew the intercourse of the Dutch with England; and Louis was made aware that the Emperor demanded from him implicit obedience as a subject of France. The blockade imposed upon Holland, was but indifferently maintained by the King or the people; yet the surveillance of the French was sufficiently strict to occasion great distress throughout the kingdom. Public fasts were consequently proclaimed, and prayers put up in all the churches to avert the calamities which impended over the nation; in which it was broadly insinuated that the odious Continental System was the source of the public misery. The French soldiery and civil officers were openly insulted; and those who maltreated partisans or agents of the Emperor, generally escaped from justice. Letters were constantly passing between Paris and Amsterdam; but none of the grievances complained of on either side were abated. At length a fray occurred between the servants of the Count de la Rochefoucault, Napoleon's ambassador at his brother's court, and some Dutch citizens, which soon assumed a serious aspect as a national quarrel. The guards of King Louis, however, put an end to the tumult without bloodshed; but the hostile spirit of his subjects had been too clearly manifested to be passed over in silence. The Emperor, on receiving the report of his envoy, thus wrote to the King of Holland: "My Brother!—While you are making me the fairest protestations, I learn that my ambassador's people have been maltreated in Amsterdam. I desire that those who have rendered themselves so culpable may be given up to justice, in order that their punishment may serve as an example.

ABDICATION OF LOUIS.

The Sieur Serrurier has tendered me an account of your conduct at the diplomatic audience. I declare, therefore, that I shall no longer treat with an ambassador from Holland. Admiral Verhuell has orders to depart in twenty-four hours. I want no more phrases and protestations. It is time I should know whether you intend, by your folly, to bring ruin upon Holland.

"It is my pleasure that you send back all Frenchmen in your service. I have recalled my ambassador, and shall no longer have any, save a *chargé d'affaires*, in Holland. Serrurier, who remains there in that capacity, will make known to you my intentions."

At the time this letter was despatched, a French army, of about fifteen thousand men, was ordered to assemble at Utrecht, for the purpose of being marched across the frontier to take possession, if necessary, of the country, and to fix its head-quarters at Amsterdam. Reduced to this extremity, Louis no longer hesitated on the course he should pursue, and resolved to lay down a sceptre which he was not permitted to wield as an independent Sovereign. Accordingly, on the 1st of July, 1810, he addressed a message to the Legislative Assembly, setting forth that, in consequence of the displeasure of the Emperor and the invasion of Holland, he found it necessary, to avoid an unavailing struggle, which could only end in the ruin of the country, to abdicate his throne. "I cannot," he said, "consent to retain the mere title of King, stripped of all real authority in my kingdom, my capital, and even my palace. I should in such case be witness of all that passed, without power to influence the course of events for the benefit of my people, though remaining responsible for evils which I could neither remedy nor prevent. I have long foreseen the extremity to which I am driven; but I could not avoid the evil without betraying the most sacred obligations, and sacrificing those rights which ought indissolubly to connect my fate with that of Holland."

The act of abdication was immediately afterwards signed, and a copy forwarded for publication to England; in order, without doubt, that it might operate more effectually to injure the Emperor, against whom Louis had now become furious. The deed of renunciation stated, that the misfortunes of the country were solely attributable to the hostile intentions of Napoleon, whose anger no efforts of the

FLIGHT OF LOUIS.

King, and no sacrifices compatible with the welfare of the Dutch people had been able to appease. In short, that Louis had been compelled to regard himself as the cause of the constantly renewed misunderstandings between France and Holland; and, that he should deem it a sufficient consolation, if his individual renunciation of honours should benefit his subjects and reunite the two countries, whose interests were so closely allied. At the same time he declared, that he relinquished his rights only in favour of his sons, Louis Napoleon, Prince Royal; and Prince Louis Charles Napoleon. The Queen—Hortense—agreeably to the Constitution, was named Regent during the minority of Prince Louis; and in her absence—she being then in Paris—the Government was entrusted to the Privy Council.

About midnight, on the same day, Louis quitted his palace of Haarlem, and set out in a private carriage for Toplitz, in Bohemia; and, on the 9th of July, a decree was issued for reuniting Holland to the Empire: an act which, however arbitrary it may appear, the conduct and flight of Louis had rendered indispensable to the preservation of Holland in alliance with France. The animosity of Louis, however, was greatly inflamed by this infraction of his act of abdication; and he immediately put into as extensive circulation as possible a violent protest, against what he termed his brother's tyrannical usurpation, declaring, "before God and all independent sovereigns:—That the treaty separating Brabant and Zealand from Holland was extorted from him at Paris, where he had been retained against his will, and upon conditions which the Emperor had never fulfilled; that his abdication had taken place only in consequence of the hostility manifested towards him; and that the union of Holland to France was illegal, unjust, and arbitrary—the kingdom belonging of right to the nation and the King, still a minor."

Napoleon has himself left a valuable commentary upon this unfortunate quarrel. "When my brother," he said, "mistook an act of public scandal for one of glory, and fled from his throne, declaiming against me, my insatiable ambition, and intolerable tyranny, what remained for me to do? Was I to abandon Holland to our enemies, or to give it to another King? Could I in such a case have expected more from a stranger than from my own brother? Did not all the

OBSERVATIONS OF NAPOLEON.

Kings I created act nearly in the same manner? . . I derived little assistance from my own family; and they have deeply injured me and the great cause for which I fought. If each of them had given a common impulse to the different bodies which I had placed under their direction, we should have marched on to the poles; everything would have given way before us; we should have changed the face of the world; Europe would now be enjoying the advantages of a new system; and we should have received the benedictions of mankind.

“ I was not so fortunate as Gengis-Khan; each of whose four sons rivalled the others in zeal for his service. No sooner did I create a King, than he thought himself such ‘by the Grace of God.’ I had no longer a friend on whom I could rely, but another enemy, against whom I was compelled to be on my guard. He sought not again to second me, but to render himself independent. I was thenceforward in his way, and endangered his existence. . . If it be asked why, with this knowledge, I persisted in erecting states and kingdoms? I answer, that the manners and situation of Europe required it. Every additional country that was annexed to France added to the universal alarm which already prevailed, excited louder murmurs, and diminished the chances of peace. . . It was proper, therefore, to endeavour to consolidate and to secure hereditary succession, and thus avoid innumerable feuds, factions, and misfortunes. The chief obstacle to the plan of universal harmony, which I meditated, was in my person and elevation—I had risen at once from the multitude, and stood insulated and alone. It was to obviate this that I cast anchors around me on all sides. . .

“ For the caprice of Louis, perhaps an excuse is to be found in the deplorable state of his health, which must have had a considerable influence on his mind. He was subject to cruel infirmities; on one side he was almost paralytic. . . My annexation of Holland to the Empire, however, produced a most unfavourable impression throughout Europe, and contributed greatly to lay the foundation of our misfortunes.”

After the flight of Louis, Hortense remained with her children in Paris; where, notwithstanding the repudiation of her mother, and her own abandonment by her husband, with whom she had never

PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON.

lived happily, she continued to maintain the most friendly relations with Napoleon; and, from her wit and talents, no less than from her beauty and amiable disposition, she was generally regarded as one of the most distinguished ornaments of the Imperial Court. For the support of her rank and dignity, an ample pension was settled on her by the Emperor, who also created Prince Louis Napoleon Grand Duke of Berg and Cleves, a title which had become vacant by the elevation of Murat to the throne of Naples. It was on the occasion of conferring this domain upon the young Prince, that Napoleon made use of the memorable expressions:—"Come, my son, I will be your father: you shall lose nothing. The conduct of your father grieves

me to the heart; but it is to be explained, perhaps, by his infirmities. When you become great, you must add his debt to yours; and never forget that, in whatever situation you are placed by my politics and the interests of my empire, your first duty is towards me, your second towards France; all your other duties, even those towards the

SEIZURE OF TERRITORY.

people I may confide to you, will rank after these." A French panegyrist of the Emperor has remarked upon these words, that "if a vulgar monarch, seated on any other throne than that of France, had used similar language, he might have been justly reproached with excess of pride in placing himself before his country, and with an excess of national vanity in seeking to sacrifice to his politics the interests of people allied to him voluntarily or by conquest. But Napoleon, in exacting allegiance, took precedence of France, merely because he felt that he was the head and heart of France; and he placed the duties of the princes, his subjects, towards France above those due to the people they were appointed to govern, because he regarded France as the head and heart of Europe, and of the civilized world."

Shortly after the reunion of Holland with the Empire, the Valais, which had hitherto been suffered to exist as an independent State, was annexed to France; because, commanding the new road over the Simplon, the authorities of the Republic were thought inadequate to its protection, and the possession of the country was deemed useful to France and Italy. The native mountaineers made a brave but brief resistance: they were unable to cope with the overwhelming power of the great and gradually extending Empire. The interests of France, and the fatal Continental System, but more especially the latter, seemed destined, at this period, to bring the whole of Europe under Napoleon's domination. As fast as the commerce of England was driven from one region, it sought refuge in and was adopted by another; and the Emperor had no alternative but to abandon his policy, or extend his sway over every foot of coast capable of sheltering the barque of a smuggler. Thus, scarcely had the Valais been appropriated, when it was found necessary to seize the territory of the Hanseatic League—comprising the free towns of Hamburg, Frankfort, Bremen, and Lubeck—and the whole line of coast along the German Ocean, embracing the mouths of the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Rhine, the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe.

These annexations, which were loudly exclaimed against, even by the Emperor's friends, were announced to the Senate, on the 10th of December, 1810, by an Imperial message, in which it was stated, that in less than five years a means of internal navigation would be estab-

DESTRUCTION OF COMMERCE.

lished from the Seine to the Baltic, through a grand canal, the line of which was already laid down. "The finances of the empire," it was added, "are in the most prosperous state, and are sufficient for all the exigencies of the State, without new sacrifices being required from the people." The financial prosperity of France during the reign of Napoleon is one of the most remarkable features of the administration of the period; and is solely attributable to the order and economy introduced into every department of the government by the Emperor himself; and the strict maintenance of which was ensured by the publicity given to the accounts. It is said not to have required a larger revenue to maintain the incessant wars in which the country was engaged, and the internal direction of the affairs of the empire, than had sufficed for the ancient kingdom in times of peace and within greatly contracted limits.

The courtly Senate saw no wrong in whatever Napoleon did for the aggrandisement of France. Instead, therefore, of remonstrating against aggressions, which could not fail to arouse a spirit of resentment against him and his government, they adopted the territorial decrees presented to them, and voted to the Emperor a pompous and adulatory address, of which the first sentence is a fair epitome. "The profundity and extent of your designs," said these servile legislators, "the frankness and generosity of your policy, and your constant solicitude for the good of your people, were never made more manifest than in the last message addressed by your Royal and Imperial Majesty to the Senate." At the same time, a maritime conscription and that of the army for 1811 were voted.

About the same period was promulgated a decree, which was not only utterly unworthy of Napoleon, but would have disgraced a semi-civilized prince of the middle ages. This measure directed the destruction of all English manufactured goods and Colonial produce, whether smuggled or in bond, throughout the Empire, and wherever else French authority could be enforced. "This," says De Bourrienne, "was felt with sufficient severity in the interior of France; but none, save those who witnessed it, can conceive the utter destitution which the insane act caused in commercial districts. The first necessities of life were burned in vast quantities before the eyes of men who were perishing for want of them; and the breasts of a

CHAPTER XXXIII.

NEW RESTRICTIONS ON THE PRESS — ATTEMPT OF LA SALLE TO ASSASSINATE THE EMPEROR — BIRTH OF THE KING OF ROME — REMOVAL OF THE POPE TO FONTAINEBLEAU. 1811.

URING the season of peace, and of general rejoicing, which followed the victory of Wagram, the rigorous surveillance under which the public press had been previously placed was considerably relaxed. The Emperor himself seems to have entertained a desire to allow sufficient latitude to the expression of opinion, and for a time refused to interfere with publications that merely dissented from his own views and policy; but the peculiar circumstances by which he was surrounded, and which daily became more complicated, and the

RESTRICTIONS ON THE PRESS.

necessities which impelled him to acts capable of being represented in an unfavourable light, rendered this a dangerous indulgence, especially as it was chiefly rendered available by men, not anxious to rectify what they considered errors in the Government, or to direct the public mind, but to promulgate violent doctrines, careless as to the consequences, so long as the speculations were profitable to their originators. Extreme notions are always most favourably received by the masses; and the pandering to the depraved appetite of the populace, during and subsequently to the Revolution, had originally occasioned Napoleon to regard the press as an enemy, and to deprive it of most of its power to do mischief. When the British Blockade, however, came into full operation, and nearly all the petty and several of the large States of Europe were absorbed in the Great Empire, it became imperative on the ruling powers to impose additional fetters on the medium through which assaults began to be multiplied against a system, which was felt, even by its author, to be vulnerable at every point. Accordingly, the number of newspapers was diminished in the several departments — especially in those recently annexed to France, and where they were likely to be most dangerous—a more rigid censorship was established over all books, pamphlets, literary and scientific publications, and theatrical representations: even the subjects for discussion by public bodies were limited, so as to exclude, as much as possible, all reference to the domestic or foreign policy of the Emperor.

It was impossible that continuous triumph could attend this kind of warfare. The demand for intelligence had been created at the commencement of the Revolution, and the supply had existed too long for its absence to be tolerated. Although, therefore, both press and people, for the present, succumbed to the victorious soldier, who, by the success of his arms, the vigour of his administration, and his legislative enactments, had conferred so much benefit as well as glory on France, the affections of a great number of his subjects were alienated by what could scarcely fail to be considered an act of despotism. Nor was the feeling engendered by these proceedings the less ardent, because it was driven to seek shelter in concealment. Many who had condemned the abuses of the press, forgot all minor aggressions in their resentment against the arbitrary extinction of the

CHATEAUBRIAND.

means of public information. Napoleon, it would almost appear, wilfully shut his eyes to this natural consequence, until it was too late to retrieve his error.

The Emperor's fear of the press was never better exemplified than in his conduct respecting the Count de Chateaubriand, author of 'Atala,' and 'The Beauties of Christianity.' The Count, through the influence of the Emperor, having been elected a member of the Institute, was required, by the regulations of that body, to pronounce an eulogy on the person whom he succeeded. Chateaubriand resolved, on this occasion, to render himself conspicuous, by reversing the usual custom, and stigmatizing M. Chénier as a democrat and regicide. His whole speech, indeed, was a political harangue on the death of Louis XVI. and the restoration of monarchy. The subject was soon spoken of throughout Paris, and at last reached the ears of the Emperor. He ordered the speech to be shewn him; and, pronouncing it to be extravagant and out of place, forbade its publication. One of the great officers of the Imperial household, who was also a member of the Institute, had been active in obtaining a hearing for the Count's oration. Napoleon was more indignant at this circumstance, than at the presumption and ingratitude of Chateaubriand himself. "How long," he said, addressing the offending officer in the midst of a brilliant circle of courtiers—"how long is it since the Institute was authorized to become a political assembly, instead of making verses, and censuring faults of language? It had better beware how it forsakes the domain of the Muses, or I shall take prompt measures to confine it to proper limits. And *you*, Sir, how could you sanction such an intemperate diatribe? If M. de Chateaubriand is insane or malevolent, a madhouse may cure, or punishment correct him. Or, on the other hand, the opinions he has expressed may be conscientiously his, and he is not compelled to surrender them to my policy, of which he is ignorant. With you, however, the case is entirely different. You are constantly near my person; are acquainted with all my acts, and know my wishes. Whatever excuse there may be for Chateaubriand, there can be none for you. I hold you guilty, Sir, and consider your conduct as criminal; tending, as it does, to bring back to us the days of disorder and confusion, anarchy and massacre.

REBUKE OF A COURTIER.

"Are we banditti, think you, and am I but an usurper? I dethroned no person. I found the crown in the kennel, and took it up. The people placed it on my head: respect the acts of the nation! To submit facts of such recent occurrence to public discussion under present circumstances, is to court fresh convulsions, and become an enemy to public tranquillity. The restoration of monarchy is veiled in mystery, and must remain so. Wherefore, then, this proposal for a new proscription of members of the Convention and of regicides? Why are subjects of such a delicate nature again broached? It must be left to God alone to pronounce upon what is no longer within the reach or judgment of men! Is it necessary for you to be more scrupulous than the Empress? Her interest, in this question, is as dear as yours can be, and much more direct; yet she has made no enquiries. Imitate her moderation and magnanimity.

"Has the object of all my care, the fruit of all my efforts been unavailing, that so soon as my presence no longer restrains you, you

are ready to embrue your hands in each other's blood? Alas, poor France! long will it be ere thou canst dispense with the care of a guardian!

"I have done all in my power to quell your dissensions. It has been the constant object of my solicitude to unite all parties. I have brought all under the same roof, to sit at the same board, and drink of the same cup. I have a right to expect that you will second my endeavours. Since I have taken the reins of government, have I ever enquired into the former lives, actions, opinions or writings of any one? I have never had but one aim, never asked but one question,—'Will you sincerely assist me in promoting the true interests of France?' All who have answered this affirmatively, have been placed in a straight road, and urged onward to the attainment of honour, glory, and splendour for France."

The reprimand was a severe and just one; but its historical value consists in the exposition it contains of the Emperor's sentiments and policy respecting the factions by which France had been disturbed previously to the establishment of the Consulate, and the importance which he attached to public discussions on matters of government. Chateaubriand—one of the most egotistical men in Europe—was furious at the rebuke which had been administered to his eloquence; and was ever afterwards a violent opponent and detractor of Napoleon.

It was shortly after the events just narrated, and partly arising from them, that a new attempt was made to assassinate the Emperor. A young German nobleman, named La Sahla, arrived in Paris, from Leipsic, on the 16th of February, 1811, and was arrested by the police, on Sunday the 24th, in the chapel of the Tuileries, whither he had gone with the intention of executing his diabolical purpose. He subsequently made ample confession of his design and motives. "At Dresden," he said, "I heard a sermon, preached by M. Reinhardt, the senior Lutheran clergyman there, in which Napoleon, although not actually named, was compared, with sufficient distinctness, to Nero. This aroused a feeling of hatred towards your Emperor; and since then the evils inflicted on Germany have sunk deep into my heart. While pursuing my studies at Leipsic, I heard of the conscription; of the attempt of Stapps; of the seizure of the

free States of my country ; and, finally, beheld the English merchandise committed to the flames. This last act of idiotic tyranny afflicted me beyond endurance. When I saw our commerce annihilated, our shops shut, and desolation and despair weighing down all classes of citizens, I resolved to kill the author of these numerous evils. I intended to have left Leipsic six weeks later than I did ; but, upon reflection, it appeared that in killing the Emperor before the birth of a child, the success of my attempt would be more complete than if I waited till afterwards ; for should the Empress have a son, the French will become more attached to the present dynasty, and there will be less chance of overturning the Empire.

" I became a Catholic, because, the Pope having excommunicated Napoleon, it would be a meritorious act in the eyes of God to kill him ; and I knew that the Catholics would support one of their own creed. . . I incessantly practised firing with a pistol, in order to attain the necessary expertness. I have five pistols of different sizes. . . Since my arrival, I have daily passed five hours at the Tuileries. I dined at Very's, and was constantly on the watch for Napoleon's appearance. Last Thursday, I observed him walking backwards and forwards in a saloon, overlooking the gardens. The window was open, and he occasionally approached it. I should have fired then ; but a person, to whom I expressed my desire of getting a nearer view of the Emperor, told me that, in all probability, he would descend into the garden. I therefore waited, but saw Napoleon no more.

" I had several plans for his destruction : to shoot him while getting into his carriage, or while walking with Duroc in the gardens of the Tuileries, or at mass, or at the Théâtre Français. With a double-barrelled pistol I was sure of my man at a distance of thirty paces. . . I never deceived myself as to the fate which awaited me. I knew that I should be killed on the spot. Life, however, imported little to me. Had Stapps despised death as I do, Napoleon had not now existed ; for Stapps had the good fortune to be near him, but he trembled. I do not fear death. I believe firmly in predestination. If I am to die in two days, nothing can save me ; if I am not to die, no one can prevent my living. I have read, that three-and-twenty unsuccessful attempts were made on the life of Henry IV., yet the

twenty-fourth succeeded. Forty attempts may be made against Napoleon, before he is taken off; but each gives a chance the less for him and the greater for others: and what is the life of a man compared with the destruction of a tyrant.

"I have no accomplices; I opened my mind to no human being: but the tie of virtue, which unites the youth of Germany in the love of liberty, will give me successors. After me will come others, though not from Saxony, where the young men are dissolute and dishonourable; but from Westphalia, from the Hanse Towns, from Italy, and Spain. In the end, some one must succeed. My fate will overwhelm my mother and sister with sorrow: but why should the tears of two women interfere with the deliverance of Germany? Napoleon once dead, Germany will recover her ancient laws and sovereignties; French domination will be at an end, and the Code Napoleon will cease to be law. I considered not mother, sister, relations, nobility, nor privileges; the deliverance of my native land from the galling yoke of France was my only object. To attain this end, I have sacrificed all: my blow has failed, and I shall meet death with indifference."

Notwithstanding his vaunted courage, however, La Sahla solicited his life; which, on his being represented as a lunatic, was granted by the Emperor. He remained a prisoner, in the castle of Vincennes, till 1814; when he was liberated by the Bourbons, and returned for awhile to Saxony, where his uncle was Minister of State, with the intention of taking vengeance upon the King of Prussia for his oppressive conduct to La Sahla's countrymen: but "the Hundred Days" commenced before his project was ripe for execution; and the young Saxon's hatred of Napoleon having merged into that which he entertained towards the less scrupulous spoliators, who formed the Congress of Vienna, he set out again for Paris to tender his services to the Emperor, whom he now regarded as a liberator. To conceal his object and obtain a passport, he represented to Count de Hardenburg, the Prussian minister, that he intended to renew his former attempt against the French monarch; and Hardenburg, Marshal Blucher, Prince Metternich, Baron Stein, and M. de Mongelus, the Bavarian minister, are said not to have scrupled to encourage the young fanatic, nor to furnish him with means to effect his assumed

ACCOUCHEMENT OF MARIA-LOUISA.

purpose. Among other things they supplied him with a quantity of fulminating silver, the prescribed use of which has not been stated; but to this La Sahla owed his second capture. At the opening of the Chamber of Representatives by the Emperor, on the 5th of June, 1815, a dreadful explosion, resembling a clap of thunder, was heard near the entrance of the hall of Legislature: La Sahla, fearing to leave the packet at his lodgings, had carried it on his person, and his foot having slipped in the street, he fell upon the detonating powder, which, exploding, had severely wounded him. That the young enthusiast, on this occasion, had no evil design against Napoleon seems certain, from the pains he took to give information to the French authorities respecting the force, resources, and operations of the Allies. La Sahla, on hearing the result of the battle of Waterloo, is said to have thrown himself into the Seine. This is another example of the dangerous influence upon young and ardent minds of modern German illuminism.

In the autumn of 1810, the pregnancy of the Empress had been officially announced to the French Senate. On the evening of the 19th of March, 1811, it was rumoured throughout Paris that Maria-Louisa was indisposed, and her accouchement hourly expected. The Tuileries was besieged. All classes regarded the event as one of the deepest national interest. The Imperial Family, the great officers of the household, and several ministers of state, were summoned to the palace at about ten o'clock, and continued in attendance during the night. The Empress's labour was a tedious and very difficult one; and towards morning, Dubois, the accoucheur, went into the ante-chamber, in which the Emperor waited, and, with great alarm, desired instructions: there had been a wrong presentation, and he feared that either the child or the Empress must be sacrificed. Not one similar case occurs in a thousand; and the consideration that such a misfortune had happened to the Empress afflicted Dubois beyond conception. Napoleon encouraged him; telling him that a man, who understood his business, ought never to lose his presence of mind. "Forget," he added, "that she is Empress, and treat her as you would the wife of a citizen of the Rue St. Denis. Nature has but one law, and you need fear no reproach." It was then asked, if but one could be saved, which it should be, the mother or

BIRTH OF THE KING OF ROME.

the child? "The mother,"—instantly replied the Emperor; "it is her right; and besides, if she live I may have another child. Act in this case precisely as you would at the birth of a cobbler's son."

To inspire Dubois with additional confidence, Napoleon accompanied him into the Empress's chamber, and soothed and tranquillized his consort by his presence and conversation. Recourse was obliged to be had to instruments; and the Empress, fearing that she was treated differently to others, exclaimed, that "she was to be sacrificed because of her rank." So perilous was the delivery, that all pre-arranged etiquette was disregarded; and the child, when born, was put aside on the floor—the situation of the mother demanding the attention of all present. The infant was thought, indeed, to be dead, till Corvisart, the physician, who was in attendance, took it up, blew a few drops of brandy into its mouth, chafed it gently, and elicited a feeble cry. The Emperor flew to embrace him, and carried him at once into the midst of the great dignitaries of the Empire, assembled to verify his birth and sex, who enthusiastically hailed him as KING OF ROME—the title which, it had been announced, would be conferred on a son. This was at nine in the morning of the 20th of March. A few minutes afterwards, the event was announced to the people of Paris by discharges of cannon. The gardens of the Tuileries, the parks, the streets and squares, had been thronged from an early hour in the morning with persons anxious to obtain intelligence. It had been previously notified, that twenty-one guns would be fired for a princess; but that the birth of a prince would be announced by a hundred and one. At the sound of the first gun, profound silence sunk upon the previously tumultuous concourse, and continued till the twenty-second discharge, when the acclamations of the delighted multitude rent the air, and contributed as much as the cannon to carry the joyful tidings to every corner of Paris. Never was the birth of a child welcomed with more unbounded or more universal enthusiasm. The whole French population seemed delirious with rapture. The throne and dynasty of Napoleon were now considered secure; and it was hoped that new cares would engross the attention of the Emperor, and that peace, prosperity, and general happiness would ensue.

The fêtes and public rejoicings on the occasion were magnificent.

BAPTISM OF THE KING OF ROME.

Deputations were sent with congratulatory addresses from Rome, Naples, Milan, Amsterdam, and all the great cities and towns in the empire. From Austria, Russia, Prussia, Saxony, and all the European powers then at peace with France, ambassadors extraordinary were sent with the compliments of their respective Sovereigns; even the dethroned King Charles IV. of Spain, and his Queen, made a journey to Paris, for the express purpose of felicitating Napoleon on the birth of an heir to his dominions.

The King of Rome was baptized on the 9th of June, at Nôtre Dame, by his grand-uncle, Cardinal Fesch. The Emperor of Austria was his sponsor, being represented by the Duke of Wurtzburg, his brother. He received at the font the names of Napoleon-Francis-Charles-Joseph. The Prince seemed destined to inherit the greatest monarchy of modern times. The actual Empire, at this period, extended from the Baltic to the Pyrenees, and from the port of Brest to Terracina on the confines of the kingdom of Naples, and comprised a population of nearly fifty millions of persons, and the finest portion of Europe; while the power of Napoleon extending over other dominions, made the territory obedient to him, in fact if not in name, amount to upwards of eight hundred thousand square miles, and swelled the number of his subjects to more than eighty-five millions.

On the recovery of the Empress, Napoleon made a tour with her

HOLLAND.

through several of the French departments, including Belgium and Holland, where he was received with demonstrations of more decided hostility than he had experienced at any former period of his career. The Dutch, especially, regarded him as the oppressor of their country. Their opulent merchants had become insolvent; their shipping was rotting in their harbours; their quays and wharfs were deserted; and their warehouses falling to decay. The discontented burgo-masters were, therefore, little disposed to pay the homage which had been so universal throughout France. They complained bitterly of the system which was ruining their country; and ventured on more than one occasion to hint their grievances to the Emperor himself, who sought by every means in his power to ingratiate himself with the sturdy population — excepting that which alone could have afforded them satisfaction—the removal of commercial restrictions. He made magnificent presents; conferred honours; ordered the commencement of great and useful works; appeared in public with a Dutch guard only; spoke to the people of “the necessity of reducing the common enemy—the tyrant of the sea, the vampire of trade—to reason;” and, finally, undertook to establish a Chamber of Commerce; at a time, however, when, as a grave citizen ventured to assure him, “a closet would hold all the commerce left to the nation.” Yet no manifestation of opinion could divert the Emperor from the ruinous course he was pursuing: he even flattered himself from some appearances of rejoicing, which were got up during his stay in Amsterdam, that he had conquered the prejudices of the Dutch, and that they would shortly become good and loyal subjects; nor could he be persuaded to the contrary until adversity thrust upon him the conviction of his error.

Notwithstanding his pertinacity, however, Napoleon could not fail to see that his commercial system was inflicting the greatest hardships upon the Continent. He therefore, about this time, sought once more to open a negotiation for peace with England. For this purpose, M. Labouchere, a mercantile agent, was commissioned to ascertain, from the Marquis of Wellesley, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, on what terms the English Government would treat. The attempt was frustrated through the meddling propensities of Fouché; who, unknown to the Emperor, had despatched an agent of his own

THE POPE.

to London, on the same errand. Ouvrard and Labouchere opened their correspondence with the Marquis about the same time; and as neither of the negociators had any proper credentials, and each denied all knowledge of the other, the British Minister was induced to believe that both were mere spies or adventurers, and refused to communicate with either. Napoleon, informed of the result, and the means by which his object had been foiled, dismissed Fouché from the Ministry of the Police, and sent him into a kind of honourable banishment, as Governor of Rome.

Meanwhile, the quarrel of the Emperor with the Pope was the cause of much dissension and heart-burning throughout Catholic Europe. Pius, who still remained at Savona, had steadily refused to concede his temporal sovereignty; and, finding that this excited little public interest in his behalf, he dexterously availed himself of his spiritual prerogative to give another character to the dispute. At the close of 1810, he refused to grant canonical institution to a bishop, whom Napoleon had appointed to the see of Florence, and thus turned the question between himself and the Emperor from a political to a religious one. Napoleon, in return, availed himself of the only resource left him; and calling a General Council of the Bishops of the Empire, desired its decision upon the matter at issue. The Council, after considerable altercation as to its competency, issued, on the 5th of August, 1811, a decree, establishing the right of the Emperor to nominate to vacant sees, and authorizing the Metropolitan, or, in his default, the senior Bishop of the province, to grant Institution, in case the Pope, after due notice, should remain contumacious for six months. The decree was required, however, to be submitted to his Holiness for approbation, previously to being carried into effect.

A deputation of French and Italian bishops and cardinals was forthwith despatched to Savona; had an audience on the 4th of September, 1811; and, on the 20th, succeeded in obtaining a modified sanction of the proceedings of the Council; but the Pontiff absolutely refused his assent to certain propositions for limiting the power and privileges of the Church as a body. The dispute, therefore, still continued; some obstinate bishops were deprived of their sees for misconduct, and the Pope refused to grant Institution to their successors—the newly appointed bishops themselves, in some instances

THE POPE.

indeed, declined to accept their nomination until the schism should be closed. In order to give greater effect to his opposition, Pius appointed apostolic vicars to the vacant sees, to perform the bishops' functions; and even refused to recognise the Imperial divorce; thereby throwing an imputation of illegitimacy on the King of Rome. Numerous bulls, briefs, and decretal letters, enumerating the grievances of the Pope, and the general oppression of the Church, were forthwith put into circulation, not only among the prelates but among the inferior clergy, in which the assumed meekness of the Pope was brought into strong contrast with the alleged despotism of the Emperor. Napoleon, authorized by the constitution of the Gallican Church, forbade the publication of these documents in France, and arrested two of the most active promulgators, Cardinal Pioto, the Papal agent, and M. d'Astros, Vicar of Paris, his correspondent; who, together with Cardinal Pacca, who had countersigned the Bull of Excommunication against the Emperor, copies of which began now to be distributed, were consigned to the state prison of

PORTALIS.

Vincennes. It was then that the pontifical acts and menaces, though treated with contempt by Napoleon, began to have a sensible influence on the inferior clergy; and, through their exertions, a party favourable to the pretensions of the Pope arose, and spread abroad in the nation. Among others, it is said that even Cardinal Fesch, the Emperor's uncle, condemned the treatment experienced by his Holiness; and a member of the Imperial Council of State — Portalis, Director of Public Worship — was discovered, if not in actually circulating illegal and inflammatory papers, at least in countenancing their distribution.

Napoleon's anger, when he was informed of this treachery, could not be restrained. He challenged the Director with his offence in the midst of the Council. "What was your motive, Sir?" he indignantly demanded. "If actuated by religious principles, why are you here? I seek to exercise no control over the conscience of any man. I did not force you to become a Councillor of State; you solicited the post as a high favour. You are the youngest member of the Council; and, perhaps, the only one who has not some personal claim to that honour. You were recommended only by your father's services. You took an oath of allegiance to me: how could your

religious feelings permit you to perjure yourself? Your crime is a great one. Perhaps at this moment whole districts are in commotion, through your fault. . . The duties of a Councillor of State towards me are immense. You have violated them, and hold the office no longer.—Begone! Let me not see you here again!”

Portalis, as he withdrew, passed near the Emperor; who, seeing his dejection, said, in a more subdued tone, “I am sincerely grieved at this, Sir; for the virtues and services of your father are fresh in my memory.” When the Councillor had left the hall, Napoleon added, “I hope no such scene will ever occur again: it has wrought me much evil. I am not distrustful; but may become so. I have allowed myself to be surrounded by men of every party; yet, since I have held the reins of government, this is the first person in my employ who has betrayed me.”

Two or three bishops were subsequently detected in sending secret information and instructions to Savona; and Napoleon, who began, according to his own confession, to feel the task of humbling the Pope to be extremely difficult, and to fear that if he advanced he should be abandoned by the nation, after committing the delinquents to prison, dissolved the ecclesiastical Council, and resolved to trust to future events for carrying out his object of making clerical power subordinate to that of the State, as in England, Russia, Prussia, Switzerland, and a large portion of Germany. The Pontiff, however, was not released from captivity; but in 1812, on information of an intended attempt of the English to rescue him from Savona, as an instrument to promote insurrection among the faithful, he was transferred to Fontainebleau, and confided to the friendly custody of the accomplished Denon.

Pius, as the artist afterwards related, conceived a great esteem for his custodian; always called him “his son;” and delighted to converse with him on the labours of the *savans* in the Egyptian expedition. One day he requested to see the book which Denon had written on the subject. The author, knowing that all the contents were not quite orthodox, hesitated; but on being urged, produced the work, and endeavoured to gloss over the objectionable matter relative to the Mosaic account of the Creation. “It is extremely curious,” said the Holy Father; “but, in truth, I knew nothing of this before.” Denon

PIUS AT FONTAINEBLEAU.

informed him, that he had not before offered him the book, because it and the writer had formerly been excommunicated. "Excommunicated! what thou, my son?" replied Pius, with the utmost kindness and simplicity. "Have I excommunicated thee? Truly, I am sorry: I am sure I knew not of the matter, or I should never have done so."

At Fontainebleau the Pope was treated, as he had been at Savona, with the utmost courtesy and consideration. Napoleon desired "to make himself feared, but not to maltreat his prisoner; to bend the latter to his views, but not to degrade him." The pontifical household and attendance were on a scale of splendour little inferior to the Emperor's own establishment.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.
1809 to 1812.

HAVING the onward course of events for a moment, it is necessary to take a cursory review of the proceedings of the hostile armies which maintained such a protracted and important struggle in the Peninsula.

After the Spanish territory had been abandoned by the English army, defeat and disaster everywhere awaited the insurgents, whose cause, indeed, seemed to have become utterly hopeless. Soult took possession of several important fortresses and towns in Galicia; and, leaving Ney to complete the conquest and pacification of that province and the Asturias, he hastened after Romana and his bands, which fled precipitately before him, till compelled to disperse; when Soult marched direct to the attack of Oporto, and, after a siege of three days, carried that city by assault, on the 29th of March, 1809. In the meantime, Zaragossa had been again invested by the French, under the command of the gallant Lannes; and the city, as during its first siege, was defended by the brave

ZARAGOSSA.

Palafox, with the same indomitable spirit and energy, no less on the parts of the garrison and inhabitants, than on his own. It was in vain that Lannes endeavoured to impress upon the Spaniards that resistance was now become useless: soldiers and citizens, male and female, joined in the general cry of "No surrender."

The siege was conducted with the utmost skill and valour; and the defence was distinguished by the most undaunted heroism. In one street, a friar, with a sword in one hand and a crucifix in the other, was seen leading a multitude of townsmen to the ramparts; in another, women and even children mingled with the combatants, bearing refreshments to their sons, brothers, husbands, fathers, or lovers; or rushing upon the enemy to avenge the deaths of persons

so dear to them. The Spaniards, fighting for what they considered freedom and national independence, at Zaragossa exhibited a spectacle worthy of Europe and the age, and an example for all time. At length, however, when the provisions of the city were exhausted, and the streets and squares were strewn with unburied dead, a dreadful pestilence broke out among the inhabitants, and added a tenfold scourge to that of the besiegers' cannonade. The daily deaths are said to have averaged three hundred and fifty. "Men, stretched

ZARAGOSSA.

upon straw," says Mr. Southey, "lay breathing their last in helpless misery, spreading with their dying breath the mortal taint of their disease; who, if they had fallen in action, would have died with the exultation of martyrs. Neither medicines nor necessary food were to be procured, nor needful attendance; for the ministers of charity themselves became victims of the disease. The Church of the Pillar was crowded with poor creatures; who, despairing of life, hoped now for nothing more than to die in the presence of their tutelary saint. The slightest wound produced gangrene and death in bodies so prepared for dissolution, by distress of mind, agitation, want of proper aliment, and of sleep; for there was now no respite, neither by day nor night, for this devoted city. Even the natural order of light and darkness was destroyed in Zaragossa. By day, it was involved in a red sulphureous atmosphere of smoke and dust, which hid the face of heaven; by night the fire of cannon and mortars, and the flames of burning houses, kept it in a state of horrible illumination. The cemeteries could no longer afford room for the dead, huge pits were dug to receive them, in the streets, and in the courts of the public buildings, till hands were wanting for the labour. They were then laid before the churches, heaped one upon another, and covered with sheets; and that no spectacle of horror might be wanting, it happened, not unfrequently, that these piles of mortality were struck by a shell, and the shattered bodies scattered in all directions."

Colonel Napier, in speaking of this siege, attributes the obstinate defence of the inhabitants to a less patriotic cause than that generally assigned. "The Spanish leaders," he says, "insured implicit obedience by a ferocious exercise of power. The danger of resisting the enemy appeared light, when a suspicious word or gesture was instantly punished with death. . . . Amidst the noble bulwarks of war, a horrid array of gibbets was seen, on which crowds of wretches were each night suspended, because their courage sunk under accumulating dangers, or some doubtful expression, some gesture of distress, had been misconstrued by their barbarous chiefs." The bravery of the besieged was sustained also by other and less odious means. Intelligence was forged, and proclamation made, of the defeat of Napoleon, and that Palafox's brother, the Marquis of Lazan, was wasting France. "This, extravagant as it was, met with implicit credence; for such

ZARAGOSSA.

was the disposition of the Spaniards, that the imaginations of the chiefs were taxed to produce absurdities, proportionable to the credulity of their followers. Hence, the boasting of the leaders, and the confidence of the besieged, augmented as the danger increased, and their anticipations of victory seemed realized, when the night-fires of a succouring force were discerned blazing upon the hills behind the French posts."

But whatever false hopes may have been created, or coercion used with the people, it can scarcely admit of a question, that among all ranks and classes there was manifested a spirit of the most untiring hatred against the French; but for the existence of which, indeed, any attempt to establish a reign of terror must have involved its authors and the city in speedy ruin. The inhabitants were much more numerous than the soldiery; and treason on their part, which would have been the natural consequence of a barbarity, of which, without being participators, they were made the victims, would have rendered it impossible for the military to bar the entrance of the assailants.

Two-thirds of the city were in ruins; but the remaining citizens and soldiers still refused to capitulate; being resolved, according to an answer made at this period by Palafox to a French summons, "to perish under the ruins of the last mud wall." Eventually, however, the endurance of the surviving population was strained to its utmost tension. Palafox himself was seized with the pestilence; and there being few left who could bear arms, it was determined to surrender at discretion. When the French entered the city, about six thousand bodies were found in the streets and trenches, or piled in heaps before the churches. Among the prisoners taken was Augustina, called, for the masculine bravery she had exhibited in this as well as in the former siege, "The Maid of Zaragossa;" a designation not strictly correct, since she was married. She was of humble parentage, and her husband was of the lowest class; but Augustina was gifted with a genius equal to her courage, and her counsel was not less admirable than her skill and constancy. Nor was she the only heroine of the time. A lady, named Manuella Sanchez, was shot through the heart during the siege; and another, Donna Benita, who had headed one of the female corps formed to supply provisions, tend the wounded,

ZARAGOSSA.

and hurl stones from the house-tops upon such of the French soldiery as had forced their way into the streets, escaped the dangers of the siege, to die of grief on learning the death of her daughter. Six hundred women and children perished during the second siege of this memorable city; not by the ravages of the bombardment or mines, but in action, by the sword, the bullet, or the bayonet. In all there fell of the Spaniards about forty thousand persons. Mariano Dominguez, President of the Junta, took the oath of fidelity to King Joseph, on the 21st of February, 1809. "We have done our duty in opposing you," said Mariano to Lannes, "by defending our city to the last extremity. With the same constancy we shall hereafter perform our new engagements."

The fall of Zaragoza, was followed by the capture of Jaca and of Mouzon, and victory constantly followed the French eagles. Still, however, the Spaniards were undaunted; and no part of the country could be justly considered as subject to the Emperor's brother, but where the presence of French troops overawed the inhabitants. It was necessary to occupy every town and village; and the successive victories obtained, produced little more than a conviction that Spain

SUCHET.

could only be conquered by the conciliation or extermination of the whole people. Lannes did not long continue at Zaragossa, being required with a large part of his corps, to proceed on the Austrian campaign, in which he was lost to his country. On his departure, Suchet—an able general, and moderate and merciful man, who had attained his high rank by brilliant services on the plains of Italy and Germany, and of whom Napoleon afterwards said, that had there been two such marshals in Spain, the Peninsula would have been conquered and preserved—was left in command of the Army of Arragon.

The Spanish general Blake, was no sooner informed that the force of his opponents was diminished, than he left his quarters at Tortosa, and, at the head of forty thousand men, advanced from Catalonia to attempt the recovery of Zaragossa. This movement was attended by an advantage obtained by the Spaniards at Alcanitz; but that solitary success was speedily followed by reverses which obliterated the disgrace of the French arms, and disheartened the enemy. The splendid engagements of Maria and Belchitte, totally destroyed the hopes of Blake, and drove him back, upon the province he had quitted, with such precipitation and disorder, that his troops, being pursued, were compelled to seek refuge in detached bands among the mountains. Suchet then returned to Zaragossa, and at once occupied himself in clearing the city of its ruins, and repairing, as far as possible, the devastations of the siege; while, by relieving the sufferings of the inhabitants, he endeavoured to acquire their confidence and esteem. Nor were his efforts in vain. The strictest discipline was enforced among the French soldiery; justice was freely rendered to every person preferring a complaint against any individual of the army; all supplies were scrupulously paid for; the magistrates, the municipality, and the priests, were protected in the performance of their several duties; and by every practicable means the evils inflicted by the war were remedied or mitigated. The inhabitants, by no means insensible to the generosity of their victors, speedily gave occasion for remark, that the city, which of all in Spain had exhibited the greatest hostility to French domination, had become the most docile under the administration of its conquerors, if not favourable to their cause. So powerful is the influence of kindness, forbearance,

THE YOUNGER MINA.

and rectitude, even upon the most obstinate, the boldest, and the most bigotted of mankind.

The appearance of a new insurgent chief, in the person of the younger Mina, soon called Suchet again into the field. This brave but inexperienced guerilla, or partisan leader, had already collected around him a numerous and daring band; and he now summoned the inhabitants of the conquered province to rally round the standard of King Ferdinand, and drive their invaders from the country. The French General left him little time, however, for the organization of an extensive insurrectionary movement. Having intelligence of his proceedings, he pursued him with the utmost activity; and, after slaughtering a great number of his followers, took Mina himself prisoner.

CAPTURE OF TORTOSA.

In Catalonia, the French troops had been less successful, having to sustain incessant attacks, at the same time, from the regular forces of Generals Caro, Blake, and O'Donnell, and from the numerous guerilla companies, which scoured and laid waste the surrounding country—and which, consisting chiefly of natives of the province, were easily enabled to elude pursuit when defeated. The soldiers of the Empire were often reduced to the greatest extremities for want of supplies, and their foraging parties, unless inconveniently numerous, were almost certain to be cut off by rapidly increasing bands of marauders; many of whom, it is not injustice to say, seemed associated for no purpose but plunder. In order, therefore, to give the same superiority to the French arms in Catalonia as in Arragon, it was deemed necessary for Suchet in person to march against the insurgents. Accordingly, having strengthened the several fortresses which divide the province he had reduced from that he was about to invade, and posted efficient garrisons in each, the "Pacifier of Zaragossa" put his troops in motion, and descended to the beautiful plains that bound the cities of Tarragona and Valencia.

On the 4th of April, 1810, Suchet became master of the town of Balaguer; and by the 13th of June, after a desperate engagement with O'Donnell, obtained possession of Lérida, Méquinenza, and Morella. The route either to Valencia or Tortosa was then open. The French General chose the latter, and advanced against the army of Caro, which had manifested an intention of opposing his march; but, on the approach of the enemy, it retired with all imaginable celerity. Suchet, however, was unable immediately to attack the city, as his battering train had not come up, and he required reinforcements to supply the place of the men who had been left to garrison the Arragonese fortresses. These did not arrive till December. The city was then immediately invested; and on the 1st of January, 1811, the French flag floated over the walls of Tortosa. Meanwhile, various guerilla bands, under the command of Villacampa, the elder Mina, and the Empecinado, ventured once more to penetrate into Arragon, hoping to wrest their conquests from the feeble divisions by which the province was held. The expulsion of these three chiefs occupied several months. Indeed, it was almost impossible to come up with, much less to make an impression on

TARRAGONA.

them. Their flying armies were now in front, now on the flank, and anon in the rear of the columns sent against them. Sometimes they appeared in bodies of two or three thousand men; and at others ten, twenty, fifty, or a hundred seemed the extent of their force. If tracked to their lairs, they could not be found—the bands had dispersed among the rugged mountains by paths and passes known only to themselves; but their reassembling seldom failed to be notified, a few days afterwards, by the ravages they committed in the neighbourhood,—intercepting couriers, cutting off supplies, and destroying stragglers and outposts. Eventually, however, through the judicious measures adopted by Suchet, Villacampa and the Empecinado were compelled to retreat to the district of Cuença, and Mina fled to the mountains of Navarre.

Suchet, returning into Catalonia, then sat down with forty thousand men before the gates of Tarragona, one of the chief bulwarks of insurrection in the north of the Peninsula. Eight thousand men, well armed and clothed, and regularly supplied with provisions from the British shipping on the coast, shut themselves up in that city.

OROPEZA.—SAGUNTUM.

determined to abide the event of a siege; which they sustained with great courage and skill for two months, at the end of which the place was carried by assault, and the French took formal possession on the 21st of June, 1811. Napoleon was filled with joy at the news of the capture of this stronghold. He seemed, indeed, to attach importance to the most trivial successes in Spain: in all probability because his troops were more rarely victorious in that kingdom than had been customary with them in other parts of Europe. Suchet, for his services, on that and former occasions, was honoured with a marshal's baton.

The occupation of Mont-Serrat followed close upon the taking of Tarragona. The French troops seemed destined, on this part of the Continent, to revive the glorious days of the conquest of Italy. The Spanish Council of Regency, which had been recently substituted for the Supreme Junta of Seville, fearing that Valencia would experience the fate of its neighbouring province, hastened to place a large army under the command of Blake, of which ten thousand men were despatched to the fortresses of Oropesa and Saguntum to put them in a state of defence, and operate to check the advance of the victorious enemy. These, however, proved but feeble obstacles to the French troops, flushed, as they were, with victory, and led by a commander in whom they had the utmost confidence. Oropesa was reduced with little difficulty; and Saguntum, after several assaults and a desperate attempt to relieve it by Blake, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, in which the Spaniards were defeated with a loss of upwards of five thousand killed and wounded, was forced, on the 26th of October, 1811, to surrender at discretion. Blake, with the remnant of his troops, fled to Valencia, the fortifications of which had been recently repaired, and which it was hoped would be able to maintain itself till a diversion, which was undertaken by Mina and the Empecinado, should be successful, at least, in withdrawing the French army from the vicinity.

The efforts of Mina and his colleague,—of whom it may be mentioned that, after distinguishing themselves as the foremost champions of national independence, they were among the first proscribed by the despotic Ferdinand as advocates of Spanish freedom,—were for a time successful in saving Blake from assault; but Suchet, having

VALENCIA.

received reinforcements from the corps of Marshal Marmont, passed the Guadalaviar, drove one portion of the force, which had been collected to annoy him, into the province of Murcia, and compelled the other to seek refuge in Valencia itself. The inhabitants of that city, overawed by the name of the Pacificator of Zaragossa, and seeing no other prospect in resistance, than the lengthened calamities of a siege, loudly demanded that the garrison should capitulate. After a few days, therefore, namely, on the 10th of January, 1812, Blake, with more than eighteen thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war; and the French, on the 14th, took possession of the city, containing eighty stand of colours, two thousand horses, three hundred and ninety guns, forty thousand muskets, and enormous stores of powder. On the 24th of the same month, the Emperor, who was never slow to reward eminent services, issued a decree for distributing among the generals, officers, and soldiers of the Army of Arragon, a sum equivalent to the interest of two hundred millions of francs (nearly eight millions and a half pounds sterling), to be charged on the revenues of Valencia. At the same time, Marshal Suchet was elevated to the rank of Duke of Albufera, and endowed with the revenues of the salt-lake near Valencia, from which his title was derived.

A few other successes, among which may be enumerated the battle of Altafulla, fought in the last week of January, in which the Spanish General Eroles was totally defeated, and the siege and capture of Peniscola, in February, where the French appear to have been as much indebted for their triumph to the treachery and cowardice of the enemy's commanders as to their own skill or courage, completed the career of Suchet in this part of Spain. The inhabitants, having lost all enthusiasm for the cause of King Ferdinand, and imbibed a strong feeling of jealousy, if not hatred, towards the English, no longer opposed the progress of the invaders; but submitted to what they soon found an easier yoke than they had been accustomed to; and the Marshal was shortly afterwards recalled by King Joseph to assist in the unavailing attempt to stem the progress of British conquest.

During the three years that Suchet had been occupied in the conquest and pacification of Arragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, other portions of the French army under Soult, Angereau, Victor, Ney,

SOULT AT OPORTO.

Jourdan, St. Cyr, Massena, Marmont, Junot, Mortier, Moncey, and other leaders of scarcely less celebrity or talent, had been engaged in operations in other parts of the Peninsula, the details of which would fill many interesting volumes. It will be sufficient here, however, to furnish a brief outline of the most important events of the period; being those which led to the final evacuation of Spain and Portugal by the French troops, and the restoration of the Houses of Bourbon and Braganza to thrones which they had exhibited their incapacity to fill, and which their return served but to disgrace.

The taking of Oporto by Soult, on the 29th of March, 1809, was almost simultaneous with the victory of Medellin over General Cuesta by Marshal Victor, and that of Ciudad Real over the Duke del Infantado by General Sebastiani. These advantages, added to the valuable prizes taken at Oporto, consisting of immense magazines of powder, a hundred and ninety seven pieces of artillery, and thirty English vessels, wind-bound in the Douro, laden with wine and provisions, enabled Soult to introduce better discipline and establish more efficient regulations among his troops than had been previously found practicable. His first object was to gain the esteem of the Portuguese people, whom he regarded, not in the light of mere victims of conquest, who might be speedily released from the presence of their invaders by peace, but as subjects destined to augment the population of the great Empire, and whose allegiance it was necessary to secure by humanity and justice. He, therefore, says Colonel Napier, "endeavoured to remedy, as far as it was possible, the deplorable results of the soldiers' fury; part of the plunder was recovered and restored; the inhabitants remaining in the town were treated with respect; and all who had fled were invited, by proclamation, to return. No military contributions were demanded, and all violence was restrained with a firm hand; while the army was supported, and the poorest and most distressed of the population were even succoured from the captured public property."

This wise policy, as in the case of Suchet in Arragon, produced an excellent effect upon the Portuguese; who, remembering the ignominious flight of their Regent, and dreading the intention of their rulers to make the kingdom a dependency of the Brazils, were easily disposed to look with favour upon an administration, which was

SOULT.

not only willing, but able to put an end to the anarchy which had, for a long time, paralyzed the energies of the Nation. A popular party began to arise, and, gaining strength, waited upon Soult, to express its desire for an independent national government, under the auspices of a Prince of Napoleon's selection. The deputation even intimated its wishes, that the Emperor's choice might fall on him whose conduct had given such general satisfaction, and proceeded in the name of the people to declare, that the dynasty of Braganza was at an end.

Soult, carefully avoiding anything that might compromise him with Napoleon, ventured to give encouragement to the hopes of the Portuguese; and, in order still further to acquire their confidence, appointed several of their leaders to important civil posts, and raised an auxiliary legion of five native battalions. The population by these measures were soon filled with attachment to their conquerors; and in fifteen days, no less than two cities and nine towns sent addresses bearing thirty thousand signatures, of the nobility, clergy, merchants, and common people, containing their sentiments on the desired re-organization of the kingdom, all ending with an expression of the best wishes towards the Marshal himself. The deadly animosity which had existed between the French army and the peasantry of the country thenceforth subsided; even the priests forgot their fanatical rancour against those whom they had previously treated as greater enemies of the true faith than avowed heretics. French stragglers ceased to be assassinated in the neighbourhood, and the inhabitants were looked upon, in turn, as men whose friendship was worth having and not difficult to be won.

Soult, however, owing partly to the pursuit by other French commanders, in districts remote from his personal influence, of a different line of policy, was not left long at leisure to consolidate his conquest. The *Tras os Montes* on the one side, and the provinces of *Beira* and *Estremadura* on the other, were in a state of formidable insurrection. The Portuguese general *Silveira*, at the head of an army of ten thousand men, had not only recaptured the frontier town of *Chaves*, in which Soult had left a small garrison, but advanced intrepidly through the valley of the *Tamega* into *Entre Minho e Douro* itself; and before the end of April, it was rumoured that the *Victor of Vimiero*, Sir

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Arthur Wellesley, having brought out considerable reinforcements, had assumed the command of the British troops at Lisbon, and accompanied by the *prestige* of victory, was advancing with a large army to attack Oporto. Other circumstances were speedily disclosed, which rendered the situation of Soult extremely embarrassing. A conspiracy was detected in his own army for delivering him to the British General, and thus putting an end to the war; of which, as under his administration it had ceased to be profitable, and the troops began to suspect that he was desirous of making himself king of Portugal, many of the French officers and soldiers were heartily tired. The strength of the enemy was soon ascertained to exceed greatly that of the French. Wellesley had under his command twenty-six thousand British and German soldiers, sixteen thousand Portuguese troops of the line, and a large insurrectionary force; besides the chief control of the movements of General Cuesta, who was posted with an army consisting of six thousand cavalry and thirty thousand infantry, in the Alemtejo, to watch the corps of General Victor, which since the battle of Medellin had been unaccountably inactive. Soult, to oppose this overwhelming power, had about twenty-four thousand effective men, upon whose fidelity, as has been shown, he could not rely.

In this emergency, the French General saved his corps from the disgrace which had befallen his countrymen at Baylen and Cintra by the promptitude and wisdom of his measures. The greater part of his guns, stores, and baggage, was sent towards the Tamega, the passage of which Silveira vainly endeavoured to contest; and the ammunition and provisions that could not be removed were destroyed. Notwithstanding his precautions, however, the undiscovered conspirators in his camp were nigh accomplishing his and their own ruin. The Marshal's orders were neglected, or only half obeyed, and false reports of their execution made to him; while communications that would have influenced his conduct in quitting Oporto, were wilfully withheld, till it was deemed too late for him to profit by them.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, after having obtained some slight advantages on the 10th and 11th of May, over a corps of observation despatched by Soult to watch the enemy's motion on the southern bank of the Douro, took post at Villa Nova, opposite Oporto, with only the river between his and the hostile army. Well informed of the condition

RETREAT OF SOULT.

and difficulties of the French Chief, the English General hesitated not to commence the passage with a single barge, which had been procured through the aid of a friendly barber, who contriving to evade the French patrols, had crossed during the preceding night. Other vessels were speedily obtained, and a large portion of the British army were landed in the city and its neighbourhood before noon; while Soult, taken by surprise, was compelled to make a hasty retreat with the remnant of his troops in the direction of Amarante, whence he expected to find his whole force concentrated to effect the passage of the Tamega, and thence to march for Zamora or Salamanca; where, after having opened a free communication with Victor, Seville, or Lisbon might have been operated against with effect. In the taking of Oporto, the British lost twenty killed, and ninety-six wounded: the French lost about five hundred men in killed and wounded, with five pieces of artillery taken in the field, about fifty guns, and a great quantity of ammunition which had been left in the arsenal, and several hundred men in the hospitals.

Soult's retreat, on account of the difficulties overcome, was one of the most masterly ever executed. General Loison had been ordered to keep the bridge of Amarante; but, having been attacked by Marshal Beresford, and hearing about the same time of the capture of Oporto, he abandoned his post, and took the road to Guimaraens, hoping to escape into Galicia or Asturias, reckless as to the probable fate of his Commander-in-chief and two-thirds of the army. Soult, when the news of this unexpected calamity reached him, was in the neighbourhood of Penafiel. He had just passed the river Souza; it was one o'clock in the morning; the weather was wet and boisterous; the men were dropping from exhaustion; and a loud cry arose, that the army ought to capitulate. It was then that the French General, by his energy and judgment, vindicated his right to the high rank he had attained. A Spanish pedlar informed him of a path, which, ascending the right bank of the Souza, led over the Serra de Catalina to Guimaraens. He instantly caused the artillery and heavy ammunition, the baggage, and even the military chest, to be destroyed; and, loading mules and horses with sick men and musket-ammunition, he repassed the river, and followed his guide to Pombeira. The rain during the whole time fell in torrents, and

DULONG.

the paths were of the most rugged, and apparently impracticable, description. At Guimaraens, Loison and that portion of the army which had been sent from Oporto, previously to the British attack, were overtaken; and thus, when such an event could least be hoped for, the whole of Soult's force was once more concentrated.

The guns, and most of the baggage and ammunition of Loison's and Lorge's divisions, were forthwith broken up and abandoned; and the army, taking again to the mountain-paths, proceeded to the heights of Carvalho and Salamonde. Here the road branched in two directions, the one towards Chaves, through Ruivaens and Venda Nova, and the other to Montalegre, across the Cavado. Both routes, however, were represented by the scouts to be impracticable. The bridge of Ruivaens was destroyed, and the river defended by twelve hundred Portuguese, with artillery; and a party had been employed throughout the day of the 15th, in breaking down the Ponte Novo. Night was setting in, the French soldiers were harassed, barefooted, and starving; the rain, which had never ceased since the 13th, was increasing in violence, and accompanied by storms of wind; the ammunition was injured by the wet; the British army was at no great distance in the rear; and, if a passage could not be forced over the Ponte Novo, the hour of surrender had arrived. Soult, appalled it may be, but still resolute to attempt all that offered a chance of escape, sent in this extremity for Major Dulong, one of the most daring officers in his army. "I have chosen you," he said, "from all in the ranks to seize the Ponte Novo, which has been cut off by the enemy. Select a hundred grenadiers and twenty-five horsemen; endeavour to surprise the guards, and secure the passage. If you succeed, send to me; but if not, your silence will suffice."

Favoured by the storm, Dulong reached his destination unperceived, killed the centinel, before an alarm could be given, and, followed by twelve grenadiers, crawled along a narrow slip of masonry which was all that remained perfect of the bridge. One of the grenadiers fell into the deep gulf of the Cavado, which, being flooded, roared as a torrent along its rocky channel. The noise of the waters drowned the cry of the soldier; and Dulong with eleven men gained the further bank, surprised the nearest post, and put the Portuguese guards, who imagined they were in the presence of the whole French army, to flight.

THE PONTE NOVO.

The bridge was rapidly repaired; and by four o'clock in the morning Soult's advanced-guard commenced crossing. Before all the troops had passed, however, for the column of march was long, and the road so narrow and uneven that not more than three persons could advance

abreast, they were attacked in front by a number of Portuguese guerrillas, who lay concealed among the woods and crags on the heights, and on the rear by the English, who had brought their artillery to bear on the fugitives. The intrepid Dulong again saved the army; he dashed, with a chosen few, up the rocks, put the Portuguese to flight, and opened an unobstructed passage for his comrades—falling, deeply wounded, the moment after his object was achieved. The British guns, however, could not be silenced; and the bridge, the rocks, and the defile beyond, were strewn with mangled bodies of men

MILITARY MOVEMENTS.

and horses, till the gorge was choked. The Portuguese peasantry, with the accustomed ferocity of cowards, tortured and mutilated every sick and wounded man, and all the stragglers that fell into their hands; while the soldiers, in retaliation, shot the peasants, and set fire to their habitations.

On the 18th, Soult himself, bringing up the rear-guard of his army, crossed the Spanish frontier, and pursuit entirely ceased. On the 19th, he entered Orense, without guns, stores, ammunition, or baggage. His men were utterly exhausted, the greater part without shoes, many without accoutrements, and some even without muskets. Seventy-six days previously, he had quitted Orense with about twenty-two thousand men, and three thousand five hundred had afterwards joined him. He returned with nineteen thousand five hundred, having lost by the sword, sickness, capture, in the hospitals and the field, and by assassination, six thousand soldiers. He had taken into Portugal fifty-eight pieces of artillery, and returned without a cannon. Yet, according to universal admission, his reputation, as a brave and able general, was in no wise diminished.

Soult halted during the 20th of May; but, on the 21st, put his troops in motion again, to succour General Fournier; who, having been left in garrison at Lugo by Marshal Ney, while the latter, after subjugating Galicia, pressed forward to reduce the Asturias, had been closely invested by twelve or fifteen thousand Spaniards, under the command of General Mahi. The relieving army reached Gutin on the 22nd; and the same day Mahi, descrying its van on the mountains above Lugo, broke up his camp and retired to Mondenedo.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, meanwhile, having learned that Soult had retreated by Orense, returned with his whole army to Oporto, whence he intended to advance to the Spanish frontier, unite with the force of Cuesta, and driving Victor from his position, not only deliver Galicia from the French, but carry the war into the centre of King Joseph's dominions. Of this plan all that depended solely upon the English General was accomplished; but what required the co-operation of the Spaniards failed, from the ignorant self-conceit and obstinacy of Cuesta and the Supreme Junta. Wellesley crossed the frontier in the beginning of July, and on the 27th, after being thwarted to the utmost by the Allies, in whose cause he was said to

TALavera.

be fighting, obtained some advantage over the corps of General Victor at the Casa de Salina. On the morning of the 28th, he found himself with an army of about forty-four thousand infantry, and ten thousand cavalry, supported by a hundred pieces of artillery, in the presence of an enemy about fifty thousand strong; but of a quality which far more than compensated for the inferiority of their numbers, being chiefly veteran troops of the Empire; while among the Allies were between thirty-three and thirty-four thousand Spaniards, upon whom no reliance could be placed for courage, fidelity, or obedience to orders. Marshal Jourdan and King Joseph had joined Victor, the former of whom counselled the avoidance of an engagement until the result of some operations, undertaken by Soult, on the English rear should be ascertained; but Victor, opposing this advice, induced the King to hazard a general battle, in order, as he conceived, to save the capital from falling into the hands of the foe.

Accordingly, about one o'clock in the afternoon, the French marched to the attack; and at two, Victor gave the signal for battle. Eighty pieces of artillery immediately opened a deadly volley upon the combined armies, and the light troops swiftly following the storm of bullets, poured into the vale of Talavera, leading on the broad dense columns of Imperial infantry to the foot of the British line. The English soldiers met them with loud shouts, and maintaining the ground in front, and lapping their flanks with fire, repulsed them with terrible carnage. Though beaten back, however, in their first attempt, the French rallied, and made head for another assault; but the British artillery and musketry opened upon them such a destructive hail of shot, while a Spanish cavalry regiment charged their flank, that they were compelled to retire in disorder. Several movements followed, in which the French had such signal advantage that the English centre was absolutely broken, and victory seemed about to snatch her laurels from the brow of her favourite. Sir Arthur Wellesley, however, saw and seized the critical moment to turn the fortune of the day. Cavalry and infantry were poured against the advancing battalions, till the French, relaxing their exertions by degrees, were brought first to halt from pursuit, and eventually to give way, and return to the position they had occupied previously to the commencement of the battle. At six in the

TALAVERA.

evening, all hostility had ceased; each army occupying the same ground it had held in the morning. The British lost two generals, thirty-one other officers, and nearly eight hundred soldiers in killed, and four thousand five hundred and sixty wounded and prisoners. The Spaniards lost above twelve hundred men in killed and wounded; and the French had nine hundred and forty-four killed, and six thousand four hundred and fifty wounded and prisoners: and lost, besides, seventeen guns, of which ten were taken in the fight, and seven abandoned in the woods. The bad conduct of Cuesta and his Spaniards alone prevented Talavera from being a decisive victory. As it was, after resting on the field during the 29th and 30th, the British General, who could obtain no provisions for his troops, nor sufficient assistance to save his wounded from perishing, and who, moreover, in the interval, had received information that Soult was rapidly advancing on his rear, was compelled to retreat, his example being followed so readily by the Spaniards, that the wounded English, whom Cuesta had undertaken to protect, fell into the hands of the enemy.

AREIZAGA.

On the 8th of August, Cuesta was totally defeated at Arzobispo, by Soult. On the 11th, Sir Robert Wilson, with his Portuguese legion, were put to disgraceful flight at the pass of Baños by Ney; on the same day, General Venegas was beaten with great slaughter and the loss of four thousand prisoners, a considerable number of guns and carriages, and much baggage and ammunition, at Almonacid, in the province of La Mancha; and Wellesley, perceiving the futility of dependance on the co-operation of troops so utterly undisciplined and dispirited, and of officers so cowardly and treacherous as the Spaniards had proved themselves, retreated with little delay to Badajoz, relinquishing by the way a large quantity of ammunition, many horses, and even the treasure-chest of his army. A season of comparative military inactivity ensued, which was diversified chiefly by a series of squabbles, charges, and recriminations between the English Ministers and Generals and the Spanish Junta and its agents. The actions that took place were ill-directed and worse executed by the "patriots," in concert with whom Sir Arthur Wellesley, without a better guarantee than their worthless words of honour, absolutely refused to undertake any movement whatsoever.

In the meantime, however, the Spanish armies had undergone two or three changes of generals, neither perhaps for the better nor the worse; for vanity, incapacity, and the grossest ignorance seemed the characteristic of all for whom intrigue or bribery, at this period, obtained employment from the various Juntas in the kingdom. The first movement of importance made by the Spaniards was in November, 1809, by Areizaga; who, on receiving the command of an army of sixty thousand men, promised that he would speedily drive the intrusive King from Madrid, and free his country from the presence of the Imperial troops. It is but justice to this inexperienced leader to state, that he entered upon his rash campaign with the understanding that he was to have the assistance of the British and Portuguese armies, and consequently the guidance, or, to use a word less objectionable to the overweening pride of a Castilian, the counsel of Sir Arthur Wellesley in his undertaking.

On the 18th, the advanced posts of the hostile armies met between Antigua and Ocaña, and a cavalry engagement took place, in which several hundreds of the best of Areizaga's troops were slain and

OCAÑA.

wounded, and eighty men, and upwards of five hundred horses were taken by the French. On the 19th, a general action was fought at Ocaña, in which the Spaniards sustained a more than usually disastrous defeat. Besides a large number of killed and wounded, they lost twelve hundred carriages, twenty-five stand of colours, thirty-six thousand muskets, three thousand horses, mules, and draught oxen, forty-five pieces of artillery, and about twenty-six thousand prisoners. The Imperial troops, whose loss did not exceed seventeen hundred men in killed and wounded, had, by this time, acquired such contempt for their enemies, that great numbers of the captives, after being stripped of their arms, were set at liberty, and derisively told to "return to their homes, and abandon war as a trade they were unfit for." During the battle, Arizaga himself, instead of heading his troops as he had promised, retired to the clock-house of Ocaña, where,

being out of the reach of personal danger, he was enabled to observe the destruction of his army, which having witnessed, he was one of the first to fly from the field.

ANDALUSIA.

The defeat of Areizaga made it necessary for the Dukes of Albuquerque and Del Parque to quit their positions and retreat. The latter, however, did not escape without a blow. Being pursued by Kellerman, he was overtaken at the bridge of Alba de Tormes, and, on the 26th of November, defeated, almost without an attempt to defend himself—his whole army having thrown aside its arms and taken to flight at the first charge. In this rout the Spaniards lost three thousand men, and all their guns, baggage, and provisions. Sir Arthur Wellesley, after these successive disasters, broke up his camp at Badajoz, recrossed the Tagus, and marched into the valley of the Mondego: a step to which he had been long previously urged by many of his officers from regard to the health of the British troops, which had been shattered in the unwholesome atmosphere engendered by the marshes of the Guadiana, and from the impossibility of procuring regular or adequate supplies in Spanish Estremadura.

The time seemed now to have arrived for giving a decisive blow to the Spanish insurrection, and to the interference of the English in the affairs of the Peninsula. Napoleon had triumphantly closed his campaign against Austria, by a peace, which it was generally believed would be permanent. The Spanish soldiers had been disheartened by uniform defeat; their generals and chiefs were disunited; and their government complained against on all sides for want of ability and honesty, and, indeed, of lawful authority for its acts. The English army had retired in disgust into Portugal; and large reinforcements were daily advancing from Germany, to enable King Joseph, and the marshals and generals in his service, to resume the offensive, with fresh vigour and overwhelming force. The French armies, in the beginning of 1810, numbered three hundred thousand men, under the command in chief of Marshal Soult, and generalled by officers whose superiors have rarely been found in the world.

The first operations of the Imperial troops were directed against Andalusia, which was invaded on the 20th of January; the narrow passes of the Sierra-Morena being on that and the following day forced at all points, with scarcely any loss to the assailants, but with a moral effect upon the Spaniards themselves, the influence of which did not pass away with the panic which gave rise to it. At Seville, the seat of the Supreme Junta, a popular commotion broke out against

ANDALUSIA.

that self-constituted and incompetent body, which was accordingly deposed, and a Council of Regency appointed to conduct the war until the ancient Cortes of Spain could be assembled to frame a National Constitution, and provide for the future government of the kingdom. This proceeding, however, important as it may be regarded with reference to the future destinies of the Peninsula, afforded no present check to the triumphant advance of the French, who, in three weeks, became masters of the whole provinces of Andalusia and Southern Estremadura, with the exception of Gibraltar, Cadiz, Badajoz, Olivenza, and Alburquerque. The Provisional Regency sought refuge in Cadiz, which, being open to the sea, was well supplied with arms, ammunition, provisions, men, money, and what was perhaps of more value, with military skill and good counsel by the English; and was thus enabled to make an efficient defence against Marshal Victor, who had established around it, on the land side, a strict blockade. In the interior of the kingdom, victory almost invariably followed the French eagles: while on the coast, emboldened by the presence of the British, and sustained by their gold, which was lavished on all who assumed the name of Patriot, provided they were sufficiently ready to decry democracy, and engage to perish in defence of that despotism which it was the fashion of the day to dignify as "the ancient Constitution of the country," the Spaniards were found to be unconquerable, or more truly, perhaps, considering the nature and defences of the country, unassailable.

Soult, immediately his conquests were effected, devoted his chief efforts to secure them; well knowing that to a judicious policy, rather than a mere succession of brilliant achievements, the final subjugation of the Peninsula must, if accomplished, be owing. His administration in Andalusia, differed in little from that which had produced such beneficial effects at Oporto, and it was attended with similar success. The province was tranquillized; arrangements were made for regularly supplying provisions to the troops, and considerable bodies of native soldiers raised to repress the efforts of the guerillas; which last, for their support, plundered friend and foe alike.

In the meantime, Massena, "the Child of Victory," as Napoleon called him, flushed with his successes at Essling and Wagram, entered Spain; and advancing through the province of Leon, at the

LINES OF TORRES VEDRAS.

head of upwards of sixty thousand men, prepared for the invasion of Portugal, whence he hoped to expel the English General—then recently created Viscount Wellington—as Moore had been expelled from Spain about eighteen months before. So confident, indeed, was this Marshal that, in his proclamations, he taunted Wellington with being afraid to engage; and asserted that “the sails were flapping on the ships prepared to carry the English from the coast.” The commencement of Massena’s operations was auspicious. Ciudad Rodrigo, after a bravely sustained siege, was compelled to surrender on the 11th of July, 1810; and on the 24th, after a hot and desperate engagement, the division of General Crawford was dislodged from Almeida, and driven across the Coa upon the main army of the British and Portuguese. It was not, however, until September that the French pushed on to take advantage of their first successes; and Wellington, during the interval, had completed his measures for defending the country to the last extremity. As the French advanced, Wellington slowly and deliberately fell back, till having reached the Serra de Busaco, a favourable position, he resolved to halt and give battle. The hostile armies encountered on the morning of the 27th of September, and a fierce engagement ensued, in which the French were repulsed with the loss of about four thousand five hundred men, while the loss of the Allies did not exceed thirteen hundred. The latter, however, were still compelled to retreat; and before the middle of October, entered the celebrated lines of Torres Vedras, consisting of a chain of forts and natural fastnesses fifty miles in length, which had been constructed by the British, as a refuge for themselves and a protection for Lisbon in case of necessity, while the English General was supposed by his enemies to be utterly inactive, and merely meditating an escape.

Massena, soon perceiving that an attempt to force these formidable works with the number of men at his disposal, would be a waste of life and labour; and being unable to maintain his troops in the neighbourhood, commenced in the beginning of November a slow and dogged retrograde movement towards Spain, and being briskly pursued by Wellington, sustained great loss and many hardships during his retreat. “Every horror that could make war hideous,” says Colonel Napier, “attended this dreadful march! Distress,

DESERTION OF KING JOSEPH.

conflagrations, death in all modes! from wounds, fatigue, water, the flames, and starvation. On every side was unlimited violence, unlimited vengeance! I myself saw a peasant hounding on his dog to devour the dead and dying; and the spirit of cruelty once unchained smote even the brute creation." In the course of the retreat, several actions of minor importance were fought with variable success; and a general engagement at Fuentes Onoro on the 5th of May, 1811, in which both armies claimed to be victors. Massena immediately afterwards was recalled to France; and Marmont, taking the command, continued the disastrous retreat which his predecessor had begun. Olivenza, meanwhile, had been seized by the English, and Wellington advanced to invest Badajoz.

Soult, hearing that the English were in Estremadura, hastened to check their progress, and concert measures for the defence of Spain. On the 15th of May, he took post in the neighbourhood of Albuera; and next day was defeated there, by Marshal Beresford, with the loss of upwards of eight thousand of his troops. The British and Portuguese lost nearly seven thousand men. The French claim Albuera as one of their victories; and were enabled, after the engagement, to shew several stand of colours, a howitzer, and five hundred prisoners, as trophies of the day. The Allies, however, maintained their ground, while their enemies retired from the field.

It was about this period that King Joseph, — disgusted with the people over whom he had been set to reign, dissatisfied with the independent conduct of the French marshals and generals, and being without either personal authority, or private or public resources, save the monthly pittance he received from the Emperor, which was insufficient to pay the salaries of the officers of his Court, who were consequently reduced to such extreme necessity as to be sometimes in want of food,—resolved to abandon his throne and kingdom. Accordingly, after having executed a private act of renunciation, he took with him an escort of five thousand men, and, passing the Spanish frontier, repaired with all speed to Paris. Napoleon, foreseeing the mischief that must necessarily arise from his brother's flight, used every argument to induce him to return to his post; and when these failed, resorted, it is said, to threats to compel obedience. Joseph at last consented to retrace his steps; and the Emperor, to gloss over his

conduct, caused it to be generally rumoured, that he had come to Paris to arrange plans for future military operations. The war, however, from this period began to languish. The Spaniards did not fail to procure information as to the real purport of Joseph's journey, and redoubled their efforts to embarrass the generals who held the country in subjection; while the French officers and soldiers imbibed a bad opinion of a cause which even he, for whose interest it appeared to have been instituted, evidently considered hopeless.

After a great number of less important operations on each side, Ciudad Rodrigo was assaulted and taken by the English, on the 19th of January, 1812, after a siege of twelve days; and in the night of the 5th of April, Badajoz was also stormed and captured, with frightful loss of life on the parts of both English and French. So great was the havoc, indeed, that when its extent was made known to Wellington in the morning, "the firmness of that general's nature," says Napier, "gave way for a moment, and the pride of conquest yielded to a passionate burst of grief for the loss of his gallant soldiers. . . No age, no nation," enthusiastically exclaims the same author, "ever sent forth braver troops to battle than those who stormed Badajoz." It must be added, that never troops committed more terrible excesses than the victors, during the sack that followed. Drunkenness, wanton destruction of houses and goods, lust, murder, and remorseless cruelty, raged, without cessation, for two long days and nights, during which the British wounded were left untended, and their dead unburied. Yet the inhabitants of Badajoz were Spaniards, and the Spanish people were allies of England! Soult, who was within a day's march of the beleaguered town, when the news reached him of its fall, immediately retreated towards Seville, to wait for Marmont's corps, before venturing on a decisive action. Wellington, however, who, for his many and great services, consummate skill, and unsurpassed judgment, had now been created an English Earl, Spanish Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and Portuguese Marquis of Torres Vedras, pursued his success, and at once advanced upon Salamanca, in order to intercept the expected reinforcements of the Army of Andalusia, and cut off the French communications. Here, on the 22nd of July, he gave battle to Marmont; and, after obtaining a signal victory, followed his routed opponents to Valladolid, then recrossed the Douro, and

CAPTURE OF MADRID.

occupied the Spanish capital, which King Joseph, on the approach of the English, had quitted, to place himself under the protection of Suchet, at Valencia.

Andalusia and the blockade of Cadiz were forthwith abandoned; and Soult, effecting his retreat through Grenada and Murcia, united his corps with that of Suchet at Alicant, where he soon afterwards concentrated a strong force to attempt the recovery of Madrid.

CHAPTER XXXV.

RUPTURE BETWEEN FRANCE AND RUSSIA.
1810 to 1812.

ALEXANDER of Russia, notwithstanding his subsequent demonstrations of friendship, had been deeply offended with Napoleon, by the conditions of the Treaty of Schönbrunn. He had hoped that the Polish provinces, then severed from Austria, would have been ceded to himself, as a guarantee that the kingdom of Poland should not, at any future time, be restored to its ancient independence; and his jealousy was aroused on finding that Cracow and Western Galicia were annexed to the Duchy of Warsaw; the sovereignty of which had been significantly vested in a descendant of the ancient monarchs

DISPUTES WITH RUSSIA.

of the country. From this period, he was not unreasonably impressed with a belief, that his Ally waited only for a fit opportunity to reunite all the parts of that dismembered realm, and by forming them again into a powerful State, to establish a frontier for Europe, drive the Russians "back to their native forests," and annihilate the influence of the Czar in the general policy of the civilized world. Alexander, for a time, had indulged the dream of forming an universal empire, to be divided on equal terms with "the Great Man, whose amity was then deemed a benefit of the gods." The after-proceedings of Napoleon, however, had convinced him that this hope was baseless, and that nothing but the pressure of circumstances prevented his Ally from openly aspiring to that exclusive dominion, which would not have been considered as guilty ambition had Napoleon been content to share it with the northern Potentate. As the French Emperor, however, had not given occasion for a breach between himself and the Autocrat, the latter, considering his resources sufficient for the purpose, and flattered with the idea that Napoleon's conciliatory conduct towards him had been the effect of fear rather than friendship, determined, unless he could accomplish his object, to make a quarrel at all hazards.

From the time of publication of the treaty which gave peace to Austria, the Russian ambassador had been incessant in his applications to Napoleon, for a solemn and explicit declaration that Poland should not be restored to its rank as a kingdom. On such a subject, it was not easy to obtain a decisive answer from the Emperor himself. Recourse was, therefore, had to less direct means; and, on the 5th of January, 1810, Caulaincourt, the French minister at St. Petersburg, was induced, by the consideration that it might facilitate the negotiations then pending for a matrimonial alliance with the Czar's family, to sign the preliminaries of a convention between France and Russia, containing the following conditions:—"That the Polish kingdom should never be re-established: that the names of Poland and of Poles should cease to be used in all public acts: that the Duchy of Warsaw should receive no new territorial accessions from any portion of ancient Poland: and that the convention, when completed, should be published!"

Napoleon refused to ratify these unreasonable preliminaries; and

DISPUTES WITH RUSSIA.

Alexander, to avenge the affront, immediately withdrew many of the restrictions by which British commerce had been previously almost excluded from his ports. Remonstrances and recapitulations of grievances ensued, and were repeated from time to time, with increasing frequency and in a tone gradually becoming less pacific, throughout the year 1810. The marriage of the French Emperor with the Austrian Archduchess, had given a final blow to the Czar's hopes of extending his power in the fertile South; for he had no doubt that the alliance between the houses of Lorraine and Bonaparte would connect the future policy of their chiefs; and he knew that each had an equal interest in repressing the spirit of aggression which he, in common with all his predecessors, had constantly exhibited. It was the strong arm of Austria, that, on more than one occasion, had withheld Russia from despoiling Turkey, and from fixing her capital at the mouth of the Bosphorus:—Austria, too, it was that had longest withstood and profited least by the infamous partition of the country whose inhabitants had saved Europe from being overwhelmed by the Saracenic wave which destroyed the Empire of the West—Poland, whose very name it was now sought to efface from the earth! It was natural, therefore, that the Moscovite should feel uneasy, and strain every nerve to secure himself against being limited, like a wild beast, to his own barren wildernesses.

On the absolute refusal of Napoleon to assent to the propositions, Alexander forwarded from St. Petersburg a new form of engagement, so like the old in substance, however, though less candid and explicit, that it likewise was at once rejected. Kourakin, the Russian envoy, now declared, that the continued non-compliance of the Emperor with the requisitions of his Ally, could only be interpreted as an indication of ulterior designs in favour of Poland; but Napoleon was not to be intimidated. To the half-menace addressed to him, he sharply replied:—"What means Russia by holding such language? Does she desire war? If I had wished to re-establish Poland, I need but have said so; and should not, in that case, have withdrawn my troops from Germany: but I will not dishonour myself, by declaring that the Polish kingdom shall never be re-established; nor render myself ridiculous by using the language of the Divinity. It would sully my memory to put my seal to an act which recognised the partition of

PROHIBITION OF FRENCH COMMERCE.

Poland, much more to declare that the realm should never be restored. No! I can enter into no engagement that would operate against the brave people who have served me so well, and with such constant good-will and devotion. I speak not of the French; they would willingly shed your blood for subjecting Poland to your yoke. If I were now to declare that the kingdom of Poland should never be re-established, it would imply that I had entertained an intention to re-establish it, and the infamy of the declaration itself would be deemed less than that of abandoning my original purpose."

Alexander next demanded that the right bank and mouths of the Danube, and the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, said to have been stipulated for at Erfurth, should be guaranteed to him; but to this Napoleon, in deference to Austria, whose frontier such a concession would have endangered, as also to his Turkish allies, whose territory the provinces were, would not accede. The Czar thenceforth adopted towards France a hostile policy, and, in contempt of the Continental System, opened most of his ports for the importation of such British manufactured goods and colonial produce as were considered to be necessities. To display this change of disposition more fully, he published, on the 15th of January, 1811, an ukase forbidding the introduction into Russia of French wines and articles of luxury, and making a considerable abatement from former tariffs in favour of English merchandise. An invidious distinction, which seemed intended as a gratuitous insult to Napoleon, was, at the same time, made in the mode of punishing infractions of the ukase; prohibited French goods being directed to be burnt, and English or Colonial articles merely confiscated. It is not difficult to perceive the influence by which the Czar was now swayed. The British Cabinet had discovered and remedied the error of parsimony which had first driven Alexander to seek the alliance of his conqueror; and the Autocrat, since it appeared impossible to obtain territorial aggrandisement, was desirous of an equivalent in gold. The Court of London, it may be added, was perfectly blameless — if retaliation be so — in these proceedings; — since it strove only to mete to Napoleon the measure he had first dealt to England. The Emperor, however, regarded the matter with other eyes; and, on reading the official notification of the ukase, exclaimed, with great indignation, to the Russian ambassador, "Hatred alone could have

MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

dictated this act. The French nation is still strong and ardent, and not insensible to the dishonour done it by the threat to burn its productions in the Russian ports, while confiscation only is decreed against those of England. I had rather submit to a blow on the cheek, than that the fruits of my subjects' labour should be destroyed. What greater evil could Russia inflict on France? Unable to invade our territory, she attacks our commerce and industry!"

Orders were instantly transmitted to Caulaincourt, to demand the repeal of the obnoxious act; but Alexander had not taken so bold a step, without having first maturely considered its consequences. He was certain of being supported by England; and calculated upon the strong resistance of Spain, as an insurmountable obstacle to the French Emperor's undertaking offensive operations in any other part of the Continent during its continuance. He therefore refused to alter his decree; and, as a necessary consequence, began to augment his army and to prepare for a war, which he foresaw was inevitable, though he probably relied on a later date for its commencement. Napoleon, however, no sooner learned what was passing, than, with his usual promptitude, he also prepared for the gathering storm. The garrison of Dantzic was reinforced, and numerous troops were sent through Germany, and quartered in the Duchy of Warsaw, to be in readiness to take the field when matters should have reached a crisis. Alexander, who, as we have said, had not looked for so ready an acceptance of his challenge, to gain time, demanded explanations. He was briefly told in reply, that his own military preparations had rendered it necessary for Napoleon and his Allies to guard against sudden hostilities. The Czar protested that his intentions were perfectly pacific; but, at the same time, recapitulated all his real and supposed grievances, adding to them a demand for the restoration, to its legitimate sovereign, of the Duchy of Oldenburg, which had been seized with the Hanse Towns, for its constant violation of the British Blockade; and, in the meanwhile, Russian troops continued to be pushed forward into the Polish territory.

Napoleon was still unwilling to enter upon a war with Alexander. He offered, therefore, in order to bring the dispute to a close, to pledge himself that he would not, directly or indirectly, favour any enterprise for the re-establishing of Poland as a kingdom; to grant

RUSSIAN ULTIMATUM.

any reasonable indemnification for the seizure of Oldenburg; and to consent to the opening of the Russian ports to England, under a system of licences, such as was beginning to be generally adopted in France, Italy, and Germany. The Czar, believing these concessions to be indications of weakness, in expressing his readiness to accept them, coupled with them such terms as he must have known would not be acceded to. He demanded the active interference of the French Monarch, in case an attempt to recover their independence should be made by the Poles themselves; the surrender of Dantzic, or a portion of the Duchy of Warsaw, in lieu of Oldenburg; the entire evacuation by Napoleon of Prussia and Swedish Pomerania; and the withdrawal of all French troops from the Polish territories. On these conditions only would he consent to a modification of the ukase concerning French and British commerce. Kourakin, in submitting this ultimatum to the Cabinet of the Tuileries, signified his intention to quit Paris within eight days if it were not accepted. This was doubtless intended to be considered as a declaration of war. "It was long," said Napoleon, when at St. Helena, "since I had been accustomed to such a tone, and I was not in the habit of allowing myself to be anticipated. I could have marched to Russia at the head of the rest of Europe. The enterprise was popular: the cause was European. It was the last effort that remained to be made by France. Her fate and that of the new European system depended on the struggle. Russia was the last resource of England. The peace of the whole world rested with Russia. . . Yet Alexander and I were in the situation of two boasters, who, without wishing to fight, were endeavouring to frighten each other. I would most willingly have maintained peace, being surrounded and overwhelmed by unfavourable circumstances; and all that I have since learned, convinces me that Alexander was even less desirous of war than myself."

Military preparations of such magnitude as had never before been witnessed, continued, for some months, to be made on both sides: and political negotiation and intrigue lent their aid to the growing dispute. Alexander exhausted all the resources of his gigantic empire; and Napoleon put forth his utmost strength, not merely to cope with but to crush his antagonist. All the disposable French troops, thirty thousand Austrians, fifteen thousand Prussians;

APPEAL TO THE POLES.

numerous armies of Italians, Bavarians, Saxons, Westphalians, Wurtembergers, and other contingents of the Rhenish Confederation, were equipped for war, and got into readiness to march at the earliest notice. An appeal was also made to the Poles for their co-operation. The Abbé de Pradt was sent ambassador to Warsaw, with instructions to offer "Liberty and Independence" to the inhabitants. "The object of your mission," said Napoleon, in a letter to his minister, "is to enlighten, encourage, and direct the operations of the Polish patriots. The misfortunes and weakness of the Poles were occasioned by an aristocracy which knew neither law nor restraint. At that period, as at present, the nobility were powerful, the citizens oppressed, and the people of no account. But notwithstanding these disorders, a love of liberty and independence prevailed throughout the country, and long supported its feeble existence. These sentiments have been strengthened by time and oppression. Patriotism is an attribute of the Poles; and exists even among members of the great families. . . Poland shall be free and independent! As to the choice of her sovereign, that point must be decided by treaty. . . The Emperor lays no claim to the throne for himself or his family. In the great work of restoration, he has only in view the happiness of the Poles, and the tranquillity of Europe. . . Should pecuniary resources be wanted, his Majesty will assist the Polish treasury by assignments on the extraordinary domains which he possesses in Poland and Hanover.

"With respect to Saxony, there will be no sacrifice without compensation. Saxony can attach but little importance to the sovereignty of the Duchy of Warsaw. As it now exists, it is a precarious and troublesome possession. It is but a fragment of Poland; yet it places Saxony in a false position with respect to Austria, Prussia, and Russia. . . The Emperor is aware of the difficulties he will have to encounter in his endeavours to bring about the re-establishment of Poland. That great political work will oppose the apparent and immediate interests of his Allies. The French Empire, however, will make great sacrifices of territory, by way of indemnity, for the cessions to be made for the re-establishment of the Polish kingdom."

Meanwhile, a large army of reserve was organized in France, ostensibly for the defence of the interior, during the absence of

PERFIDY OF BERNADOTTE.

the Grand Army in the approaching campaign. This consisted in an extraordinary levy of national guards, who were divided into three *bans* or classes: the first being men from twenty to twenty-six years of age, who had not been called to serve in the regular army; the second included all persons capable of bearing arms from twenty-six to forty; and the third was composed of able-bodied men between forty and sixty. This force was intended as a substitute for the conscription, which, to some extent, had been already anticipated. At first it was decreed that the bans should not be required to cross the frontier; but as dangers thickened around the Empire, most of them were drawn into foreign service, and their blood swelled the torrents that flowed in defence of him against whom every potentate of Europe was not long afterwards leagued.

During these proceedings, Alexander was not idle. Besides the immense forces which his own dominions were at all times able to yield, and the large subsidies paid to him by England, he secretly negotiated with Prussia for her covert assistance, and formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Sweden—Bernadotte choosing this time to turn and bite the hand that had hitherto protected and exalted him. The consideration for this piece of treason was the ancient kingdom of Norway, which it was stipulated should be annexed to Sweden; and the Czar, in addition to this, promised Bernadotte, that if their efforts against Napoleon should be successful, Alexander would use his influence with the other powers of Europe to procure for his Ally the throne of France! This fact, incredible as it may appear, is vouched for by De Bourrienne, the personal friend and admirer of the Jacobin King, and the enemy of the French Emperor. Thus the blackest perfidy and ingratitude were the means of confirming to the husband of Desirée Clary the advantages, which his marriage with one who was esteemed by Napoleon, had placed within his reach. Through British influence, Russia was also enabled about this period to make peace with Turkey, and thus to disengage a large army from eastern hostilities, to bring into the field against a far more formidable enemy.

Fouché, Cardinal Fesch, and several other councillors of ability, endeavoured to dissuade Napoleon from his warlike undertaking. The Emperor, however, was confident as to his means; and does not

NATURE OF THE WAR.

appear to have doubted his ultimate success. "The war," he said, "is a wise measure, demanded by the true interests of France and the general security. The great power I have already attained, forces me to assume an universal dictatorship. Ambition has no share in my views. I wish to obtain no new acquisition; and reserve to myself only the glory of doing good, and the blessings of posterity. There must be an European Code: one Court of Appeal; one system of money, weights, and measures; equal justice and uniform laws, throughout the Continent. Europe must form but one great nation, and Paris must be the capital of the world."

With the mass of the people and the army, the war was exceedingly popular. The most extensive State in Europe, it was believed, was about to be humbled before the power of France; and Britain was to be left single-handed to struggle for mastery with the Great Empire. As a certain pledge of victory, Napoleon in person was to conduct his invincible legions to the new scene of triumph.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

NAPOLEON AT DRESDEN — VISIT TO DANTZIC AND KÖNIGSBERG — PASSAGE
OF THE NIEMEN—LITHUANIA—RETREAT OF THE RUSSIANS—WITEPSK—
SMOLENSK—VALOUTINA—RESOLUTION TO ADVANCE UPON MOSCOW.

1812.

AFTER having made the necessary arrangements for the government of France during his absence, Napoleon, with the Empress, departed, on the 9th of May, 1812, for Dresden, on his way to join the Grand Army, now assembling on the Polish frontier, in order to carry the impending war into the Russian territories. The progress of the Imperial pair was a continued triumph. Every town and village along the road made holiday, in order to welcome them; and the ringing of bells, and

music, and acclamations, greeted them wherever they appeared. Nor was the popular enthusiasm limited to France. In Germany the same demonstrations were universally made; and the people crowded to see him, of whom they had heard so much, and whom many of them regarded as a preternatural being, destined to change the face, and to control the fate, of the world. The capital of Saxony had been named by Napoleon as a general rendezvous for the Kings and Princes in alliance with him; and there, accordingly, assembled three-fourths of the Potentates of Europe to do homage to their superior. Among those by whom the French Emperor and his Consort were welcomed, were the Emperor and Empress of Austria, the King of Prussia, who came uninvited, probably as a spy; the Kings of Saxony, Naples, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Westphalia, and a troop of Sovereign Princes of all grades; from the wealthy and powerful Elector of Baden, to the penurious Baron of Kniphausen, with his standing army of about twenty men.

"Ye," says the Abbé de Pradt, "who wish to form a just idea of the pre-eminence exercised by Napoleon in Europe, transport yourselves in imagination to Dresden, and there contemplate him at the period of his highest glory, so nearly bordering on his fall! The Emperor occupied the grand apartments of the palace, whither he had transferred a considerable portion of his household. There he gave grand dinners, and, with the exception of the first Sunday, when the King of Saxony had a gala, Napoleon's parties were always attended by the assembled Sovereigns and their families, agreeably to invitations issued by the Grand Marshal. The Emperor's levees, too, were held there, as at the Tuileries, at nine o'clock. Then with what timid submission did crowds of Princes, mingling with the courtiers, and often scarcely perceived among them, anxiously await the moment for presenting themselves before the arbiter of their destinies. Napoleon was there the king of kings. On him were turned the regards of all men. The throng of strangers, of military men and courtiers, the arrival and departure of couriers, the crowd constantly gathered round the gates of the palace to catch a glimpse of the Great Man, or following his footsteps, watching his looks, and listening with awe to his lightest words,—form a picture the most sublime and magnificent that could be dedicated to the memory of

DRESDEN.

Napoleon." It is elsewhere related, that the French Monarch was compelled to insist on some attention and respect being paid to his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria; who, in the brilliant assemblage, was in great danger of being overlooked. Napoleon, it is

added, on all occasions gave precedence to Francis; a concession with which the latter was highly gratified. For Frederick William, "melancholy in heart and in looks," says Sir Walter Scott, "he wandered through the gay and splendid scenes, a mourner rather than a reveller." If he had felt no interest in the pageant, however, it is tolerably certain that he would not have been an actor in it, his attendance at Dresden having been perfectly voluntary. That he was not pleased with his situation as a tributary to his conqueror is probable; but the heir of the Great Frederick was on the watch for other malcontents, on whom he might depend for assistance, if an opportunity to attack his host should be brought about by the course of events.

It is worthy of remark that, notwithstanding the attempts of Stapps

DRESDEN.

and La Sahla—both Germans—to assassinate Napoleon, that Emperor had not at Dresden a single armed Frenchman in attendance on his person—the Saxon body-guard being the only soldiers on duty. “I was in so good a family,” he said, when subsequently reminded of this fact, “with such worthy people, that I ran no risk; I was beloved by all; and at this moment,”—the Emperor was then a prisoner at St. Helena,—“I am sure the King of Saxony daily repeats for me a *Pater* and an *Ave*.”

Napoleon himself was occupied, during the greater part of his stay in the Saxon metropolis, with military and political arrangements relative to the campaign about to be opened, and the conduct of the war in Spain; from which last the Imperial officers and soldiers were desirous of being withdrawn, as from a field where neither glory nor more substantial rewards were to be acquired. It was the pride of the army to follow the Emperor. Where he was no murmur or complaint was to be heard; and defeat was unknown beneath his banners. Under other commanders, it had been sufficiently experienced, that the risks of war were the same with the French as with ordinary soldiers. Maria-Louisa, who appeared passionately fond of her husband, in order to seize every interval of leisure to be with him, secluded herself almost entirely from other company. The Emperor Francis and the concourse of Kings and Princes tired themselves with attending the fêtes, banquets, concerts, and theatrical entertainments, daily given at the expense of the French Monarch; and lauded his munificence and condescension to the skies. The Empress of Austria was especially attentive to her step-daughter, upon whose toilet and jewellery she is said to have levied heavy contributions. She appears, however, to have been greatly mortified at having to perform a subordinate character on the occasion; and to have taken a personal dislike to Napoleon, by whom she conceived herself to have been abased—a circumstance which may be worth remembering, as, in conjunction with her well-known influence over the Emperor Francis, affording a clue to the subsequent conduct of the latter towards his son-in-law.

Before quitting Dresden, Napoleon made a new attempt at negotiation with the Czar, by despatching the Count de Narbonne to Wilna, to propose terms of accommodation; but Alexander would listen to

DANTZIC.

no proposal that had not for its basis the entire evacuation by the French of the Duchy of Warsaw, Prussia, Oldenburg, and the North of Germany. Additional troops were therefore pushed forward towards the Niémen; and such an army was speedily congregated in Poland as had never, perhaps, been gathered since Alexander the Great invaded India. Immense quantities of men, horses, carriages, provisions, and baggage of every description, were directed upon one point from all parts of the European continent. The gigantic expedition embraced people of nearly all nations, languages, religions, manners, and costume. It seemed as if he, who had set on foot such an armament, had contemplated the conquest of the world, and drawn forth all his resources for the enterprise!

Napoleon quitted Dresden on the 29th of May, accompanied as far as Prague by the Empress. Then, parting with Maria-Louisa, he hastened to Dantzic, which he had converted into a huge magazine and warehouse; and of which he designed to make a second Gibraltar. Rapp, the governor of that city, had always been a favourite with the Emperor; not less on account of his bravery than the freedom with which he was accustomed to utter his thoughts. Napoleon wished to consult him on several matters relating to the invasion of Russia, which Rapp had previously ventured in his despatches to disapprove. He gave his counsel and opinion without hesitation. "If your Majesty experience any reverse," said the General, "the Prussians and Germans will rise *en masse* to shake off your yoke. It will be a crusade, in which all your Allies will abandon you. The King of Bavaria, in whom you have so much confidence, will join the coalition. The King of Saxony, from inclination, might remain faithful to you; but he will be compelled by his subjects to make common cause with your enemies."

Murat and Berthier had preceded the Emperor. The former, dissatisfied at being summoned from his gay Court of Naples to take part in a new war, bore no good will to the expedition; but exhibited discontent and vexation in all that he said and did. Napoleon at once perceived the change in his looks and demeanour, and questioned Rapp as to the cause. "Is he ill?" was the enquiry. "No, Sire," replied the General, "not ill, but in low spirits."—"And wherefore?" continued the Emperor; "is he not satisfied with being a King?"

"He says," answered Rapp, "that he is not so."—"It is his own fault, then," observed Napoleon hastily. "Why has he become a Neapolitan, instead of remaining a Frenchman? When in his own kingdom, he does nothing but blunder. He favours the commerce of England, and that I cannot permit." Rapp confesses that he had himself favoured the same commerce. "The people," he says, "were so miserable that I had not the heart to be severe; I therefore overlooked many smuggling transactions, in direct opposition to the Imperial custom-house regulations, and in defiance of the officers appointed to seize British merchandise." Napoleon, although aware of these derelictions, prudently took no direct notice of them. He knew that the Governor, by his lenity, had acquired the confidence and esteem of the Prussians, whom it was now more than ever necessary to retain as friends; and he was seldom unwilling to make a liberal allowance for the prejudices of those on whose general attachment and obedience he could rely. It may be doubted, indeed, whether, notwithstanding his language concerning Murat, it had not by this time entered into his own mind to doubt the possibility of maintaining the Continental System, without arming against him the whole of Europe, and thus causing the overthrow of the power he was striving to consolidate.

On the day after his arrival, the Emperor gave audience to the civil and military authorities of Dantzic; and in the evening supped with the King of Naples, the Prince of Neufchâtel, and General Rapp, at the hotel of the government. Passing through the hall, he observed a bust of the Queen of Prussia; and pinching the Governor's ear, exclaimed with a smile, "Master Rapp, I give you notice that I shall inform Maria-Louisa of your infidelity."—"You recently informed me," replied the accused, "that the King of Prussia was one of your Allies." De Bourrienne, on the authority of Rapp, relates that the supper was a dull affair at first; for the Emperor was silent, and none present, not even Murat, dared to take the first word. Napoleon, at length, enquired the distance from Cadiz to Dantzic. "Too far, Sire," replied Rapp. "I understand you," said the Emperor; "but in a few months, General, it will be greater."—"So much the worse, Sire," continued the General. There was another interval of silence, which neither Murat nor Berthier, whose

countenances, meanwhile, were rigidly scrutinized, ventured to break. At length, Napoleon, in a low and serious tone, resumed the conversation: "Gentlemen," he said, "I see clearly that you have no

relish for the war. The King of Naples has reluctantly quitted the fine climate of his own kingdom; Berthier desires nothing better than to hunt on his estate at Grosbois; and Rapp is impatient to inhabit his mansion at Paris." The King and the Prince still said nothing; but Rapp frankly avowed that his Majesty had spoken the truth. Napoleon, with all his knowledge of mankind, does not appear to have foreseen that, by enriching his generals, loading them with honours, and surrounding them with pomp and luxury, he was tempting them to defection. It never, perhaps, occurred to him, that the King of Naples—though now himself become a fountain of honour—and the Sovereign Prince of Neuchâtel could possibly be actuated by a spirit different from that which animated the same men when, from being mere soldiers of the Army of Italy, they first became distinguished at Montenotte and Lodi, as the indefatigable, the ardent, the chivalrous Joachim Murat and Alexander Berthier: nor was this commencement of proof to the contrary, sufficient to convince him that his partialities and prepossessions might betray his judgment. A cool and calculating observer, however, might, from this period, have predicted that the star of Napoleon was on the wane.

ADDRESS TO THE ARMY.

The Emperor quitted Dantzic on the 11th of June, and after having reviewed the corps of Davoust on the road, arrived, on the 12th, at Königsberg: where he inspected the immense stores which had been collected for supplying the army during its advance into the barren region about to be invaded. Major-General Count Daru was now strictly examined as to the contracts entered into for provisions, and the mode of their fulfilment, and it was found that no detail had been neglected. The ardent and active mind of the Emperor was for some days engrossed with these important particulars. Money, orders, and advice were prodigally issued for the service of the troops. "The day," says Segur, "was passed in dictating instructions on questions of subsistence and discipline; and the night in repeating them. One general received from him six despatches in the same day, all displaying the most anxious solicitude. In one letter it was said, 'For the masses we are about to move, unless proper precautions be adopted, the grain of no country could suffice.' In another, 'All the provision-waggons must be laden with flour, rice, bread, vegetables, and brandy. The result of my movements will be the concentration of four hundred thousand men upon one point; little, therefore, can be expected from the country; we must consequently carry everything with us.'"

Before giving the signal for hostilities, a final effort was made to conciliate the Czar. Count Lauriston was charged with a mission to Alexander, to see if the differences between the two Emperors—sworn brothers at Tilsit and Erfurth—could even yet be settled without bloodshed; but neither Alexander nor his ministers would deign to grant the envoy an audience. This contemptuous repulse annoyed Napoleon, who immediately gave orders for the army to advance and pass the Niémen. "The vanquished," he said, "have assumed the tone of victors; they are drawn by fate, which has decreed their destiny." The following proclamation, dated from the Imperial head-quarters at Wilkowsky, was forthwith distributed among the troops:—

"Soldiers! The second war of Poland has commenced. The first was terminated at Friedland and Tilsit. At Tilsit, Russia swore eternal alliance with France, and war against England. She has openly violated her oath; and refuses to render any explanation of

STRENGTH OF THE ARMY.

her strange conduct till the French eagles shall have repassed the Rhine, and, consequently, left their Allies at her discretion. Russia is impelled onward by fatality. Her destiny is about to be accomplished. Does she believe that we have degenerated? that we are no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz? She has placed us between dishonour and war: the choice cannot for an instant be doubtful. Let us march forward then, and, crossing the Niémen, carry the war into her territories! The second war of Poland will be to the French arms as glorious as the first; but our next peace must carry with it its own guarantee, and put an end to that arrogant influence which, for the last fifty years, Russia has exercised over the affairs of Europe."

The Grand Army was now put in motion. It consisted of about four hundred and twenty thousand men; and was divided into thirteen corps, exclusive of certain chosen troops and the Imperial Guard. The first corps was commanded by Davoust; the second by Oudinot; the third by Ney; the fourth by Prince Eugene, Viceroy of Italy; the fifth by Poniatowski; the sixth by Gouvion St. Cyr; the seventh by Reynier; the eight by Jerome, King of Westphalia; the ninth by Victor; the tenth by Macdonald; the eleventh by Augereau; the twelfth by Murat; and the thirteenth by the Austrian Prince Schwartzenburg. The different corps of the Guard were confided to three Marshals — Le Febvre, Mortier, and Bessiéres. These advanced in three overwhelming columns. Napoleon reviewed them all in turn, and talked with freedom, gaiety, and military bluntness to the men of whom they were composed. Every regiment, and the history of the battles in which it had been engaged, were well known to him. He occasionally paused before the veterans, who had served with him of old, reminding them of their achievements at the Pyramids, at Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and Wagram. But while the seniors were thus honoured, the young were not neglected. Some of them were called before him, and questioned as to their wants; whether they were regularly paid, and properly supplied. In cases of vacancy among the officers, the soldiers were asked to name the most worthy in the ranks to fill the places; and those pointed out were interrogated respecting length of service, their campaigns, wounds, and feats of arms; and, if approved on examination, they

THE NIÉMEN.

were formally introduced to the regiment with their new honours. These attentions operated as a spell upon all classes. The soldiers remarked to each other, that their Great Emperor, who decided the fate of nations with a word, descended in behalf of his followers to the minutest particulars, and treated them all as members of his family. With the knowledge of such facts, it is not surprising, that men were willing to accompany him whithersoever he should lead.

At the approach of the French army, the Russians, who had advanced to the Niémen to contest the passage, retired without hazarding a blow. At two in the morning, on the 23rd of June, the Emperor reached his advanced posts in the neighbourhood of Kowno; and, putting on the cloak and bonnet of a Polish light-horseman, rode forward, accompanied only by General Haxo, to explore the banks of the river for a favourable spot to cross. This

was found at a point where the stream was narrowed by a projection of the bank, near the village of Poniémen, just above Kowno; and orders were accordingly given to turn the heads of the columns in this direction, and have them in readiness to pass the river at nightfall.

PASSAGE OF THE NIÉMEN.

In the course of the day, the whole of the troops arrived on the banks of the river. One division rested opposite Grodno; another formed on Pily, between Grodno and Kowno; and the third on Nogarisky, a farm a little beyond Kowno. The spectacle was magnificent—nearly half a million of men, among whom were upwards of eighty thousand cavalry, in all the splendour of military array, were gathered in three mighty masses, flushed with hope and thirsting for renown, under a leader whose name was a watchword throughout the earth, to carry their fame and achievements to the confines of the civilized world. With them were six bridge equipments, one besieging train, several thousands of provision waggons, innumerable herds of oxen, thirteen hundred and sixty-two pieces of cannon, and many thousands of artillery and hospital waggons and carts. The glittering eagles, the streaming of flags and banners, the clash of arms, the trampling and neighing of horses, the strains of martial music, and incessant bustle and activity, kindled enthusiasm in every breast. All doubt, despondency, reluctance, and regret vanished; and every one seemed eager to be foremost in the race of glory about to open.

Towards evening, a few sappers crossed the river in a skiff. The only person they saw was an armed Cossack, who demanded the purpose of foreign troops in the Russian territories. "To beat your Emperor, and take Wilna," was the reply; upon which the patrol withdrew into a neighbouring wood, into which three French soldiers discharged their pieces, in token of hostility. These sounds alone announced this tremendous invasion. Immediately afterwards, three hundred voltigeurs were put across to protect the establishment of three bridges, which General Eblé was ordered to construct; and two hours after dusk, all being in readiness, the columns began to file across the river, as silently as possible. At sun-rise, next morning, the Emperor took his stand near one of the bridges, and encouraged the men as they passed, by his presence and exhortations. In the course of the morning, a violent thunder-storm arose; which has since been regarded as an ominous welcome to the Southrons in that wild land; but no auguries were deduced from it at the time.

It was now ascertained that the Russian armies of the frontier, numbering about three hundred thousand men, were in full retreat on all sides, evidently intending to evacuate Lithuania, without

hazarding a blow. Napoleon, desirous of opening the campaign with a victory, urged forward his columns with the utmost celerity. Their course, however, was impeded for awhile by an accident. The retreating Cossacks had broken down the bridge of the Vilia—a stream running into the Niémen beside the walls of Kowno. A Polish squadron of light-horsemen, regardless of the obstacle, dashed into the river. The tide, however, had been swollen and rendered impetuous by recent heavy rains, and when the swimmers reached the middle of the current they were separated, and many swept away and engulfed. Some struggled bravely against the torrent; but, eventually finding their efforts unavailing, they turned their last looks towards Napoleon, who, with deep emotion, watched them from the bank, and, as they were sinking, they shouted “Vive l’Empereur!” Napoleon waited at Kowno, where he established hospitals and a garrison, till his whole army had crossed the Niémen—a space of three days.

Proceeding thence, the advanced-guard arrived, at two in the afternoon of the 27th, beneath the walls of Wilna, having encountered no opposition, nor discovered any appearance of an enemy, except a few predatory Cossacks, who were promptly dispersed, on the road. Dispositions were now made for a serious attack the next morning—Napoleon having no suspicion that the enemy would abandon so important a post—covering as it did three lines of magazines—without at least a show of resistance. Alexander, however, having

POLAND.

heard that the Niémen was crossed, had already, after setting fire to his provisions and stores, in order that they might not fall into the hands of the French, commenced a retrograde movement. He had been for some time at Wilna with his Court; and had vauntingly promised the citizens that their habitations should not be defiled by the presence of invaders. But when at a ball, given by General Beningsen, at the castle of Zacreſt, he heard of the rapid advance of Napoleon into the Russian territory, he instantly quitted the dance, and gave orders for a retreat; which, it may be added, was executed with such alacrity, that the movement resembled a flight. The cavalry of the French advanced-guard was speedily despatched in pursuit towards Drissa; and, meanwhile, at noon on the 28th, Napoleon, with the Polish guard of Prince Radziwil, made his public entry into Wilna, "amid the fervent acclamations of a people who regarded him as their Liberator."

The first act of the Emperor, after taking possession of the Lithuanian capital, was to organize a provisional government for the province; of which M. Bignon, since distinguished as author of 'The Testament of Napoleon' and a 'History of French Diplomacy,' was appointed French Commissioner. The Diet of Warsaw, about the same time, summoned a general confederation; and, under the presidency of Adam Czartorinski, proclaimed the re-establishment of Poland; summoned all their countrymen to quit the service of Russia, and rally round the national standard; and, finally, sent a deputation to Napoleon, announcing what they had done, and entreating his assistance towards the entire restoration of the kingdom in its ancient integrity. "We implore," said the petitioners, "the support of the Hero, to whose name belongs the history of the age, and who is endowed with the might of Providence. Let the Great Napoleon pronounce his fiat, that the kingdom of Poland shall exist, and it will be established. The Poles in return will unite at once, and unanimously, in the service of him to whom ages are but as a moment, and space no more than a point." The answer of Napoleon, when we remember his language previously to the commencement of the war, appears unexpectedly cold and dubious. "If I had reigned," he said, "when the first, second, or third partition of Poland took place, I would have armed my people in your behalf. When I conquered

POLAND.

Warsaw, I instantly restored it to freedom. If your efforts are unanimous, you may compel your enemies to recognise your rights ; but the country is so extensive, and the distance from France so great, that your hopes of success, in the attempt to throw off the yoke of your oppressors, must chiefly depend on your own united efforts."

It might be reasonably inferred from this language, that the Poles had not exhibited such spirit and energy as was deemed necessary to entitle them to a pledge of freedom ; yet, that this was not the case we have the direct testimony of Napoleon himself, who, in his sixth bulletin, announcing the arrival of the Grand Army in Lithuania, says, " The people of Poland are rising on every side. Priests, nobles, peasants, women, all concur in demanding the re-establishment of their nation." The universal desire for liberty, indeed, could not be for a moment doubted. It was displayed in public and in private by all classes. The national banners were unfurled ; and, after being consecrated by the clergy, were paraded through city, town, and village, followed by multitudes of people in the ancient costume of the country, which had been proscribed by the despoilers. The inhabitants stopped to embrace and congratulate each other in the streets and on the roads, and nothing was talked of but the opening-day of glory and independence. Why that independence was not distinctly promised, as the reward of the exertions of a brave and generous race, it is vain now to enquire. The Emperor undoubtedly felt shackled by his engagements with Austria and Prussia, and at that moment the alliance of those powers was of vital importance to him ; since the supplies for his troops, the advance of his reinforcements, his communications with France, and his retreat, in case of disaster, all depended upon their sufferance ; but there must have been something beyond this, as it was well known that Austria was willing to exchange Galicia for her Illyrian provinces, and Prussia had been already deprived of most of her Polish possessions, and had not thought of stipulating for their restoration. The result of the conduct pursued might easily have been foreseen ; the Poles became dissatisfied ; and instead of supporting Napoleon, with their lives and fortunes, looked coldly on his enterprise, and made a profitable traffic of their hospitality. Even the Lithuanian Provisional Government remained inactive, as men fearful of being called to

NAPOLEON AT WILNA.

answer for their acts, and uncertain to whom the account would be finally rendered. Their timidity was such indeed, that of a guard of honour, which had been proposed as a mark of respect to the Emperor, three volunteers only it is said ever made their appearance on parade. "Had Poland been regenerated," says De Bourrienne, "Napoleon would have found the means of succeeding in his expedition. In his march upon Moscow, his rear and supplies would have been protected, and he would have secured that retreat which subsequent reverses rendered but too needful."

The French head-quarters were established at Wilna for eighteen days, which the Emperor occupied in endeavouring to remedy the mischiefs which had befallen a great portion of his army, in consequence of the deficiency of his Commissariat. It was a novelty in the military system of Napoleon, for an army under his command to be burdened with the conveyance of its own supplies. His troops had usually subsisted on contributions levied in the various countries which had been the seat of war; and now that it had become imperative for them to depend on resources entirely independent of the localities they were to traverse, the want of experience produced innumerable blunders and delays in entering into contracts, calculating means of transport, and in short in every particular which required vigilance and precaution on the parts of subordinate officers and men. Napoleon himself had contemplated all contingencies, and given directions for arrangements, which, had they been completed with the spirit in which they were conceived, would have amply sufficed for the circumstances; but negligence and want of skill, in those entrusted with the details, proved fatal to the service of the Emperor at the very commencement of the campaign. When the army crossed the Niémen, not a third of the provision-waggon and herds of cattle, intended for the use of the troops, had reached head-quarters; and, on halting at Wilna, the Emperor learned that the privations of some portion of the army had been such, that many hundreds of men, and about ten thousand horses, were left dead on the road, from hunger and fatigue. Before the middle of July, although not a battle, and scarcely a skirmish, had been fought, twenty-five thousand patients encumbered the hospitals at Wilna; and the neighbouring villages and hamlets were filled with persons

perishing for want of medical assistance and necessary food. Thus circumstanced, the soldiers naturally resorted to pillage for the means of sustenance, and their exactions contributed, as much as the coolness of the Emperor, to alienate the affections of the inhabitants. Napoleon did all in his power to repair these numerous evils; but his army was too unwieldy, and composed of too many kinds of soldiers, to be subjected readily to the strict discipline which he had been accustomed to exact.

Meanwhile, the corps of Murat, Oudinot, and Ney, rapidly followed the retreating Czar towards Drissa; while Davoust advanced towards Minsk and Vigumen, to intercept the army of Bagration and the Cossack-force under Platoff; which, in the flight of the Russian Grand Army, had been left behind upon the Niémen, and upon which the King of Westphalia was now pressing in front. Alexander, perceiving the danger in which one important division of his army had been placed, by the rapid movements and skilful combinations of the French, in order to gain time to retrieve his errors and receive reinforcements, sent an aide-de-camp, Count Balachoff, to Wilna, under pretence of opening negotiations for peace. Napoleon received the envoy with kindness, and expressed the liveliest regret, that there should have occurred a rupture between himself and the Russian Emperor, which he said he had done all in his power to avoid. Balachoff stated, that his master was ready to resume the Continental System, and would consent to treat upon that basis, on condition that the French army repassed the Niémen, and evacuated the Russian territory. This unreasonable proviso was instantly rejected: "Treat on the field, here, at Wilna," replied Napoleon. "Diplomatists would come to no conclusion when the exigencies of the moment were removed. Let Alexander sign admissible preliminaries, I will at once repass the Niémen, and thus render peace certain." If Alexander had sincerely desired to negotiate, this was a proposal which he would readily have embraced; but he having manifested no disposition to do so, Napoleon, on the 16th of July, quitted Wilna, to direct in person the operations which he had ordered for the more vigorous conduct of the war.

The corps of Bagration was now completely surrounded. Napoleon himself was seven days' march nearer than that General to the fortified

MISCONDUCT OF KING JEROME.

camp of Drissa, whither Barclay de Tolly, who led the Russian main army, under the nominal command of Alexander, had retired; and whither Bagration sought to fall back: Davoust occupied Minsk and the Lithuanian defiles, leading to Witepsk and the Dwina, or Düna; and the King of Westphalia was advancing from the Niémen, with instructions to drive the enemy into the snare prepared for him. Nothing but the blunders and obstinacy of Jerome could have saved Bagration from being utterly destroyed or captured. That young Prince, however, was vain of his Imperial connexion, of his royalty, and of the command with which he had been entrusted; and being now required to act under the orders of Davoust, an inferior in rank, instead of covering himself with honour by obedience, he chose to remain for three days utterly inactive, during which Bagration had time to refresh his troops and withdraw, cautiously, to the southward; where, being unpursued, he crossed the Berezina at Bobruisk, and finally reached the Dniéper (the ancient Borysthenes) at Mohiloff. Napoleon, being informed of the misconduct of his brother, wrote to him in the following indignant terms:—"It was impossible for any manœuvre to be worse executed. In affording time for Bagration to retreat, you have lost the fruit of the most able combinations, and the finest opportunity for a successful encounter, that has occurred during the war." Jerome, considering this treatment derogatory to his kingly title and office, at once threw up his commission, and retired from the army to his own dominions, without even forwarding to the general who succeeded him the instructions he had received. Napoleon might well, in after-life, exclaim that "he had received little or no support from the members of his family," whom, without sufficient regard to their qualifications, he had endeavoured to make partakers of his high destiny and renown. The corps of Jerome was shortly afterwards placed under the command of Junot.

Bagration, notwithstanding the advantages afforded him, did not escape without a blow. Davoust, by rapid counter-marches, had reached Mohiloff before the Russians; and, though the latter numbered about thirty-five thousand men, and the French force amounted to but twelve thousand, Davoust did not hesitate to offer battle. The Russian General, attempting to force a passage through the handful of his opponents, on the 23rd of July, was defeated with great loss, and

FLIGHT OF ALEXANDER.

compelled to change his route, and descend the Dniéper. Davoust's brave followers, however, being worn-out with fatigue and privation, were unable to continue the pursuit; which enabled the Russians to find an unobstructed passage into their ancient territories, at Novoi-Bichoff, whence they shortly afterwards proceeded to reinforce the Grand Army at Smolensk.

Murat, Oudinot, and Ney, during this period, had pushed after Alexander to the entrenched camp at Drissa, where it had been proposed to concentrate the Russian armies. Two or three partial actions occurred during the flight of the latter, in which sometimes the French and at others the Russians had the advantage; but, although earnestly desired by the French, who were heartily tired with following the shadow of an enemy, whose existence in any numbers could only be ascertained by the devastation committed in retreating—the ruins of towns and villages, the flames of burning corn-fields, and the mangled bodies of massacred Lithuanians—no general engagement could be snatched; and, consequently, no signal victory. The alarmed Czar did not even halt at Drissa; but, evacuating his position there, ascended the Dwina by Polotsk, and fled to Witepsk; the corps of General Wittgenstein being detached to observe the French right, and cover St. Petersburg, which was menaced by Macdonald. Napoleon, apprized of the abandonment of Drissa, instantly issued orders for the concentration of his army at Beszenkowicsi, where, on the 25th of July, Prince Eugene had a sharp encounter with the corps of Doctoroff, the commander of the Russian rear-guard, who was driven across the Dwina, and compelled to seek refuge in the long and narrow defiles before Witepsk. The object of the French Emperor had been to gain the last-named city before the enemy; but having been outstripped in speed, he now determined to expel Barclay, and take the place by assault.

On the 26th, Murat advanced to Ostrowno, where he led the eighth regiment of hussars in a gallant attack against three regiments of Russian cavalry. The King, on this occasion, fought at the head of his men with the same romantic bravery and enthusiasm as when a private in the ranks. Six captured cannons were the trophies of this dauntless charge. In the evening, Murat was joined by Eugene; and, on the following morning, the Russians having received rein-

forcements and taken a new position, renewed the combat. At first the enemy was successful, bearing down all opposition by the overwhelming numbers which he brought into engagement. Murat, seeing that confusion was arising among his soldiers, placed himself at the head of a regiment of Polish lancers, and galloped headlong into the thickest of the fight. The Russians in turn gave way, and entered some thick woods in the neighbourhood. Napoleon at this moment reached the spot; and, being informed of what had occurred, ascended a hill in front of his advanced posts, and having reconnoitred the positions of the enemy, gave orders for the army to march forward. In the evening, the French troops bivouacked in the plain which surrounds the city of Witepsk.

On the 27th, before day-break, the army of Napoleon was in motion, burning to resume the contest of the preceding day, and to complete the discomfiture then only commenced. The first rays of the sun shewed the enemy arrayed in battle-order, evidently intending to defend the approaches to the city. The deep rivulet of Luczissa alone separated the two armies. A small bridge was speedily thrown over the ravine, and the French rushed to the combat. The first who advanced were about two hundred Parisian voltigeurs, belonging to the ninth regiment of the line. The sixteenth chasseurs followed, with some pieces of artillery. Murat, entertaining too great a contempt for his opponent, and impatient to begin the battle, precipitated the chasseurs upon the whole Russian cavalry. They were speedily driven back, however, with dreadful slaughter. The impetuous King, no longer able to restrain his fiery spirit, galloped among the routed horsemen, and, calling them to follow, rushed upon the advancing foe, who, disconcerted at such an unexpected assault, drew their bridles in dismay. The fifty-third followed the remains of the sixteenth; and the Russians, after a few moments' indecision, fell back hastily and in disorder. In their retreat, they encountered the Parisian voltigeurs, whom the rapid evolutions of the cavalry had isolated between the two armies. Napoleon, who had taken post on an eminence whence he could overlook both armies, gave them up for lost; but, with a courage and presence of mind which could not be surpassed, these brave men cleared for themselves a passage through the midst of the enemy's lines, and left of their assailants more than their own number

dead on the field. A shout of triumph rent the air as the bold voltigeurs emerged from the cloud of smoke and fire, which had at first concealed them, and stood in the presence of the great French army. Napoleon, who had watched them with the utmost anxiety, instantly despatched an officer to learn the corps to which such brave men belonged, and to demand from themselves which of their number most deserved the cross of the Legion of Honour, which he placed at their disposal. "We are children of Paris," replied the gallant voltigeurs; and, placing their caps on the points of their bayonets, they responded to the cheers with which they had been greeted with loud acclamations of "Vive l'Empereur!" The Russians shortly afterwards withdrew to a stronger position; and Napoleon put an end, for that day, to the battle, in order to prepare for a general engagement next morning, which the disposition and force of the Russian Commander-in-chief seemed to indicate his intention of offering.

WITEPSK ABANDONED.

Barclay de Tolly, it is said, had actually resolved to give battle on the morrow; but, in the course of the night, he received information of the escape of Bagration across the Dniéper, and of his march upon Smolensk. Upon this intelligence, the Russian quarters were instantly abandoned with the most profound silence, and so expeditiously, that at day-break on the 28th the camp was empty. Napoleon, at first, would scarcely credit the report of this retreat; but, hastening forward, he had the mortification to find that the prize had too surely eluded his grasp. Nothing had been left behind by the retiring army; not a trace could be discovered of the route it had taken; and when the Emperor entered Witepsk, that city was as desolate as the Russian lines: no one was to be seen in the streets; and, after diligent search, only a few Jews and Jesuits could be found in the houses, none of whom were able to give the least information as to the flight of the troops or the inhabitants.

Napoleon, perplexed by the conduct of his opponents, fixed his head-quarters, for several days, at Witepsk, and held there a council of war, to learn the opinions of his marshals and generals on the course to be pursued. The majority wished that the army should halt until the ensuing spring, when the supplies would have arrived, and the army in the interval might receive a new and more effective organization. The Emperor, however, could not listen with patience to this over-cautious advice. It was yet the height of summer, and merely a few towns, villages, and huts had been conquered, with a force which had been deemed adequate to overrun the almost boundless empire that had been invaded. It was necessary that something should be done to maintain the glory of the Imperial arms, and the confidence of the soldiers. Moscow was the goal of Napoleon's hopes. There, he flattered himself, he should find all that his troops needed; and the occupation of the "great, the sacred city" would strike the Russians with dismay.

Meanwhile, the Czar's Grand Army and that of Bagration were united at Smolensk; and his forces being now as numerous as that of his opponents, Barclay de Tolly resolved to assume the offensive, hoping to fall upon the French before their army could be concentrated. Napoleon, however, while appearing to slumber, was closely watching the motions of the enemy, with a view to profit by any

ADVANCE TO SMOLENSK.

blunder that might ensue. No sooner, therefore, had Barclay's purpose become apparent, than a plan was formed to counteract his movements, get into the rear of his army, occupy Smolensk, and cut off his communications with Moscow and the centre and south of Russia. No time was lost between the conception and execution of this daring design. Suddenly removing his line of operation from Witepsk to Minsk, the Emperor pushed forward, with a hundred and eighty-five thousand men, to the Dniéper; so that, instead of moving towards the right of the enemy, where the Russians were strongest, he was found, when least looked for, upon their left-flank and in their rear.

Napoleon quitted Witepsk on the 13th of August, accompanied by the Guard, the Army of Italy, and three divisions of the corps of Davoust; while Murat, Junot, Ney, and Poniatowski, advanced by different routes to support the movement. After traversing the woody country between the Dwina and the Dniéper, the Emperor crossed the latter river at Rassasna, where, on the 14th, he fixed his headquarters for the night. On the following day, the army marched altogether, prepared to fall, at a word, into battle order. The advanced-guard drove before it several hordes of Cossacks, who hovered around to destroy all the bridges, provisions, and forage that could be found in the French line of march. On the 15th, at three in the afternoon, the troops came in sight of Krasnoi, which some Russians endeavoured to defend, but they were speedily dislodged by Ney. On entering the town, a division of six or eight thousand of the enemy was observed posted a little beyond. This was the corps of Neweroskoi, which had been sent forward from Smolensk to keep the invaders in check. The Russians, however, did not wait to be attacked, but retreated on the first menace. Murat hastened forward in pursuit—the ground being favourable for cavalry. Neweroskoi conducted his retrograde march with such skill and bravery as won the approbation of all. He united his columns, and formed them into a square of such thickness, that it was impossible for Murat to penetrate or throw it into disorder. When closely pressed by the cavalry, the men faced about, awaited the onset with firmness, discharged their muskets, and resumed their retreat under cover of the smoke. Numerous difficulties impeded the Russians; but they laboured with undaunted perseverance, and, surmounting every obstacle,

SMOLENSK ATTACKED.

reached Smolensk in the evening—having lost twelve hundred men in killed, a thousand in wounded and prisoners, and eight pieces of cannon. This occurred on the Emperor's birth-day; in honour of which and of the capture of Krasnoi, Murat and Ney ordered a salute to be fired from a hundred pieces of artillery,—a compliment which by no means gratified Napoleon; who observed, that “it was necessary, in Russia, to be economical of gunpowder.”

The Russian commanders, Barclay and Bagration, finding that they had been outmanœuvred, now hastened to retrieve their error and to save Smolensk; which, like Moscow, was called *Holy*, and considered besides as the key of ancient Russia. The inhabitants of this city were just returning from their temples, where they had been to offer thanksgivings for some imaginary victories of their troops, when Neweroskoi returned, with the bleeding remnant of his corps, to inform them that the victorious French were at their gates. Towards evening, on the 16th, Napoleon, with the main body of his army, arrived beneath the walls of the place; and, shortly afterwards, clouds of dust upon the opposite bank of the Dniéper announced the approach of a succouring army of Russians. The Emperor ascended an eminence in the vicinity to reconnoitre, and thence perceived several dense columns of men moving forward with the utmost celerity. It was Barclay and Bagration, hurrying, with breathless speed, to the rescue of Smolensk. Napoleon, as their long array of glittering arms became distinguishable, could not refrain from expressing his satisfaction. “At length, I have them!” he exclaimed; and, leaving the hill, he passed rapidly along the line of his own troops, assigned to each commander his station, and made all necessary arrangements for the battle, which he believed would be fought next day.

The Russian Commander-in-chief, however, aware of his inability to cope with Napoleon in the field, remained, during the 17th, within the walls of Smolensk, whence he despatched Bagration and a strong corps on the road towards Elnia, to cover the flight of the inhabitants, and to convey from the city such stores and provisions as could be removed on the instant. The French meanwhile attempted to carry the place by a *coup-de-main*; but the walls were too high and thick, too strongly flanked by towers and bastions, and too well manned, to

BURNING OF SMOLENSK.

be stormed on a first assault. After a day's hard fighting, therefore, in which the fire from the besieged and the besiegers did about equal execution, the Russians remained masters of the city, and Napoleon had merely gained a few posts in the environs. At night the attack was continued; and Count Lobau, obtaining possession of the ditch, was enabled to act with greater effect in dislodging the defenders. Soon after midnight, some shells having been thrown over the walls, thick columns of smoke, and subsequently, crackling sparks and pyramidal flames were seen rising into the air from all quarters of the city. These, soon uniting into a mass, announced a general and fearful conflagration, the effect of which was heightened by frequent explosions of gunpowder, the whirling on high of blazing fragments, and awful crashes accompanying the fall of large buildings and churches. At first, the French believed the disaster to have been occasioned by their own bombardment; but the extent of the devastation soon convinced them that it must have been the work of the Russians themselves, who had adopted the desperate resolution of destroying their habitations rather than suffer them to shelter the invaders of their soil. The day had been hot and harassing; the night was clear and beautiful. The Emperor sat for some time in front of his tent, gazing, in gloomy silence, upon the progress of the flames. "The spectacle," he said, in the bulletin which announced the event to the French people, "resembled that offered to the inhabitants of Naples by an eruption of Vesuvius."

About two in the morning of the 18th, the Poles of Poniatowski penetrated within the walls, and found that, after committing it to the flames, the Russians had evacuated the city, leaving their dead and wounded in the midst of the burning ruins. When Napoleon entered, it was over huge heaps of mangled and blackening bodies, many of which still retained life and consciousness. The French soldiers were horror-stricken. The first cares of the Emperor were to arrest the progress of the flames, and to attend to the wants of the poor wretches whom their comrades had abandoned; and who, though enemies, of the most barbarous kind and character, were treated with all the kindness and attention which humanity could prompt.

After having surveyed the outworks and fortifications of Smolensk, Napoleon ascended an ancient turret, from an embrasure of which he

VALOUTINA.



was enabled to examine the new position of the Russians on the farther bank of the Borysthenes. A slight glance sufficed to convince him that the enemy was in full retreat — Barclay having taken the road to St. Petersburg, and Bagration that towards Moscow. With his customary penetration, the Emperor immediately surmised that this voluntary separation of two armies, which had been at such extreme pains, and made so many sacrifices to effect their junction, was merely a feint; and he accordingly ordered the pursuit, which was confided to Ney, to be made in the direction of Moscow.

The enemy was soon overtaken and attacked, at the hill of Valoutina, where a furious engagement took place. Four times the Russians were chased from their positions, and as often brought up reinforcements and returned to the encounter. Thirty thousand men on each side were successively brought into action, and the carnage was terrible. Never, perhaps, was more individual valour displayed than on this occasion. The Russian General Toutchkoff was assailed in

JUNOT.

the midst of his own soldiers by a brave lieutenant of the twelfth regiment, named Etienne, and compelled to deliver his sword; and General Gudin charged at the head of his division with such impetuous energy as swept every impediment before him. The battle lasted till nightfall; and the Russians, through their superior knowledge of the ground, were enabled to escape during the darkness. The victory—if such it might be called—was dearly purchased with the life of Gudin, who, at the close of the day, fell mortally wounded. He was conveyed to Smolensk, where he shortly afterwards died, and was buried in the citadel. The Russian army would, it is said, have been completely broken and routed had Junot faithfully executed the orders which had been transmitted to him. He had been sent across the Dniéper to prevent Barclay from reuniting his corps with that of Bagration, and had thus an opportunity of attacking the latter in the rear: but, instead of acting with vigour, he was undecided what to do, and remained totally inactive, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of Murat and the advice of General Gourgaud. He refused, in fact, to act on his own judgment, or to obey or follow the counsel of others; disclaiming any subordination except to the Emperor himself.

Napoleon was at Smolensk, busied with despatches and arrangements, when he heard of this battle. He was much grieved at the loss of the intrepid Gudin, and mortified beyond measure at the misconduct of Junot. "I will see him no more," he exclaimed to Berthier: "he shall be removed from his command, which I will give to Rapp, who speaks German, and who will therefore be best able to manage the Westphalians." "Junot," observes M. Laurent de l'Ardèche, "was always the same sub-officer whom Bonaparte, as commandant of artillery, had remarked and become attached to, on account of his sang-froid and courage at the siege of Toulon. But the Republican Serjeant, on becoming Duke of Abrantes under the Empire, began to shew the first symptoms of the malady [insanity] of which he died. It was his inaction and obstinacy on the present occasion that preserved the Russian army from total destruction."

At dawn, on the morning of the 19th, the Emperor visited the scene of the preceding day's fight in person, and passed in review the regiments which had distinguished themselves. The battalions of

REWARDS.

Gudin's division were reduced to mere platoons; but they were animated with honourable pride, from a sense of having bravely discharged their duty. Napoleon could not proceed along their front, without stepping over piles of the slain, and trampling on bayonets bent and twisted in the desperate conflict. His praises and rewards were more than usually liberal, and his conversation and looks were those of a father in the midst of his family. He declared that the battle of Valoutina was one of the most brilliant exploits in the military history of the age. The twelfth, twenty-first, and hundred and twenty-seventh regiments of the line, and the seventh of light infantry, being all Gudin's regiments, received among them eighty-seven crosses of the Legion of Honour and promotions. The captains of the seventh were called around the Emperor, in a circle. "Point out to me," he said, "the best officer of your regiment." "Sire," was the reply, "they are all good."—"That is no answer," continued Napoleon; "come at least to the conclusion of Themistocles, 'I am the first, and my-neighbour the second.'" At last, Captain Moncey, who was then absent on account of his wounds, was named. "What!" exclaimed the Emperor, "Moncey, who was my page? The son of the Marshal? Seek another!" "Sire," said the veterans, "he is the best."—"Ah, well!" resumed Napoleon, "I shall give him the decoration." The hundred and twenty-seventh regiment had hitherto marched without an eagle, because it had not previously had an opportunity to distinguish itself in action. Napoleon now delivered to it the imperial ensign with own hands. None of the troops which had taken part in the engagement were forgotten. For all there were substantial rewards; and, what by the soldiers were deemed of equal value, kind words, smiles of encouragement, enquiries as to their wants, and sympathy for their sufferings. The Emperor, then the master of more than three-fourths of Europe, "king of kings," the marvel of the world, was looked upon and beloved as the veritable companion in arms of the meanest private in the ranks of his army.

But while shedding glory, and conferring honours and happiness on others, the Emperor himself was a prey to the deepest anxiety and dejection. His brave troops were rapidly falling around him. Provisions were hard to be obtained; and the victories which had been wrested from the enemy had afforded no permanent advantage; nor

ANXIETY OF NAPOLEON.

brought a step nearer the hope or prospect of peace. The system of warfare adopted by the semi-savage tribes, into whose territory the French had advanced, began now to be understood. The burning and ravage of the country were not the mere effect of sudden desperation, but of cool and calculating determination, formed upon the maxim which Napoleon had expounded in Egypt, that "an army cannot exist in the midst of ruins." Moreover, the Russians converted their work of destruction into a double-edged weapon against their invaders; for, after setting fire to their towns and villages, destroying their corn and hay, and breaking down their bridges, they represented these things as the acts of French incendiaries; "legions of demons," as they were called, "led on by Antichrist." By these falsehoods, the terror of the inhabitants was raised to such excess, that all classes fled from the face of the foe, as from a pestilence. Nobles and peasants hastened into the interior of the country; and, even when they returned, refused to touch aught that had been defiled by French use. One great fear of the Russian boyards, is said to have been, "that the slaves would rise up and throw off their bondage; and that the doctrines of the Revolution would loosen the grasp of the wealthy upon the wretched serfs who composed the population of the country. The most improbable and disgusting fables were consequently resorted to, to excite horror and disgust among the lowest of the people, whose ignorance and superstition were thus made the means of perpetuating their degrading vassalage." What made these aspersions more bitter was the fact, that no opportunity of intercourse with the population was allowed for confuting them; till, at length, the soldiers, advancing from wilderness to wilderness, from one conflagration to another, began to entertain vague, but disheartening, presentiments, that the campaign, if continued, would be ruinous to the noble army engaged in it.

Smolensk was at this time a vast hospital. Fifteen large brick buildings, which had been saved from the flames, were entirely occupied by the sick and wounded, and numbers had been left behind, at Wilna and Witepsk. Medicine and surgical requisites were so deficient, that the surgeons were compelled to tear up their own linen for dressings; and, when this failed, to have recourse to parchment and paper; and, finally, to the down gathered from the

RESOLUTION TO ADVANCE.

birch trees with which the Russian forests abounded. Food and forage could scarcely be procured in any direction; and reports of constantly occurring deaths from starvation, added to the gloom and anguish of the Emperor, and to the melancholy forebodings of his followers.

To counterbalance, in some slight degree, the many distressing considerations which weighed upon Napoleon's mind, he had the satisfaction, while at Smolensk, to learn that Macdonald, who had been detached from the Grand Army to blockade Riga, had obtained several considerable advantages over the enemy; and, in addition to maintaining possession of Courland, had stricken St. Petersburg itself with panic. Farther south, Oudinot, and after him St. Cyr, had signally defeated General Wittgenstein, at Oboïazina, in the neighbourhood of Polotsk; and Regnier and Schwartzenburg had beaten and routed the forces of Tormasoff, at Gorodeczna.

At a council of war, held under these circumstances, several of the French generals were of opinion, that the army should rest where it now was: but this, in a wasted country, with a greatly disorganized army, and in quarters straitened by the recent conflagration of Smolensk, appeared to be impossible. "Our troops," argued Napoleon, "may advance, but are incapable of remaining stationary. Motion may keep them together: a halt or retreat would at once dissolve them. Ours is an army of attack, not of defence; of operation, not of position. We must advance upon Moscow, gain possession of that capital, and there dictate terms of peace to the Czar!" His experience had not yet prepared him for the extent of sacrifice which the infuriated Russians were capable of making.



CHAPTER XXXVII.

ALEXANDER AT MOSCOW—ADVANCE OF THE FRENCH ARMY—PORTRAIT OF
THE KING OF ROME—BATTLE OF THE MOSKWA. 1812.

AGER to obtain fresh supplies of men and money, and to learn the disposition of his subjects, Alexander had quitted his army immediately on its retreat to Witepsk, and hastened to Moscow, where meetings of the nobles, the principal clergy, and the wealthiest merchants of the empire had already been convoked, to deliberate on the measures rendered necessary by a French invasion. The whole of Russia was, by this time, in a ferment. Every defeat of her troops in former campaigns had been invariably represented as a victory. At Austerlitz, at Friedland—wherever Moscovite soldiers and those of Napoleon had crossed arms—according to the bulletins of the Czar, the “Children of the Revolution” had been compelled to yield to the superior valour and skill of the “Loyal Armies of the North.” The temerity of the

ROSTOFCHIN.

French Emperor in entering upon the sacred territory, whose frontier he had never before dared to cross, elicited the profoundest astonishment as well as indignation in all classes of those who had been taught to regard themselves as his conquerors. It never occurred to the Russians, generally, to doubt the truth of what had been told them respecting their former achievements; they, therefore, saw only in the expedition of Napoleon an audacious attempt to avenge former disgraces, by carrying wanton havoc into the homes of his bravest opponents. All that could be conceived of baseness or perfidy in man, all that could be gathered of vice or crime from the annals, even of Russia, was charged upon "the new Moloch of the age," affirmed in proclamations, preached as gospel by the priests, and implicitly believed by the Scythian natives. Hence it became a question of religion and of life itself, for the whole Russian people to unite, as one man, against the supposed foe of the human race and of the Almighty.

In order that the reception of Alexander in his ancient capital might be rendered as impressive as possible, a scene was arranged for the occasion, by Count Rostopchin, the governor of the city. The dignitaries and rich boyards of the empire were assembled at the Kremlin, and the Count, in a strain of eloquence adapted to their comprehension, addressed them on the flagrant enormities which the French tyrant daily committed; on his expressed determination to deprive Russia of its independence and nationality; to plunder and give its towns and cities to the flames; to massacre the best and bravest of the inhabitants; to destroy the temples and to change the religion of the land. When the earnest tones and vehement gestures of the Governor had aroused his auditors to the requisite pitch of enthusiasm, the Czar suddenly made his appearance in the midst of them, and, being received with the wildest acclamations, concluded the harangue which Rostopchin had commenced. He spoke of his love for the Russians; his devotion to the customs and religion of his country; of his fixed resolution to make no peace with the "man of treachery and blood," while the presence of a single Frenchman polluted his dominions; and concluded by demanding sacrifices commensurate with the urgent necessities of the case, and the greatness of his design. "The disasters with which you are threatened," said

he, "should quicken your decision as to the means of consummating the ruin of the enemy."

Segur's account of this meeting is the description of a mad rabble, rather than of sages or patriots. The long beards, glaring eyes, convulsed features, writhing arms, clenched fists, foaming lips, gnashing teeth, and ferocious curses and imprecations of the assembly shewed how deeply all were excited by the terrible pictures of foreign domination which had been presented to them. The object of Alexander was accomplished. When he had finished speaking, a general exclamation arose, "Demand all! we offer all! accept all!" The nobles unanimously offered to recruit the army of the Czar with ten out of every hundred of their serfs; while some agreed to arm and

RUSSIAN SACRIFICES.

equip those yielded by their estates, at their own expense. The Grand Duchess Anne, who had entertained hopes of sharing the throne of France with the then friend of her brother, evinced her chagrin, by furnishing a whole regiment to fight against the renegade by whom she had been disappointed. Platoff, the Cossack Hetman, promised his only daughter and two hundred thousand rubles (about forty-five thousand pounds sterling), to any man who should slay Napoleon. The merchants voluntarily imposed on themselves contributions, amounting, in several instances, to half their fortunes; and the inhabitants of Moscow undertook to raise and equip an army of eighty thousand men. "In proportion," says Mr. Hazlitt, "as men approach to a savage or half-civilized state, the hateful passions are usually predominant; and credulity and terror are naturally excited against any supposed violence or wrong meditated by others, from a knowledge of what themselves are in the habit of suffering or inflicting. Passion is always energetic; and nothing makes us sooner forget ourselves than our dread or hatred of others." It may be doubted, nevertheless, whether the phrensy of the Russians would have been sufficient to induce them to consent to the suicidal destruction of their Holy City, which, from the Czar's obscure hints at the "means of consummating Napoleon's ruin," appears to have been already contemplated. Their treasures, and the blood of their slaves, were of trifling account in comparison with their own household hearths, their national superstition, and their reverence for "Mother Moscow," which contained the relics of their saints, and the tombs of their forefathers, and was, besides, the scene of almost all their miracles. Rostopchin seems thoroughly to have understood the temper of his countrymen on this as on other points; for while he diligently employed himself in collecting combustibles, and manufacturing various kinds of destructive fire-works to be used in the meditated conflagration, he occupied a number of females in constructing large balloons, from which, he said, he intended to shower down fire upon the invaders. The people, amused by the novelty of the expedient, lent all the assistance they could to a design, which, had it been made public, would have been universally execrated.

From Moscow, Alexander hastened to St. Petersburg; whence, after causing *Te Deum* to be celebrated for the constant "victories" of his

RUSSIAN RETREAT.

troops,—thus, to use the language of Napoleon on the subject, “lying not to man alone, but to God,”—he despatched General Kutusoff to supersede Barclay de Tolly as Commander-in-chief of his forces, “thinking,” says a Russian author, “that a Russian name, at the head of the army, was necessary to nationalize the war.” Barclay was a German, of Scottish extraction, and, though enjoying, in a high degree, the confidence of the Czar, was disliked by most of the Russian generals. His successor was a genuine Scythian in features and character; and, though utterly incompetent to direct the operations of a civilized army, was, perhaps, better adapted than a man of greater talent, to command a congregated multitude of half-disciplined barbarians. Barclay, on quitting his post, was appointed war minister at St. Petersburg.

In the meantime, Napoleon, having determined to advance upon Moscow, after a few days’ rest in Smolensk, pushed forward in pursuit of the still retreating Russians, who continued to destroy everything likely to be rendered available for food or shelter in their line of march. Dorogobouje was drained of its population, and given to the flames like Witepsk and Smolensk; and the roads beyond that town were thickly strewn with the bodies of starved and over-driven men, women, and children, who had forsaken their habitations, under the fear that the approaching French would inflict upon them some newly invented horrors worse than death itself. On the 28th of August, Napoleon’s advanced guard overtook the enemy on a plain, and, after a slight skirmish, drove them with the utmost precipitation to Viazma, which was instantly set on fire and abandoned. Shortly after noon, on the 1st of September, the corps of Murat took possession of Gjatz, only a portion of which the Russians had time to burn. Here a French resident came to welcome his countrymen, and to inform them that, Barclay de Tolly having been removed and Kutusoff appointed to the chief command of the army, a general battle had been determined upon as the means of saving Moscow;—Kutusoff, in order to take up a favourable position for this purpose, having retreated to the plains of the Borodino.

Napoleon halted two days at Gjatz to refresh his soldiers, and resumed his march on the 4th. A skirmish took place on that day between the French advanced-guard and a horde of Cossacks, in

DISPOSITIONS FOR BATTLE.

which, according to the subsequent relation of the veteran Platoff, one of the Moscovite officers, being wounded, ordered a sorcerer, who accompanied him, to be soundly beaten in the presence of the whole band, for not having turned aside the enemy's ball agreeably to the terms of his engagement. On the 5th, the Russian army was discovered strongly posted on an elevated plain, between the Kalouga and the Moskwa, with a number of skilfully constructed field-works and batteries in front and on their flanks. To protect the high road to Moscow, a formidable redoubt had been erected; this Napoleon no sooner saw than he ordered it to be taken, and the division of General Compans of the corps of Davoust advanced accordingly, and captured it at the point of the bayonet, though not without great slaughter from the well-directed Russian artillery. Before daybreak, on the 6th, the Emperor was on horseback, dressed in his customary grey coat, and exhibiting all the earnest alacrity of his earlier campaigns. Accompanied by Rapp and General Caulaincourt, the brother of the better-known diplomatist, and a few chasseurs of the Guard, he rode forward to reconnoitre the ground. Kutusoff had neglected no precaution. Woods, ravines, and deep brooks, supported him on every side; and in addition to natural advantages, he had covered all his posts with redoubts and entrenchments. The numbers of the foe, from the extent of their line and the space they occupied, were evidently greater than those of their opponents; but this was a consideration which the hero of Austerlitz was little accustomed to regard when he had an opportunity to contest in an open field.

Having satisfied himself as to the positions of the Russians, the Emperor visited the stations occupied by the several corps of his own army, cheered the men by kind and encouraging words, and animated them by reminding them of former victories; of the glory they had already won, and of that which awaited them on the morrow. On his return to head-quarters, Napoleon found Colonel Fabvier, an aide-de-camp of Marshal Marmont, who brought him news of the battle of Salamanca, and the occupation of Madrid by Lord Wellington; and immediately afterwards, M. de Bausset, the Prefect of the Palace, arrived from St. Cloud, bearing letters from Maria-Louisa, and a portrait of the King of Rome, painted by Gerard. The package

ADDRESS TO THE ARMY.

containing the picture was instantly ordered to be opened, and the Emperor gazed upon the resemblance of his son's features with strong emotion. He afterwards caused the portrait to be placed on a chair,

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outside his tent, that the officers and soldiers might see it; and to those near him, he said, "Gentlemen, if my son were fifteen, believe me, he would be amongst the brave men around us, otherwise than in a picture." In the evening, the following proclamation was issued, and ordered to be read to the army on the ensuing morning:—"Soldiers! Behold the battle you have so long desired. From this moment, the victory depends on you. It is necessary for us; it will give us abundance, good winter-quarters, and a prompt return to our country. Conduct yourselves as at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Witepsk, and at Smolensk, so that the most remote posterity may proudly cite your actions on this day, and say of each of you, 'He was in the great battle fought beneath the walls of Moscow!'"

The Russian soldiers, during the 6th, were engaged in confession,

MORNING OF BATTLE.

and receiving absolution from their priests ; and Kutusoff himself, with great pomp and formality, paraded through the camp a rude image of the Virgin, the protectress of Smolensk, which the monks asserted to have been saved, by miraculous interposition, from the destruction of that city by the "incendiaries, arch-rebels, and sacrilegious infidels, who had dared to disturb the sacred soil !" Hymns and prayers, blessings and curses, braggart boasting and exclamations, betokening the most abject terror, were strangely mingled in the uncouth rites with which the Russians sought to propitiate their saints for a victory ; but, for the first time since the opening of the campaign, the idea of flight was repudiated. The priests assured their followers, that all who should be slain on the morrow would be instantly admitted, without question, to the enjoyments of Paradise.

At night, after having dictated his orders for the battle, Napoleon retired early to rest ; but slept little. He was apprehensive that the Russians might again escape him ; and repeatedly called to his attendants to know the hour, and to ask if any sounds, indicative of retreat, had been heard. He sent directions also for the distribution among the Guard of three days' provisions ; and soon after midnight arising, fevered with fatigue and anxiety, he conversed with Rapp and others on the probable result of the impending battle. About five o'clock, one of Ney's aide-de-camps came to the Emperor's tent to announce that the Russians still occupied the same positions as on the preceding evening, and to request permission for the Marshal to commence the attack. At this intelligence, Napoleon suddenly revived ; and, summoning his staff around him, he was speedily on horseback, on his way to the redoubt, which had been taken from the enemy on the 5th. At half-past five the sun arose, with unclouded brilliance : the Emperor, pointing to the east, exclaimed, " Behold the sun of Austerlitz !" The omen was hailed with enthusiasm, and drew forth loud and repeated acclamations from the troops, among whom the cheering words were rapidly disseminated.

Poniatowski, with his brave Poles, had been ordered to turn the the wood which supported the Russian left wing, while Davoust, Ney, Murat, and Eugene, were to attack their right and centre. An obstinate resistance had been contemplated ; and to overwhelm

THE MOSKWA.

this, three batteries, of sixty pieces of cannon each, had been erected during the night, in the front of the enemy. The sound of Poniatowski's guns was to be the signal for a general assault. The battle, however, commenced unexpectedly on the French left. One of Prince Eugene's regiments, disregarding the orders of its superior officers, rushed across the bridge of the Borodino, and impetuously attacked the heights of Gorcka, where it would have been speedily destroyed, but for the assistance of the ninety-second which hastened to its relief. Napoleon, seeing that the action had commenced, gave the desired signal for the onset; and a long protracted peal of echoing thunder instantly arose from the wide plain. The division of Compans, with thirty cannon at its head, now advanced rapidly against the enemy's first redoubt. The General, however, was shortly afterwards wounded, and many of his soldiers were swept away by the furious cannonade. The division, nevertheless, was undaunted; and Rapp, taking the place of Compans, urged forward the men with fixed bayonets till the redoubt was won, when Rapp, like his predecessor, was struck by a ball. It was the twenty-second time this officer had been wounded. A third General succeeded Rapp, and he also was hurt at this dangerous post. Davoust, while giving directions, had his horse killed under him. The loss of the enemy, in defending their entrenchments here, was immense.

About eight o'clock, the Russians having been forced from their positions on the left, the French were enabled to turn the cannon, which they had taken, against the retiring foe; and the parapets, which had, at first, screened those who erected them, now afforded shelter to the captors. Kutusoff, enraged at this unexpected result, directed a new attack, with redoubled forces, to be made upon the heights; and the manœuvre was executed with such skill and vigour, that the French were for a time repulsed. Napoleon, however, at this moment, sent up some strong reinforcements with the artillery of the reserve, and a deadly fire was opened upon the advancing enemy from upwards of three hundred guns at the same moment. The Russian cavalry, in vain, attempted to push forward in the face of the storm of bullets which now assailed their line. After two or three gallant essays, they withdrew in confusion to avoid utter destruction. The infantry then advanced in dense masses; but the

THE MOSKWA.

batteries continued to thin their ranks; making deep and wide openings in their columns, and shewing their destruction to be by hundreds at a blow. Still, however, they marched onward, closing their ranks above their dead and wounded, with a courage that seemed indomitable. At last their brave leader, Prince Bagration, was struck down by a ball, and his followers halted, as men suddenly stupified. Nevertheless, they gave no symptoms of an intention to retreat; but stood for two hours on the spot where their chief had fallen, without making any other movement than that of closing their line as the cannonade, to which they were exposed, swept away their numbers. Ney, Murat, and Davoust, then advanced together, and the remains of Bagration's corps, being attacked by cavalry and infantry at once, were presently broken and dispersed.

Meanwhile, Prince Eugene, having assailed and taken the village of Borodino, passed the Kalouga, and attacked the great redoubt which the Russians had constructed to defend their right. The enemy, who had relied greatly upon the strength of this position, —a steep height, surrounded by deep, muddy hollows, and protected by eighty pieces of artillery,—was surprised by the fierce and unexpected onset made by the troops of General Morand, and without an attempt at defence, fled in terror. Colonel Fabvier, who had reached the French camp on the preceding day with Marmont's despatches from Spain, greatly distinguished himself in this action. The assault, indeed, was more vigorous and successful than had been calculated upon; but Morand, when he had gained the redoubt, found himself, unsupported, almost in the midst of the Russian lines. Kutusoff perceiving this, ordered his reserves to advance and retake the position; and about eighteen hundred men then found themselves opposed to an immense army. Morand, thus abandoned, was unable to maintain himself, but retreated slowly, contesting the ground foot by foot; and, being reinforced shortly afterwards by Eugene, he could not be entirely dislodged, though an incessant fire was directed against him for four hours.

During this gallant struggle, Napoleon ordered General Montbrun to attack the redoubt, in flank, with a body of cavalry. A short time afterwards, the Emperor was informed of that brave officer's death, and Count Caulaincourt was sent to succeed him. On receiving his

THE MOSKWA.

instructions, the new general exclaimed "I will be at the redoubt immediately, dead or alive!" He galloped forward; and, while the light cavalry were pursuing the advantages they had already obtained, the Count, followed by the fifth regiment of cuirassiers, turned suddenly to the left, and taking the redoubt in the rear, overthrew every obstacle in his progress, and was the first man to penetrate the gorge of the battery. Here, however, his career terminated. In the

moment of triumph he was struck by a bullet. "His glorious death," said Napoleon, "was worthy of envy!" The heights were now won; and, Eugene coming up to share and complete the victory, turned upon the flying enemy their own captured cannon, and literally blew many hundreds of them into the air.

By two in the afternoon the battle was gained; and though Kutusoff kept up till evening a brisk cannonade, on several parts of the field, it was merely to cover the retreat of his troops, and not with any hope of being able to renew the fight. About four o'clock,

RESULTS OF THE BATTLE.

Marshal Mortier, who commanded the Young Guard, was commanded to keep the field, but under no circumstances to advance or retire, while the Emperor rode round to give directions concerning the wounded, and the pursuit of the enemy. Such was the great battle of the Moskwa; "the most brilliant," according to his own account, "of all Napoleon's feats of arms;" and which furnished Marshal Ney with his title of Prince of Moskwa. In this engagement, upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand men took part, seconded by about twelve hundred pieces of artillery. The Russians lost sixty cannons, five thousand prisoners, and between forty and fifty thousand killed and wounded, among whom were about forty general officers, including Prince Bagration and General Touthchkoff. The French killed and wounded are estimated at little less than twenty thousand men, including fourteen or fifteen generals. The plain, the woods, the villages, the sides of the hills, and the bottoms of the ravines, were thickly strewn with the maimed and disfigured bodies of men and horses. The French nearly exhausted their ammunition in the engagement, having discharged in the course of the day as many as sixty thousand cannon-balls.

The victory, it has been said, would have been more decisive had Napoleon brought his Guard into the field early in the day, instead of waiting till the enemy was defeated by the troops originally engaged. Several times during the day, he had been requested by his marshals to order these household troops to advance; but he had constantly refused to allow them to move. "The battle," he said, "can be won without them:" and when urged by Berthier to send them forward, he answered, "and what if there should be another battle to-morrow?" Some have asserted that age, ill-health, or the ungenial climate, had begun to impair the Emperor's faculties, and that he was consequently no longer the general who had achieved such miracles at Arcola, at Lodi, at Marengo, and Austerlitz; others have insinuated, that Napoleon was more careful for his own personal safety than for the preservation of his army, or the defeat of his enemies; and that the Guard, being "the only corps upon which, under the existing disorganization of his army, he could thoroughly depend," he was desirous of sparing these troops to secure his retreat, in case of disaster. None, however, have denied that the

OBSERVATIONS.

battle of the Moskwa was a signal victory over a superior force ; and, that the outline was formed, and the details directed, by Napoleon in person : while, in answer to the base imputation of cowardice with which he has been charged by implication, we have the direct testimony of one who hated him with all the animosity of a detected intriguer. " He fear ! He a coward, or a poltroon ! " says De Bourrienne. " Surely those who say so knew him well ! He never was more happy than on the battle-field : never more tranquil than in the midst of dangers ! " The fact seems to be, as suggested by Hazlitt, that the Emperor saw in the back-ground a more formidable enemy than that immediately before him :—" The hatred, fear, and despair of a whole people, and the very genius of barbarous desolation, standing aghast " at his triumphant progress. Besides, Napoleon, though a soldier, was not a man of blood ; and his humanity shuddered at the slaughter which compulsory warfare caused him to commit ; so that he not unfrequently spared the lives of his soldiers and of their enemies, when his own interest and that of his empire demanded that his name should be as terrible as it was famous among surrounding nations.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

RETREAT OF KUTUSOFF—ADVANCE OF NAPOLEON—OCCUPATION OF MOSCOW.
1812.

UTUSOFF, notwithstanding his defeat at the Moskwa, resolved to give battle again on the following day; and for that purpose retired at once to Mojaïsk, where he hoped to be enabled to take up a new position. He had no time, however, to mature his arrangements, for Murat, who followed him with the utmost expedition, overtook his rear-guard, on the afternoon of the 8th of September, and drove it, with considerable slaughter, from a village where it was endeavouring to establish itself; after which the French daringly fixed their head-quarters almost within gunshot of the enemy's main army. On the morning of the 9th, Mojaïsk was attacked; and the Russians, finding themselves unable to defend the town, set it on fire, and resumed their flight, leaving their wounded to the care of the victors. On this occasion, the retreat was

ALARM AT MOSCOW.

so well masked by clouds of Cossacks, dispersed as skirmishers in every direction, that it was for some time doubtful whether Kutusoff had fled towards Moscow or Kalouga. This uncertainty was of the greatest advantage to the Russians, as it delayed, for nearly two days, the march of their pursuers, and enabled them to reach Moscow unmolested. They appear to have been indebted for their safety, however, as much to the illness of Napoleon at this period as to their own precaution; since, from the penetration he had previously displayed, and the vigilance he usually exercised, it may be fairly concluded, that a few hours would have sufficed for the Emperor to penetrate the secret, and baffle the manœuvres of his foe. But the French Monarch was confined to his chamber at Mojaisk, with cold and fever; and his marshals and generals were left to wrangle at leisure, concerning operations, the execution of which was prevented by multiplicity of counsel and personal jealousy. It was not distinctly ascertained, indeed, until the 12th, that the Russian army had taken the road to Moscow; under the walls of which it was then stated, that Kutusoff had determined to make a decisive stand against the invaders.

In the meantime, the utmost alarm prevailed in the capital. It could no longer be concealed, that Kutusoff had sustained a signal defeat, and that he was flying in terror before the French; concerning whose reported atrocities the most absurd statements were circulated and believed. The nobility and wealthy inhabitants hastened to quit the city, carrying with them all the valuables they could find means of conveying away. The archives and public treasures were removed; the most sacred of the numerous images worshipped in the temples were taken down and sent forth towards Asia; the magazines and storehouses were, as far as possible, emptied of provisions; and the roads were lined with files of carriages, and long columns of men, women, and children, headed by priests, in their sacred vestments, singing the hymns of their church, and only halting from time to time to regulate their march, or to offer prayers for their own safety, and for the speedy extermination of the enemy. Rostopchin, the governor, though encouraging to the utmost the extensive emigration which was going forward, pretended still to entertain hopes of being able to prevent the spoliation of Moscow, and to defeat in the field

ABANDONMENT OF MOSCOW.

the "incarnate fiend" who had disturbed the tranquillity of the people. Kutusoff, he said, would assuredly arrest the march of the blood-thirsty French; and strong hopes of victory might be indulged, from the fact that overwhelming reinforcements were marching to succour the sacred city.

On the 13th, the Grand Russian Army reached Fili, a position a little in advance of Moscow; but, though joined there by large numbers of the inhabitants of the capital, and of the surrounding country, armed with hatchets, scythes, pitchforks, pickaxes, and all kinds of implements which could be used as weapons of destruction, Kutusoff, on the morning of the 14th, abandoned his camp, and marched, with furled banners, silent drums, and downcast looks, by the barrier of Doragomilow, through the streets of the metropolis, and thence out of the Kolomna gate towards Voladimir, accompanied by nearly all the remaining population; old and young, male and female, sick and feeble, sound and strong. It resembled the spontaneous movement of a whole nation, "but appeared," says a native historian, "more like a funeral procession than a military march. Every cheek was bathed with tears, every heart was filled with rage and despair." The last act of Rostopchin, was to order that the prisons should be thrown open, and the criminals brought before him. Two individuals were selected from this crew as examples—a Frenchman accused of having uttered expressions of joy at the repeated triumphs of his countrymen; and a Russian, the son of a merchant of Moscow, who having visited Germany, had there joined a sect of the *illuminati* called Martinists, advocates of the doctrine of equality, and on his return had ventured to speak of revolt as justifiable for the attainment of freedom. The father of this young man was present during his examination. "I grant you," said the governor to the old man, "a few moments to bless and take leave of your son." "I bless the rebel!" said the ferocious merchant; "I give him my bitterest curse!" At these words, the surrounding rabble rushed upon the youth, struck him with their knives and fists, and hacked him literally to pieces. "Stranger!" said Rostopchin to the trembling Frenchman, when this savage act was concluded, "it was natural for you to desire the coming of your friends. You are free. Go, tell your countrymen that Russia contained but one traitor,

MARCH OF THE FRENCH.

and that you have witnessed his death." The other prisoners were then harangued on the duties and affection they owed to their native land, and set at liberty; and the Governor and his retinue, mounting their horses, galloped after the retiring citizens, leaving the devoted capital in possession of a band of wretches, who had been charged to destroy it, as a means of expiating their former offences against the laws. The French vanguard was, at this moment, entering the suburbs.

On the 13th of September, the Army of Invasion quitted Mojaisk and resumed its march upon Moscow; through a sandy desert plain, the mournful solitude of which, in the vicinity of one of the greatest capitals in Europe, was extremely discouraging to the soldiers who had expected to find, as in the neighbourhood of Paris, handsome villas and cultivated grounds, commensurate with the wealth and importance of the city they were approaching. Deep gloom overcast the spirits of men and officers as they journeyed onward; all were fatigued, all exhausted with hunger and thirst; and the further they advanced, the more distant appeared the prospect of a termination to their sufferings. The majority of the troops had, for several days, received no rations, the provisions found in Mojaisk having been barely sufficient for a scanty allowance to the Old and Young Guard. Many fell victims to their abuse of *chenaps*, a spirit found in abundance throughout the country, intoxication from which generally proved fatal to those unaccustomed to its use. The men, after drinking copiously of this pernicious beverage, usually quitted the ranks a few paces, began to totter, then whirled round, and presently afterwards fell or sat down involuntarily, overcome by a stupor from which few recovered.

About noon, on the 14th, the Emperor, still advancing, slowly and cautiously, in expectation of a battle, reached the height called the "Mount of Salvation," whence the Russian pilgrim was wont to obtain a first glimpse of the Holy City—his Mecca—and to kneel and cross himself in adoration of its glittering domes and minarets. The French soldiers had indulged extravagant ideas of the beauty and wealth of Moscow, which had been represented as exceeding in splendour all that they had read in Oriental fiction concerning Bagdad under the sway of the Caliphs. Without, perhaps, realizing these excited

MOSCOW.

anticipations, the city presented a gorgeous spectacle. Its numerous churches and palaces, its beautiful towers and gilded spires; its architecture compounded of all that was rich in the Grecian, the Arabesque, and the Gothic styles; its antique walls, its tall and stately groves; and above all the massive and majestic Kremlin, which seemed a metropolis in itself, struck every beholder with awe and admiration. "Lo!" exclaimed Napoleon, as he halted upon the sacred



hill, "yonder is the celebrated city of the Czars!" and after gazing upon it for a few moments in silence, he continued, "it was time!" The soldiers, forgetful of past privations, in the hope of good quarters and magnificent rewards, shouted, waved their hats and hands, and gave way to transports of exultation. "Moscow! Moscow!" ran from rank to rank, and all quickened their pace to gain a view of the object of their wishes, the termination of their long and toilsome march. It did not fail to be observed, however, that no smoke ascended from the numerous chimneys of the place, and that not a soldier appeared upon its strong and stately walls.

ENTRY OF THE FRENCH.

The Emperor was perplexed at the unexpected silence and solitude which greeted him; and he continued, for some time, with his eye intently fixed on the strange, yet imposing scene. He was first aroused from his reverie by an aide-de-camp of Murat, who came to announce, that Miloradowich had threatened to burn the city, unless he was allowed time to evacuate it with the Russian rear-guard. An armistice of two hours, was immediately granted. Murat, "always in quest of peril, and foremost to attack," had pressed forward, with a gallant few, to the gates of the capital; where, being recognised by the Cossacks, from the finery of his dress, his admirable horsemanship, and the terror with which his bravery in action had so often inspired them, he was immediately surrounded and hailed, rather as a comrade than an enemy. He was greeted, indeed, by some as their Hetman; in return for which the vain, though chivalrous King, bestowed upon his flatterers the jewellery with which he was profusely adorned, and his watch; an example which was followed by many of the officers of his suite. Before the expiration of the truce, the Cossacks having disappeared, several of the French soldiers entered the city, and returned with the astounding intelligence that it was utterly deserted. The news was instantly forwarded to Napoleon, who still remained on the Mount of Salvation. "Abandoned? Impossible!" he exclaimed. "We must enter it, and ascertain the fact. Go, bring the boyards, the public functionaries, before me."

The troops were now ordered to advance; but ere they had reached the Doragomilow gate, a few of the miserable creatures who had just been turned loose into the streets were captured, and brought forth. The Emperor having questioned them as to the flight of their countrymen, smiled bitterly when convinced that Moscow was, indeed, without inhabitants; and that upwards of three hundred thousand persons had gone into the wilderness, affrighted at the name of one man, to seek a new home. "The Russians," he exclaimed, "will soon better learn the value of their capital." History has no parallel to this sacrifice: the leading into captivity of the ten tribes of Israel, the conquest and depopulation of Jerusalem, are minor events in comparison with this voluntary relinquishment of all that is held dear and sacred by a people the more strongly attached to the place of their nativity, from their ignorance and superstition;

RUMOURS.

though it may be questioned whether any but an ignorant people, unaccustomed to the exercise even of free thought, could have submitted to the horrible deprivations certain to result from their conduct. Upwards of a hundred thousand of those who abandoned the city, are said to have perished in the neighbouring woods for want of food and shelter, besides those who died on the march with Kutusoff, and in his camp.

Napoleon, as though anxious to avoid the sight of the desolate streets, did not enter Moscow with the army, but stopped at one of the first houses in the suburbs, where he appointed Mortier governor of the capital, with directions to permit no pillage. "Defend the place," he said, "alike against friends and foes." Murat, meanwhile, proceeded to the Kremlin, the gates of which he was compelled to blow open with cannon; the banditti of Rostopchin having fixed their head-quarters in that place, and attempted to defend it for the sake of the rich booty which it contained. One of these desperate beings, even after he and his companions were taken, and their arms pinioned, rushed on the King of Naples, whom he endeavoured to tear with his teeth. Most of the prisoners were drunk, and all presented the most squalid and hideous aspect, uttering, in their rage, the most frightful screams, yells, and oaths against their captors. Soon afterwards, the soldiers dispersed in search of provisions and quarters, when the haste in which many of the inhabitants had quitted their homes, was ascertained from what they had left—the rich ornaments and trinkets of many of the ladies being found on their toilets, and the letters and gold of men of business on their desks.

It was speedily whispered that, during the night, Moscow would be devoted to the flames; but the origin of the rumour could not be traced; and, after a vain search for concealed incendiaries, it was considered to have arisen merely from vague apprehensions occasioned by the desertion of the city by its population, and the remembrance of Smolensk. Napoleon, however, passed a sleepless night, repeatedly calling his attendants to ask if any accident had occurred, and when morning broke without any cause for alarm having been given,—save a fire at one of the bazaars, which had been suppressed without great difficulty, and was universally attributed at the time to accident,—he treated the reports of the preceding evening as idle and credulous,

NAPOLÉON AT THE KREMLIN.

and forthwith removed his head-quarters with perfect confidence to the Kremlin—the Imperial seat and sepulchre of the Rurics and Romanoffs, over whose successor he now seemed to have secured a final triumph; and who, it was believed, would no longer think of protracting a war which had yielded him nothing but a succession of defeats and disasters.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

NAPOLEON OFFERS PEACE TO ALEXANDER—BURNING OF MOSCOW—COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH RETREAT. 1812.

QUARTERED in Moscow, Napoleon, according to his custom on such occasions, at once wrote to the Emperor Alexander to propose terms of peace. A Russian officer of rank, who had been left in the great hospital of the city, was made the bearer of the letter, and of a complimentary message, by which the Czar was assured, "that, whatever might be the vicissitudes of war, nothing could diminish the esteem entertained for him by his friend of Tilsit and Erfurth."

The French soldiers meanwhile explored every part of the city, fixing their abode in the magnificent palaces of princes and boyards,

CONFLAGRATION.

and rifling the cellars, storehouses, and conservatories of the wealthy at pleasure. The convents, churches, and public buildings, though partially stripped by the Russians previous to their flight, still contained much that was rare and valuable; and the bazaars abounded with the richest productions of Europe and Asia. "The meanest soldier," it is said, "clothed himself in silk and furs, and drank the choicest wines."

About midnight, on the 16th of September, a cry arose that the city was on fire. The guard had first observed the flames issuing from the Exchange, and every effort was made to subdue the conflagration; but as fast as it was got under in one place, it arose in another with increased force, and spread with fearful rapidity from street to street. At first, the fire was attributed to accident, arising from the intoxication and heedlessness of the soldiers; but, as the wind changed, it was observed that new flames still arose in quarters whence the blaze would be most likely to be carried to the Kremlin. An alarming suspicion then began to gain ground, that the enemy had conceived a design of destroying the French army with the ancient capital of the empire, and of converting Moscow into the funeral pile of the mighty Napoleon:—a project, which the negligence of the French contributed to render probable, as the Kremlin, unknown to them, contained a magazine of gunpowder; and various combustibles had been disposed so as to communicate with it. The night was hideous; and morning scarcely diminished the horrors of the scene, while it brought the dreadful certainty that the calamity was premeditated, and conducted with systematic skill and caution. The prisoners, released by Rostopchin, had been seen running from palace to palace, setting fire to everything consumable. The numerous and active French patrols were unable to arrest their progress, though several were taken with lighted matches and fire-balls in their possession, and instantly put to death. Police officers also had been seen with lances dipped in pitch, stirring the flames; and a number of frantic women had been met with lighted flambeaux spreading the work of destruction. The fountains had been destroyed, the water-pipes cut, and the fire-engines carried off, or rendered useless. When the soldiers attempted to enter apparently deserted houses, for the purpose of destroying the communication between them and those to which the

CONFLAGRATION.

flames had already extended, they were frequently driven back by volumes of smoke or bursting shells. It was no longer doubtful, in fact, that the Moscovites had determined to sacrifice everything rather than allow the conquerors a refuge on their soil.

Napoleon was not awakened during the night of the 16th. In the morning of the 17th, when he rose, the flames were raging in all parts of the city. He was excessively agitated when he heard the extent of the disaster, paced his apartment hurriedly, quitted and resumed his seat, dictated hasty orders, and stood, from time to time, before the windows, to observe the progress of the fire. "What a

frightful spectacle!" he exclaimed. "Such a number of palaces! The people are genuine Scythians!" During that day and following night, the conflagration raged with unabated violence. "Not even the fictions of the burning of Troy, though heightened by all the powers of poetry," said Napoleon, "could have equalled the reality

of the destruction of Moscow!" In the night of the 17th, the fire was at its greatest height. The weather was dry, most of the houses of the capital were of wood, and the wind, which was high, whirled the smoke and fire in every direction. Large columns of flame, of various colours, shot up to the clouds, and covered the horizon, diffusing a glaring light and fierce heat to an almost incredible distance. In their rise and progress, these masses of fire were accompanied by loud whizzing noises, and by explosions louder and more terrible than thunder—the effects of the gunpowder, oil, resin, saltpetre, and brandy, with which many of the churches, shops, and houses had been filled. The varnished iron plates that generally covered the buildings were torn off or melted by the heat, and, with large beams and rafters, were hurled through the air into the neighbouring plain.

Several of the poorest class of the Russians had remained in Moscow. These, after the departure of their countrymen, had occupied themselves in pillage, and remained in the city till the last moment to protect what they had so acquired. As the fire extended, they were to be seen in the streets staggering under the weight of immense packages, which they were generally compelled to abandon, in order to secure their personal escape. Women were also seen carrying one or two children on their shoulders, and dragging others by the hand, sheltering themselves for a time in the alleys and squares, and then flying with precipitation from the horrors which were closing around them. Old men, with long beards singed by the flames, crept along slowly and feebly; and were, in many cases, overtaken and destroyed by the coils of flame that followed them.

At length, it was reported that the Kremlin was on fire. Murat, Eugene, and Berthier now urged Napoleon to seek for safety without the walls of the devoted capital. The Emperor was still unwilling to depart; but, on the repeated solicitations of his officers, he consented to remove to the castle of Petrowskoi, a palace of Peter the Great, situated on the Petersburgh road, about a league from Moscow. The flames, however, had reached the gates of the citadel; and it was not till after long search that a postern was discovered, through which the Imperial escort could obtain egress. Hence they now endeavoured to pass over some rocks towards the Moskwa: but a

EXCESSES OF THE TROOPS.

roaring sea of fire was before them, coming nearer and nearer every moment. A single narrow, diverging street, crooked, and blazing in various parts, presented itself as a means of escape—it being impossible to go forward or backward. This outlet, too, looked more like a portal of Pandemonium than a road to safety; yet, into this formidable pass were Napoleon and his companions necessarily impelled. Their progress was over scorching cinders and stones; above them was a fiery arch formed of divided roofs and falling timbers; and around them continually scattered masses of burning ruins, and drops of molten iron and copper, from the crackling domes that were bursting and bubbling overhead. The heat and smoke almost blinded and suffocated them; and, at last, the guide lost his way and stopped in bewilderment. All now gave themselves up for lost! At this fearful moment, they caught sight of Davoust and a number of his soldiers, who were in search of the Emperor. The Marshal, indeed, had signified his intention of rescuing or perishing with “the hope of France.” Napoleon embraced the Prince affectionately; but throughout the whole of that trying day, never lost his composure. The last danger overcome, was the passing of a convoy of gunpowder, which was defiling through one of the blazing streets. The Emperor, as he looked back upon the city, after reaching Petrowskoï, exclaimed gloomily, “This forebodes us no common calamity!”

The troops were in the greatest consternation. Every one believed that there would no longer be sustenance, clothes, ammunition, or shelter for him; and the fear of this begat excesses, which it would have been utterly hopeless striving to repress. The soldiers braved dangers of the most formidable character, to obtain from the burning cellars, shops, and mansions, liquors, food, clothing, and articles of luxury. Many, regardless of the future, engaged themselves solely in rescuing from the conflagration such wines, liquors, and gold and silver, as they could collect; while others, as improvident and reckless, thought only upon the gaudy velvets, brocades, furs, and trinkets, with which the warehouses and bazaars of the merchants were stored.

The fire abated not until the 19th, when it began slowly to decrease for want of fuel. “Palaces and temples,” says the Russian author Karamzin, “monuments of art, and miracles of luxury, the remains

THE CAMP.

of ages long since past, and the creations of yesterday; the tombs of remote ancestors, and the cradles of children of the rising generation, were indiscriminately destroyed. Nothing was left of Moscow, save the remembrance of its former grandeur."

The Kremlin being still uninjured, and the fire in that quarter having subsided, Napoleon, on the morning of the 19th, again fixed his head-quarters in the palace of the Czars. The French army was now encamped in the open fields around Moscow, and their bivouacs presented one of the strangest spectacles which had, perhaps, ever been witnessed. Around large fires, maintained by fragments of rich cedar and mahogany furniture, and gilded sashes and doors, were ranged the soldiers who had achieved the conquest of Russia, sheltered from the piercing wind by a few planks rudely fastened together, the crevices of which were stuffed with smoky, dank, and miry straw. Superb armed chairs and sofas, covered with silk, afforded seats and couches for all. Around were strewn in profusion Cachemire shawls, the finest Siberian furs, the gold cloths, pearls, and gems of Persia and of India, together with plates and dishes of solid silver, from which the men ate, voraciously, steaks or soup of horse-flesh, and black bread made of half-ground corn, baked in ashes. Tea, coffee, and sugar abounded, while the wholesome necessities of life were rarely to be met with; and the French were glad to exchange with the peasants, who began to approach from the surrounding country, the richest bales of merchandise for a few loaves of coarse bread. Between the camp and the city, the Emperor met numerous parties of soldiers dragging away new loads of plunder, or driving before them a number of the inhabitants, whom the fire had driven from their lurking places, bending under the pillage of their sacred capital.

On passing the quay of the Moskwa, Napoleon's attention was directed to the Foundling Hospital. "Go," he said to the Secretary, who acted as his interpreter, "enquire for me what has become of the little unfortunate occupants of yonder mansion." The Secretary obeyed, and was presently informed that all the children above twelve years old had been taken to Nizni-Novogorod, while those of tender age were abandoned to their fate, and had been preserved from destruction solely through the kindness and care of the French

FOUNDLING HOSPITAL.

Guard, appointed for their protection by the Emperor, when the city was first occupied. "Your master," said the Governor of the hospital, a superannuated general of the army, "has been to us a saviour from heaven. Without his regard, we should not have had even a hope: our house would have been a prey to plunder and the flames." The aged Russian then led the interpreter into the great hall, where the children were at play, and introduced him as a

messenger sent from the French Emperor. The young unfortunates thronged around him, laid hold of his coat, embraced his knees, and clung to his hands in transport, crying out, "Your Emperor is our Providence!"

Napoleon was deeply affected when informed of this scene, and desired the Governor, M. Toutelmine, to be brought into his presence. At the interview, which immediately followed, that good and venerable man was so impressed with the urbanity of the Emperor, that he desired permission to write to his Imperial patroness, the

LETTERS TO ALEXANDER.

mother of the Czar, to inform her how the hospital and its inmates had been preserved. The conversation lasted for some time, and ere it was concluded, flames were seen issuing from some houses on the opposite side of the river. Napoleon had hoped that the hatred of the incendiaries was satiated; but this sight renewed his apprehensions, and aroused his indignation afresh against the dastardly Rostopchin. "The miserable wretch!" he exclaimed, "to the dire calamities of war he has added the horrors of an atrocious conflagration, created by his own hand in cold blood! The barbarian! He has abandoned the poor infants, whose principal guardian and protector he should have been; and has left, besides, the wounded and dying, whom the Russian army had confided to his care! Women, children, old men, orphans, the sick and helpless—all were devoted to pitiless destruction!—Rostopchin a Roman! he is a senseless savage!"

The letter of Toutelmine, to the Empress-mother, contained the following passage, which it was hoped, by the writer and Napoleon himself, would lead to pacific overtures. "Madam, the French Emperor is grieved to see our capital almost wholly reduced to ruins by means not usually employed in civilized warfare. A mediator between him and our august Emperor, Alexander, might restore the amity which formerly subsisted between them, and all our miseries would then be at an end." M. Jakowleff, a Russian officer, was despatched, on the 24th of September, to St. Petersburg, with this and another friendly letter to the Czar from Napoleon; and on the 4th of October, no answer having been returned, Count Lauriston was sent to the head-quarters of Kutusoff, as the bearer of official proposals of peace to Alexander. "The Emperor," said Napoleon to the officers of his council, "is my friend; but should he yield to his inclinations and propose peace, the barbarians, by whom he is surrounded, might, in their rage, seek to dethrone and put him to death. To prevent the odium, therefore, that would attach to his being the first to yield, I will myself offer a treaty." Lauriston, on reaching the Russian camp, was denied a passport—Kutusoff alleging that he had no power to grant one; but, at the same time, offering to forward the letter of the French Emperor to St. Petersburg, by Prince Wolkonski, an aide-de-camp of Alexander. No answer,

PROVISIONS.

however, to this or the former communications of Napoleon, was ever returned by the Czar, who had then become a mere instrument in the hands of the British Government, by which he had been promised an ample indemnity, in English gold, for all the sacrifices he might be compelled to make.

In the meantime, after having reduced more than four-fifths of Moscow to ashes, the flames had died away, and order had been, in some measure, restored among the French soldiers. The plunder of the vaults and secret chambers of the ruined habitations, which it would now have been ridiculous to prohibit, was henceforth conducted with greater regularity, and under the control of officers, who were directed to search especially for magazines of food and clothing. By these means, large quantities of flour, meal, salt-fish, oil, wine, and liquors were discovered; with considerable stores of cloth, furs, linen, and leather. "Some of these," says Baron Larrey, at that time principal surgeon to the French army, "were served out to the troops; but there was generally too great a wish to spare or hoard such articles; and that excess of precaution led eventually to our burning and leaving behind us provisions of every kind, which would have been of the greatest advantage; and might, with prudent management, have sufficed the army for more than six months. . . This unexpected abundance, which was attributable solely to the indefatigable researches of the soldiers, was attended, however, with a baneful effect on their discipline, and on the health of the intemperate." In extenuation of the conduct of the troops, it may be added, that never before, perhaps, was so large a body of men placed, for such a length of time, under such slight restraint as to their actions. Every one was in a great measure dependant on himself, and could follow the bent of his own inclination, and indulge his own humour or caprice, without control, in all that interfered not with the mere routine of his military duties. It was utterly impossible, in fact, that matters could be arranged otherwise.

Napoleon occupied himself, after his return to the Kremlin, in repairing the condition of the army; establishing a police and municipality in Moscow; fitting up a French theatre, completing a system of minute regulations for the *Comédie Française*; and issuing decrees concerning the government of France—labours partly required by

RUSSIAN SERFS.

circumstances, and partly entered upon in all probability to induce a belief among the Russians, that he intended to fix his winter-quarters in the city, and renew the war at the approach of the following spring. The enemy, however, had penetrated his secret: having seen his anxiety to make peace, it was judged that peace was indispensable to him; and a resolution was accordingly formed, to profit by the straits to which he appeared about to be reduced. It still, however, seems to have been in Napoleon's power not only to have given the Czar additional uneasiness, but to have changed the whole character of the war. The enslaved population of the provinces, through which the French had passed in their way to Moscow, having in many places recovered from their first panic, and found how little their invaders corresponded with the pictures which had been drawn of them by the native boyards and clergy, had begun to mingle with the conquerors of their soil; and thus caught a glimpse of the meaning of freedom. Their astonishment was soon converted into admiration; and when they saw that the Emperor was in their capital, and their oppressors humbled to the dust before him, it was thought a favourable opportunity to strike for their own rights as men. They accordingly made to the French officers repeated offers of their assistance, provided Napoleon would declare and guarantee their emancipation. The serfs desired to be furnished with arms, on the simple condition that they should be required to use them on behalf of humanity. The Emperor replied coldly to these proffers of service. Such a course, he argued, could only lead to a servile war, which must inevitably defer the prospect of peace, besides drenching the country in the blood of its best citizens. The slaves were unfit, he added, to be trusted with the liberty they sought; and, after sanctioning the hostile projects of the Czar's subjects, he could not hope again to become the friend of their Sovereign.

The star of Napoleon was, indeed, fast declining! He had first repulsed the Poles, and rendered them lukewarm and cautious friends; and now he drove from him a new and more potent auxiliary, who sought vengeance for disappointed hopes in the ranks of his deadliest enemies. In earlier life he had advocated "the divine right of capacity and genius," based on personal freedom and legal equality. He now contended, against those by whom he would have been

COUNCIL OF WAR.

idolized as a Liberator, for the indefeasible right of hereditary bondage! Perhaps it was that he had married the daughter of an hereditary Monarch, and had a lineal heir to fix a dynasty of his own. Sir Robert Wilson, who was present in Russia during a great portion of this campaign, suggests that Napoleon was actuated merely by a horror of civil war, and a consideration of the torrents of blood which must have been spilled had the Emperor accepted the offers of insurrection which, from every quarter, were made to him.

As time wore on, and the weather grew colder, the Emperor became exceedingly uneasy. The prize for which he had struggled had perished in his grasp the moment it was won. His communications with France, and with the garrisons in his rear, had become exceedingly precarious, in consequence of straggling bands of Cossacks having been commissioned to scour the country, and cut off the French foraging parties and outposts, and to harass them on every assailable point, from Wilna to Moscow. The winter was approaching, and already gave tokens of unusual severity. The Grand Army was dwindling away, while that of the enemy was rapidly increasing; the new recruits being better equipped and appointed than at any previous period of Russian campaigning. To remain in his present quarters, seemed to Napoleon little better than braving destruction. In these embarrassing circumstances he called a council of war, and submitted to his marshals and generals new plans of operation. "We must burn," he first suggested, "what remains of Moscow, and march by way of Twer upon St. Petersburg. There Macdonald will soon join us. Eugene shall lead the vanguard, and Murat and Davoust will bring up the rear." To this proposal all present, except Eugene, objected. The lateness of the season, the state of the roads, and the condition of the army, were urged as insuperable obstacles to the execution of the project. If the blow could have been sooner aimed, it might, they thought, have been effective; as it was unlikely that Alexander would have been disposed to sacrifice both his capitals, in the mere hope of increased subsidies from England. It was next suggested, that the army should abandon Moscow, penetrate into the fertile province of Kalouga, and thence, turning westward, return to winter in Poland. This was the plan finally adopted, though not at the moment, nor till too late to carry it into effect. Count Daru is

RESOLUTION TO RETREAT.

said to have suggested a daring scheme, in order to avoid the disgrace of retreat. It was to call in all the detachments, convert Moscow into an entrenched camp, kill and salt all the remaining horses, which, with the bread they had, and what might be procured by an extensive system of forage, would suffice for the troops; occupy the various buildings still standing in the city as barracks, and issue forth in the spring to complete their conquest. Napoleon designated this as "a lion's counsel;" but the expedient was considered too desperate for adoption; and the council separated without having come to any decision.

On the 13th of October, there was a sudden and heavy fall of snow. Napoleon looked around him in dismay at the sight; and, thenceforth, thought only of retreat. "In the course of twenty days," he said, "it will be necessary for us to be in winter-quarters." Preparations were accordingly made for departure; but too leisurely and circumspectly to spread any alarm throughout the army, or to afford matter of triumph to the foe. The sick and wounded were first sent away, under a strong escort, towards Smolensk. The pictures, images, and ornaments of the churches and palaces were then collected, and packed on waggons; and the gigantic cross which surmounted the tower of Ivan the Great, the tallest steeple in Moscow, with the possession of which one of the superstitions of the country connected the salvation of the empire, was dismounted with great labour, and placed among the trophies intended to decorate Paris. The soldiers executed every order with alacrity; for they were told that the Emperor proposed to advance against Kutusoff, crush his force, and retire to Smolensk. The hope of a battle with the despised Russians was still sufficient to animate every Frenchman.

In the meantime, Murat, who, when Napoleon entered Moscow, went in pursuit of the flying Russians towards Kolomna, had several times encountered them, while their capital remained in the occupation of the Invaders. Kutusoff, however, had executed a bold and skilful movement during the third night of his retreat. Leaving a small flying army to maintain appearances on the road, he, with his main body, turned, under cover of the darkness, towards Kalouga, and was enabled to take up a strong position at Taroutino, between Kalouga and Moscow, before the King of Naples became acquainted

PROCEEDINGS OF MURAT.

with his change of route. During this nocturnal march, the soldiers and citizens who accompanied them were startled with the sight of their blazing capital, the flames of which were seen for many leagues. It had been one of the principal features of the design, that the intention of the government should be concealed from all but the agents employed in effecting it, in order that the atrocity might be afterwards charged upon the French, as a consummation of their crimes.

Murat, on recovering the track of the enemy, pursued with the utmost expedition. In his march, he had to pass the ruins of a splendid seat belonging to Count Rostopchin, which that person had caused to be burnt. A letter affixed to the iron gate, informed the French troops that for eight years the mansion had been the favourite residence of its proprietor. "The inhabitants," it continued, "seventeen hundred in number, will leave it as you approach; and it will be reduced to ashes, that not one of you may pollute it by your presence. I have left you two palaces in Moscow, worth, with their furniture, half a million of rubles." Near this spot, King Joachim overtook the Russian rear-guard, and had a brisk skirmish on the 29th of September, and another on the 4th of October. The enemy, however, succeeded in establishing himself at Taroutino, and Murat was unable to do more than encamp in his front for the purpose of watching his motions.

On the 5th of October, Lauriston arrived at the head-quarters of Kutusoff; and, in consequence of his mission, an armistice was proposed by the Russian General, and acceded to by the King of Naples, the terms of which, however, were wholly in favour of the wily Moscovites. By this almost incredible agreement it was stipulated, that three hours' notice should precede any attack on the front of either army; but no provision was made concerning marauding parties: an arrangement under which the Cossacks and other light troops were at liberty to keep up a harassing and sanguinary warfare upon both flanks of the French, while their own army was protected in the part where it was most vulnerable. Napoleon highly disapproved of this proceeding: but Murat, from personal vanity, or contempt of his opponents, continued to observe it; affording him, as it did, an opportunity of amusing himself, and of hearing the

RECOMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.

flatteries of the Cossacks, on his handsome person, brilliant dresses, and gallant horsemanship. The warriors of the desert, indeed, were so captivated by his chivalric bearing and frank good-humour, that their chiefs told him they entertained thoughts of making him their king.

The intercourse of the officers of the two armies at the outposts began, however, by degrees to assume an ominous character. The Russians were constantly receiving accessions. In the rear of their position, the almost incessant rolling of the drum, and platoon firing, clearly indicated the activity with which new recruits were drilled, while the wild, shaggy, half-broken horses, with long manes and tails, which began to fill the camp with their neighing, proved that a numerous cavalry was gathering from the remotest quarters of the Empire. The French, from day to day, grew more gloomy and discontented; and the animation of the enemy proportionably increased. "Stay another fortnight," said the latter, "and your nails will fall off, and the weapons drop from your lifeless hands." The hints of the Cossack chiefs were in a strain calculated to make a stronger impression upon their susceptible opponents. "Had you not," asked these Tartar warriors, "corn and air and water enough in your own country to subsist on while you lived, and earth enough to cover you when you died, that you have wandered so far from home to fatten a foreign soil with your carcases? Why rob your native land of its rightful nourishment?"

At length, Kutusoff, being at the head of an overwhelming force, was desirous of ending the armistice into which he had duped Murat. Accordingly, as the King was riding in front of his advanced guard, he was deliberately fired at by a Russian soldier, upon which he declared the truce ended. The enemy, who had desired and was prepared for this result, made an attack upon the left flank of Murat's corps on the same day, and would, in all probability, have totally defeated it, but for the gallantry of Poniatowski and his brave Poles; who, not only defended their own position against all the attempts of its assailants, whose number more than trebled that of the French, but broke the Russian line, and carried destruction into their ranks. Murat, however, eventually left part of the field in the possession of Kutusoff; who, from what he saw in the camp, learned

EVACUATION OF MOSCOW.

the straits to which the invaders were reduced—horse-flesh and flayed cats, being the best kind of provision found in the quarters of the King of Naples.

This recommencement of hostilities occurred on the 18th of October. Napoleon heard the sound of the cannon at the Kremlin, while reviewing the divisions of Ney. He changed colour for a moment, but recovering himself with electrical rapidity, the energy of his earlier years seemed suddenly restored. Almost innumerable orders for a general movement of the army were instantly dictated to many officers in succession, all different, all embracing the minutest details, and containing the clearest directions; yet each critically connected with the others, and the whole forming a well concerted plan of operations for the combined movement of a still magnificent army. The troops began their march the same evening; and next morning, before day-break, Napoleon quitted Moscow to advance upon Kalouga, and give battle to Kutusoff. His parting instructions to Mortier, were to blow up the Kremlin when the city was evacuated, and to pay every attention to the sick and wounded. "Sacrifice your baggage, everything to them," he said, "let the waggons be devoted to their use, and, if necessary, your own saddles. This was the course I pursued at St. Jean d'Acre. The officers will first relinquish their horses, then the sub-officers, and finally the men. Assemble the generals and officers under your command, and make them sensible how necessary, in their circumstances, is humanity. The Romans bestowed civic crowns on those who preserved their citizens. I shall not be less grateful."

The Emperor had entered Moscow with about ninety thousand effective men, and nearly thirty thousand invalids. Of the latter, upwards of ten thousand had recovered, so that he was now enabled to muster more than a hundred thousand fighting men, nearly fifty thousand horses of all kinds, five hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, two thousand artillery waggons, and an immense baggage train, laden with the spoils of Moscow. The rear of the army consisted of a confused crowd of many thousands of persons;—Russian serfs, who desired emancipation; recruits, without uniforms; valets, waggoners, French and German women and children, who had been settled in Russia prior to the invasion; and a number of native damsels, smitten

DESTRUCTION OF THE KREMLIN.

by the charms of those who had doubly conquered them. Calashes, carriages, trucks, and wheelbarrows followed, filled with Russian, Turkish, and Persian flags and trophies, the gigantic cross of Ivan, bales of the richest merchandise, the most costly and least cumbrous

articles of furniture, and robes and gems of inestimable value. "The motley assemblage," says Segur, "resembled a horde of Tartars returning from a successful invasion."

The last columns of the Grand Army quitted the capital at midnight, on the 22nd; and, at one o'clock in the morning, the Kremlin was blown up by Mortier. A number of Cossacks and peasants, who entered the palace on the departure of the French, perished with it. The explosion was heard by Napoleon at Femenskoi, ten leagues distant, and was mistaken by many of the soldiers for the shock of an earthquake. All the principal parts of the building—the Imperial residence, the arsenal, the bridge, and the depôts of arms and ammunition—were totally destroyed. The restoration of the city in its former splendour, with its merchandise and spoils, could not, it was calculated, have been accomplished at an expense of two thousand millions of francs,—eighty-three millions and a half of pounds sterling. Count Wintzingerode attempted to enter the place as Mortier was

CAPTURE OF WINTZINGERODE.

quitting it; but being surrounded, he pretended to be the bearer of a flag of truce, come to summon the French to surrender. Mortier briefly replied, that it was not usual for general officers to summon garrisons in person. The Count was, therefore, made prisoner, and taken forward to the Imperial head-quarters. On the 27th, a bulletin was issued, by the Emperor, announcing that "The Kremlin had ceased to exist, and all that remained of Moscow was a den for savages and thieves."

CHAPTER XL.

MALO-JAROSLAWETS—RETREAT OF THE FRENCH—THE MOSKWA—VIAZMA—SMOLENSK—CONSPIRACY OF MALLET. 1812.

APOLÉON, after quitting Moscow, marched for some distance along the old Kalouga road, as though he intended to attack Kutusoff in front; but halting at the castle of Krasno-pachra, he turned suddenly to the right, hoping thus to pass the Russian camp on the flank; and then, by another rapid movement, to throw himself in the rear of the enemy, between Taroutino and Kalouga, while the dispositions to receive him should be confined to the old road. On the 23rd of October, he slept at Borowsk, where he learned, during the night, that General Delzons had reached Malo-Jaroslavetz, four leagues in advance of head-quarters, and the only point at which Kutusoff could hope to intercept the advance of the French. The Russians, however, had sustained many defeats, and been too frequently out-manceuvred, to

MALO-JAROSLAWETZ.

neglect keeping a vigilant watch upon the motions of so formidable a foe, when the very existence of their empire depended upon their present prudence. Napoleon's change of route, therefore, was known to Kutusoff, through the vigilance of his scouts, almost as soon as the heads of his columns had been turned, and the Russians were instantly put in motion from Taroutino, in order to outstrip the French, and either reach Malo-Jaroslawetz before them, or attack them there before they could have effectually established themselves.

Delzons having arrived in the evening, did not think it necessary at once to take possession of the town; but contented himself with stationing two battalions to preserve the place from surprise; while the troops composing his division bivouacked on a small plain, on the northern bank of the river Louja. About four in the morning of the 24th, when all but the centinels on duty were asleep, the corps of the Russian general Doctoroff rushed into the town with dreadful outcries, spearing and sabring all they met, and driving before them the affrighted battalions which alone had crossed the bridge to occupy the town. Delzons hastened forward with his gallant soldiers, and the battle speedily became general. Eugene heard the noise of the artillery at a distance of three leagues, and instantly advanced to the relief of his comrades. As he approached the scene of action, he beheld Delzons maintaining his ground with heroic firmness against ten times his number, while the Russian Grand Army was advancing rapidly to the attack from the Lectazowo road.

A desperate conflict ensued, in which Delzons and his brother, after having penetrated to the centre of the town, were killed. General Guillemot, who succeeded to the command, still pressed forward; and throwing about a hundred grenadiers into the church, converted that building into a citadel, which the Russians were afterwards unable to pass. Five times did they rush, with desperate energy, to the combat; but on each occasion were repulsed with terrific slaughter. The battle continued during the whole day, wavering from time to time, in consequence of the exhaustion of the French; but, towards evening, when the Russians had succeeded in driving Guillemot back to the bridge, Prince Eugene himself came into action, rallied the troops, and again drove the Moscovites to the heights, whence they drew off to concentrate themselves between the

COUNCIL OF WAR.

town and some neighbouring woods. In this desperate engagement, about eighteen thousand French and Italians, with every disadvantage of position, defeated upwards of fifty thousand Russians, under the eye of their General-in-chief, who had just issued a vaunting proclamation, promising to annihilate the whole of Napoleon's army, whenever it should afford him the opportunity of an encounter.

The Emperor, who had remained at Borowsk, tracing his line of march on the map and giving directions, during the day, removed his head-quarters, in the night of the 24th, to Gorodnia, a village about half a league from the scene of the preceding day's battle. Here, in a dark and comfortless hovel, he called a council of war, and proposed to renew the fight on the morrow; and, at its close, to continue his march upon Kalouga. The generals present entertained conflicting opinions on the subject. Murat agreed with the Emperor, and offered, at the head of the advanced-guard, to cut his way through the Russians, whom he thoroughly despised. Davoust, however, treated this as extreme hardihood—Kutusoff being in possession of a series of defiles, through which the French in advancing must necessarily pass, and which might be defended, foot by foot, by a few men against numbers. He recommended, instead, that a retreat should be directed towards Medyn. An altercation ensued between Davoust and Murat, which Napoleon was compelled to end by dissolving the council. "I will myself decide, Sirs," he said, "in the morning." He afterwards occupied himself in collecting intelligence concerning the movements of the enemy. Bessières was sent to reconnoitre; and, on his return, reported that the position of Kutusoff, who had with him at least a hundred and thirty thousand men, was unassailable. Napoleon, for the first time in his life, seemed stricken with consternation. "Are you certain? Did you see rightly? Will you vouch for the fact?" he eagerly demanded: and when the Marshal repeated his statement, the Emperor crossed his arms, his head fell on his breast, and he paced the room slowly and heavily, in deep and gloomy thought. He slept not during that night, but lay down and rose up incessantly; called for his attendants; asked a multiplicity of unimportant questions; and folded and unfolded the map of Russia, with a rapidity and feverishness which alarmed those about his person for his sanity.

About four in the morning, he was informed that a number of Cossacks were gliding under cover of the darkness between his advanced posts and the main army; but, disregarding this intelligence, he soon afterwards mounted his horse and proceeded to Malo-Jaroslavetz. In crossing the plain towards the Louja, a clamour suddenly arose before him, and a confused body of troops were seen advancing. Platoff, with his Cossacks, intent on plunder, had stolen across the river, and rushed into the French camp with the wild war cry of their country. At first the exclamations had been mistaken for those of "Vive l'Empereur," but they soon became distinguishable as hostile sounds. Rapp had scarcely time to snatch Napoleon's bridle and say, "It is the Cossacks! turn back!" ere a fierce band galloped towards them. The Emperor, disdaining to fly, drew his sword, and reined his horse to the side of the highway. The troop dashed past within a spear's length of the Imperial party, and Rapp and his horse were wounded by the savage lancers; but Bessières, with the cavalry of the Guard, coming up immediately afterwards, scoured the plain, and Platoff and his followers fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving the booty, for which they had overlooked a greater prize, on the field. Napoleon, and his escort, then proceeded without further adventure to Malo-Jaroslavetz.

After passing over the field of battle, still covered with the dead and wounded, the proportion of Russians being more than two to one, the Emperor, embracing Eugene, exclaimed, "This combat is the most glorious of your feats of arms." The neighbouring heights were then surveyed, their outlets examined, and the position of Kutusoff reconnoitred; when Napoleon returned silently to his miserable quarters; and, after a long and severe struggle with his feelings, gave orders for retreat. An hour's delay might have changed the fate of Europe; for at the moment when the fatal word was given, the Russians, weakened by the shock they had sustained at Malo-Jaroslavetz in the Emperor's absence, as soon as it was reported that he had brought up his main army, and was preparing in person to give them battle, contrary to the advice of Sir Robert Wilson, had decided on abandoning their position and retiring with all speed to the South, to avoid a new encounter. The terror inspired by the name of Napoleon was then unimpaired. The first symptoms of

RETREAT OF THE FRENCH.

flight dissolved the spell which had so long been woven round him; and he who had been previously regarded as invincible, was instantly reduced to the common human level.

The retreat commenced on the 26th of October. As the soldiers quitted Gorodnia, every eye was cast towards the ground, and scarcely a word passed from man to man. Every one seemed broken in spirit and humiliated. A conquering army was retiring before an enemy which had never shewn its face but to experience defeat, however disproportioned the numbers opposed to it.

On the 27th, the Imperial head-quarters were at Veréia; where the Emperor was met by Mortier and the Young Guard, who had been left to garrison the Kremlin. Both Borowsk and Veréia were consigned to the flames, in consequence of an insolent answer from Kutusoff to an application that hostilities might be conducted on the principles recognised by civilized nations; and from that period all the towns and villages through which the French troops passed, were burnt by them to prevent their sheltering the enemy. On the 27th, the army, being divided into three *corps d'armée*, the first led by Murat, the second by Prince Eugene, and the rear-guard by Davoust, passed through Mojaïsk; and, on the 28th, over the battle-field of the Moskwa. The first battalions that reached this well remembered scene raised a cry of terror at the spectacle which presented itself. In addition to the broken hillocks, the black and trodden ground, and the overthrown trees, there were scattered about, especially near the terrible redoubt, fragments of armour and drums, mingled with half-devoured carcasses of men and horses. "It is the field of the great battle," was murmured through the ranks as the soldiers passed.

Napoleon himself hurried by, scarcely glancing at the place; and all turned with sickness and shuddering from a scene which, besides forming unsheltered graves for so many friends and comrades, reminded them of tarnished glory and of lost hope. It is said, that one of those who had been wounded on that terrible day, was perceived to be still living and capable of articulation; but this it is needless to add is altogether incredible. On the 29th, the Emperor halted at the great abbey of Kolotskoï, where, notwithstanding the strict orders which had been given to the contrary, many of the

RETREAT.

most desperately wounded were found to have been left on pretence that there were not sufficient carriages for their conveyance. Several of these miserable men crawled to the doors and windows of the

hospital, when they heard that their brethren were passing, and extended their hands in agonizing supplication, praying for death in preference to being deserted in that inhospitable land. Napoleon, when he came up, gave instant orders that every carriage of whatever description should receive one of the sufferers; and that those unable to be removed should, as had been the case at Moscow, be left under the protection of wounded Russians cured by the French.

Many of the sutlers, into whose carts these afflicted beings were then received, are said to have loitered behind in desolate places, and thrown the invalids into holes and ditches. The same day, as the army approached Gjatzen, the bodies of a number of Russian prisoners were found on the roads; the Poles and Portuguese, who had been appointed to guard them, having blown out their brains, in order to be released from all further trouble. The Emperor regarded this as

VIAZMA.

an unpardonable atrocity ; and his opinion being known, was sufficient to prevent a repetition of the offence.

Napoleon halted for twenty-four hours at Gjat ; and on the 31st reached Viazma ; where, for two days, he awaited the arrival of Eugene and Davoust ; and, in the meantime, received letters from Paris and Wilna, together with the reports of Marshals Victor and St. Cyr, who had been left at Smolensk and Polotsk for the purpose of maintaining the line of communications from Poland to Moscow. Having learned that the Viceroy and Davoust were in the neighbourhood, and being unable to obtain tidings of the Russians, the Emperor, on the 2nd of November, continued his march, leaving Ney, with his comparatively fresh corps behind, to relieve Davoust, whose troops were exhausted with fatigue and hunger. Eugene and Davoust bivouacked that night within two or three leagues of Viazma, unconscious that the Russians were in the vicinity. During the darkness, however, Miloradowich, with Kutusoff's advanced-guard, supported by Platoff and many thousand Cossacks, turned the French flank, and posted themselves along the road between Viazma and the centre and rear-guard of the retreating army.

This manœuvre escaped undiscovered till the morning, when Eugene was about to resume his march ; but, when detected, it created no dismay. The Prince immediately formed in line along the high-road ; and, though attacked by an infinitely superior force, kept the enemy in check, till Ney, having received notice of what had occurred, brought up a single regiment in the rear of the Russians, and drove them from their position. Davoust, at the same time, sent forward General Compans with his division, and the battle became general. The French altogether mustered only thirty thousand men ; the Russians double that number, and their artillery and cavalry were exceedingly numerous. Nevertheless, Miloradowich was so hardly pressed by the brave men, from whom he had presumptuously hoped to wrest a victory almost without a contest, that he was compelled to send Sir Robert Wilson, who acted as a kind of aide-de-camp to all the Russian commanders in turn, to request the assistance of Kutusoff to rescue him from his perilous situation. The fight lasted seven hours. Davoust and Eugene, with their officers and men, among whom were many still covered with bandages, or

WINTER.

bearing their arms in slings, on account of wounds received at the Moskwa, performed prodigies of bravery, and in the end the French were enabled to retire in good order; and, after passing through Viazma, and setting fire to the town, to bivouac for the night on a small plain beyond;—Miloradowich, and even Kutusoff himself, who had brought up the Russian Grand Army, deeming it imprudent again to molest them. In this engagement, the invaders lost about four thousand men, and the enemy at least an equal number.

Napoleon halted, on the 3rd and 4th, at Slowkowo; and on the 5th, reached Michalewska, where he received a message from Victor, apprising him that, after having effected a junction with the corps of St. Cyr, the marshals, instead of marching against Wittgenstein and retaking Polotsk, which had recently been wrested from the French, had retired behind the Senno. This news greatly annoyed the Emperor, whose orders had been explicit; and he at once wrote to Victor, again commanding him to resume the offensive, and recover the important position which St. Cyr had lost. The instructions of the Emperor, it may be observed, were once more vainly urged, and the advantages of his forethought lost, through the want of skill or vigilance in his generals.

It was during the night of the 5th, that the snow set in. On the 6th, the sun could not be discerned through the dense atmosphere. The troops henceforth marched without being certain whither; and while they strove to force their way through whirlwinds of sleet, many fell into cavities by the way, whence the weakest rose no more. The wind drove in the soldiers' faces, and penetrated their thin wet clothes, till their limbs chilled and stiffened. Their breath froze as it was exhaled; and, being converted into icicles, hung from their chins and beards. The march soon became confused. The men, with shivering frames and chattering teeth, could no longer keep their ranks, but crawled on in disordered masses; while the snow, collecting round their feet into hard lumps, or whirling round their heads in eddies, blinded and stifled them. A stone, a clod of earth, or of snow, and not unfrequently a gust of wind, was sufficient to hurl them to the ground, where they were soon covered with a dazzling winding-sheet,—a small hillock alone marking their cold graves. The road was filled with such; and the survivors hurried

WINTER.

past in silence, and with averted eyes. Above, around, all was snow and desolation; and the few black tall pines which were occasionally seen skirting the horizon added to the horrors of the scene, by impressing its bleakness more strikingly on the mind. Innumerable men and horses fell and perished. The arms slipped from the benumbed hands of those who wandered onward, and were lost or broken. Many had their fingers frozen on their muskets; while, to add to their misery, the Cossacks hung on their rear, surrounded and stripped all the stragglers and detached parties; and, after wounding them in sport, left them, with brutal laughter, to expire naked in the wilderness.

At night, when the army halted, it had no shelter; there was no spot of clear ground on which to bivouac, no dry wood to kindle a fire. It was a great, and too often an unavailing effort, to light a few branches of green pine, to cook a meal of horseflesh, without vegetables or bread; and when the morning broke, a circle of stiffened bodies marked the places where parties of men had sought repose. The horses sank as rapidly and numerously as the men; and many of those who withstood the effects of hunger and cold were slain by the soldiers, in order that some nutriment might be obtained by drinking their warm blood, and some warmth by making cloaks of their reeking skins. Discipline speedily vanished in the majority of the troops, and this increased the mischief. The spoils of Moscow were broken up and abandoned—the Gothic armour, the ornaments of the Kremlin, the great cross of Ivan, and many other trophies, being thrown into the lake of Semlewo. Many pieces of French artillery were also destroyed and left on the road, with numerous baggage-waggons, the Emperor's own carriage, and even large stores of ammunition, which the surviving horses were unable to drag forward. The Russians are said to have returned public thanksgivings to God and their saints, for the timely assistance of their most potent ally—the frost; and to have offered prayers for its continuance.

On the 9th, Napoleon reached Smolensk, where he had hoped to find shelter, clothing, and provisions for all his followers. At sight of this town, the soldiers raised a cry of joy, and rushed forward, tumultuously, to gain admission; but their reception was such as at once to damp their enthusiasm. Their countrymen, seeing the wild

SMOLENSK.

and disorderly state in which they arrived, their emaciated forms, lank and ferocious visages, and total disorganization, shut the gates in terror, as against banditti. At last the Imperial Guards arrived, and were admitted; and the tumultuous crowd rushed in after them: but the good quarters and plenty, which had been promised, were not to be found. The town was still a heap of ruins, and famine had begun to affect even the garrison by which it had been previously occupied. When provisions were, at length, given out, the men refused to carry them to their regiments; but every one snatched what he could get, and ran to devour it in the most sequestered corner or hovel he could find. Brandy was plentiful, and this the soldiers drank to excess. On the morning of the 10th, the streets and huts were filled with dead bodies. Instead of ample supplies to last a hundred thousand men for fifteen days, there was insufficient for half that number during a third of the time. The Emperor, to avoid seeing the misery by which he was surrounded, and which he had no means of alleviating, secluded himself at head-quarters during his stay in this wretched place.

CONSPIRACY OF MALLET.

"As if," says a French author, "the calamities under his eyes had not been sufficient, Napoleon, at Smolensk, received news from Paris, that showed him more strongly than any former occurrence, the inconstancy of fortune and the instability of his power and dynasty." This related to a conspiracy formed by an officer, named Mallet, to overturn the Imperial government, and re-establish that of the mob. Mallet had fallen under the suspicion of the police in 1807, and been arrested; but, after a short imprisonment, had been permitted to reside, under surveillance, in an hospital, in one of the suburbs of the capital. "He was a man," says De Bourrienne, "without partisans, connexions, or character;" yet this person, with not more than a dozen accomplices, by sheer audacity, and aided by improbable falsehoods only, was enabled to create a panic throughout France, and to shake the throne of Napoleon to its base. Having forged an account of the death of the Emperor in a great battle in Russia, he appeared, on the night of the 22nd of October,—while the French army was evacuating Moscow,—in full uniform as a general, with a corporal dressed as an aide-de-camp, at the gate of the Minims-barracks, and shewing to Colonel Soulier a pretended *Senatus-consultum*, which officially notified the death of Napoleon, and declared the abolition of the Imperial government, obtained the command of about twelve hundred of the National Guards. The conspirator then marched to the prison of La Force, released from thence a spy named Guidal, and a traitor named Lahorie, who had been concerned with Georges Cadoudal during the consulate, and proceeded with these and his armed force to the Hôtel de Ville, to establish a provisional government, and issue orders for apprehending the great officers of the empire. The National Guard, without scruple, arrested Savary, Minister of Police, and conducted him to prison; Lahorie being appointed to his place. Frochet, the Prefect of the Seine, asked no questions when called upon to act as one of the new Government; but delivered to the conspirators the tower of St. Jacques, and extended his complaisance so far as to prepare for their installation an apartment in the Town Hall.

While Guidal and Lahorie were occupied in securing the police officers, Mallet himself marched to the head-quarters of General Hulin, Commandant of Paris; where, meeting with prompt resistance,

CONSPIRACY OF MALLET.

the whole plot was detected, and fell to the ground. Hulin, on being required to surrender himself and his papers, demanded to see the authority for his arrest, and some papers being tendered him, he was about to retire to his cabinet to peruse them. Mallet became alarmed at this cool procedure, and sought to avoid detection by shooting the General. His hand, however, was unsteady; and Hulin was merely wounded in the cheek, with the pistol-ball aimed at him. Laborde, the Inspector-general of Police, now arrived; and recognising Mallet, in his disguise, as one under surveillance, and consequently abroad without permission, at once seized and pinioned him. The conspirator made a last effort to blow out his own brains; but, being watched, he was quietly disarmed, conducted to prison, whence he was subsequently taken before a military tribunal, condemned, and led forth amid the scoffs and execrations of the population,—who, a few days before, had followed him with cheers, or looked upon his proceedings with terror,—to the plain of Grenelle, and there, with thirteen of his accomplices, shot. Well might the fallen Emperor characterize the French people as “turbulent, full of natural levity, and disposed to sudden change; mere weathercocks; the sport of the winds.”

Napoleon was greatly agitated when he read the despatches containing the recital of this extraordinary affair; not so much, as he has himself informed us, that an attempt to renew the Revolution of 1798, should have been made, as at the facility with which those who should have promptly suppressed it had become instrumental to the designs of the conspirators. Scarcely an effort had been made to defend the existing government, and not a thought seemed to have been bestowed on perpetuating it. The supposed death of the Emperor seemed to have been a natural signal for change; and the King of Rome was no more remembered than if he had not been born. Napoleon could not restrain the bitterness of his feelings in the presence of his generals. “Does my power, then,” he exclaimed, “hang on so slender a thread? Is my tenure of sovereignty so frail, that a single person, a prisoner, can place it in jeopardy? Truly my crown is but ill-fitted to my head, if, in my very capital, the audacious attempt of two or three adventurers can make it totter. After twelve years of government, after my marriage, after the birth of my son, after so many oaths, my death would again have plunged the country

RESOLUTION TO RETURN TO PARIS.

into the midst of revolutionary horrors. Napoleon II. was forgotten!"

The resolution of the Emperor was immediately taken to return, with all speed, to France. Retiring to his chamber, he said to Rapp, "Misfortunes never come singly. This event fills up the measure of evil here. I cannot be everywhere: but I must absolutely return to my capital. My presence there has become indispensable to restore public opinion. We have need of men and money. Great successes and great victories will repair all." This intention to quit the army, however, was revealed but to a few, lest being known among the soldiers, it might cause greater confusion than already existed, and be the means of producing still worse disasters.

CHAPTER XLI.

DEPARTURE FROM SMOLENSK—RETREAT CONTINUED—KRASNOÏ—PASSAGE
OF THE BERESINA—NAPOLEON RETURNS TO PARIS.
1812.

NAPOLEON remained five days at Smolensk, collecting reports from the various scattered divisions of his army, and giving such directions as appeared likely to render the continuation of the retreat less disastrous. On every side, however, misfortunes were thickening round him. Eugene, unable to obtain rest or food, had quitted the direct line of march, and pushed forward towards Witepsk, by way of Dou-chowtchina, followed by Platoff and his Cossacks. On the road he learned, that Wittgenstein was already in possession of the town upon which he was marching; and, being almost without artillery, he was compelled to return to the main road, with the loss of all his baggage

and a great number in killed and wounded, at the passage of the Wop.

Davoust and Ney also had been hardly pressed by the Cossacks under Miloradowich. The latter, afraid, after Malo-Jaroslawetz and Viazma, to venture on an open attack, prowled around the French line of march, cutting off all stragglers, breaking down the bridges, setting fire to houses and villages, and taking advantage of woods, ravines, and heights, to make unexpected attacks on the flank or rear of their opponents, and escape into the howling waste before the blows could be returned. Baraguay d'Hilliers, who had been sent forward from Smolensk to Elnia to keep the road from Kalouga, had suffered himself to be surprised by a large body of Russians, and being completely defeated, left an entire brigade to be massacred—for, according to the despatches of the Russian chiefs, "many were killed, but few made prisoners,"—by the enemy. The deportment of the Emperor, as he listened to these dreadful recitals, was "grave, silent, resigned; that of a man suffering less in body than others; but more in mind, and submitting to his destiny."

Having divided the relics of his army, which it is said was now reduced to less than fifty thousand effective men, into four corps, under the command of Murat, Eugene, Davoust, and Ney, the Emperor, with the first column, quitted Smolensk on the 14th of November, at about four in the morning. Kutusoff with an army of more than ninety thousand men was, at the same time, marching towards Krasnoï, on a line parallel to that of the French, whom he speedily outstripped, and whose retreat he had consequently the means of cutting off at pleasure. Miloradowich was sent forward to effect this object; and taking post with his Cossacks across the road, attempted to dispute the passage. The appearance of the Old Guard, however, alarmed him, and as the Imperial column continued steadily to advance, its assailants fled, and trusted to the numerous guns, which had been placed on the neighbouring heights, for the victory of which their personal courage failed to assure them. The Moscovites showered from the hills innumerable bullets upon the foe; but did not venture again to move far from the protection of their cannon. The grenadiers of the Guard, as they came near the spot where the balls flew fastest, closed in a dense circle around

EUGENE.

Napoleon, to shield him from the fire; and their band commenced playing the air,

"Ou peut-on être mieux qu'au sein de sa famille?"

The Emperor, feeling that this was too exclusively applicable to himself, desired them to play instead,

"Veillons au salut de l'Empire!"

The Russians, amazed at the confidence of their opponents, refrained from offering them further molestation; but were content, after the Emperor had passed, to occupy the road with a body of twenty thousand men, for the purpose of intercepting the advance of Eugene and the corps left behind.

The Viceroy was unable to move from Smolensk till the afternoon of the 15th; and being benighted about three leagues from that place, was unexpectedly summoned by Miloradowich to surrender. The Prince, however, formed his troops in battle order, and resolved to cut his way through all obstacles. The conflict, considering the numbers engaged, was one of the most sanguinary that had been fought in Russia. Eugene lost more than half his men; but he succeeded in driving the enemy from the heights, and having gained the open fields, marched to Krasnoi, and rejoined the Emperor. He narrowly escaped falling into the hands of Kutusoff, however, by the way. Being challenged by a sentinel in passing that General's outposts, a Polish soldier, named Kilsby, stepping forward, said in Russian, "Hist, fool! we are a party of Oubaroff's corps, despatched on a secret expedition;" upon which they were suffered to pass without an alarm being raised.

Napoleon now became anxious for the fate of Ney and Davoust; and, notwithstanding his being threatened by the main army of the Russians, he resolved to await at Krasnoi the approach of those marshals. During the 15th and 16th, he could obtain no tidings of them; and at last became impatient, and gave orders to march in search of them. Before day-break on the 17th, the Old Guard was put in motion, with the Emperor himself at their head, marching on foot, determined, if necessary, to give battle to the host before him in order to rescue his brave rear-guard. "I have acted the Emperor long enough," he exclaimed, as he quitted his miserable quarters; "it

is time that I should again become a General!" When the sun rose, the Russian force was seen in front skirting the whole horizon. Napoleon had with him about eleven thousand men, and while Kutusoff was supported by upwards of a hundred pieces of artillery, the French had not more than twenty guns, and those of inferior calibre. The name of the Emperor alone seems to have prevented the Russians from advancing, as they might have done, to crush the little band opposed to them: "his renown," says Hazlitt, "here proved not a mere worthless shadow, but a real and substantial power. The enemy did not dare to come in contact with him. The very sight of the conqueror in so many fields of battle, struck the Russians with awe and terror. The Pyramids, Marengo, Austerlitz, Friedland, the Moskwa, seemed to rise up around him, and to interpose, as with some overmastering spell, between him and the immense body of his foes." The cannon of Kutusoff made deep gaps in the French line. The fire flashed from east, south, and west; but their cannon was the only weapon the Russians had courage to use; and when at length Davoust made his appearance, scattering before him a cloud of Cossacks, the Muscovite commander suffered both the Emperor and the Marshal to withdraw from the field almost unpursued. Indeed, Mortier, who, with three thousand men, kept the ground while his comrades retired, gave special orders that his division should retreat at the ordinary marching step, to shew the enemy in what contempt Russian valour and skill were held by those who fled from the climate alone.

During this period, the extreme sufferings of the French may be estimated from the account given by Napoleon in the twenty-ninth bulletin of the campaign. "The cold," says that celebrated document, the accuracy of which has been universally admitted, "suddenly increased after the 7th; and, on the 14th, 15th, and 16th, the thermometer was sixteen and eighteen degrees below freezing-point. The roads were covered with ice; the cavalry, artillery, and baggage-horses died every night, not by hundreds but by thousands, especially those of Germany and France. In a few days, more than thirty thousand had perished. The cavalry was all on foot; the artillery and baggage were without means of conveyance; and it became necessary to abandon and destroy great part of the cannon, ammunition, and

DISTRESSES OF THE FRENCH.

provisions. That army, which had been so fine on the 6th, was very different on the 14th,—almost without cavalry, artillery, and transports. Without cavalry, we had no means of reconnoitring a quarter of a league; while, without artillery, we could not firmly await and risk a battle. It was requisite to march, therefore, in order not to be forced to an engagement, which the want of ammunition prevented our desiring. It was necessary for us to occupy a certain space of ground to avoid being turned, and that without cavalry to lead or connect the columns. This difficulty, added to the intense frost, rendered our situation miserable. Those whom nature had not sufficiently steeled to be superior to fate and fortune were shaken, lost their gaiety and good-humour, and dreamed of misfortunes and catastrophes alone: those whose constitutions enabled them to brave vicissitudes, preserved their spirits and ordinary manners, and saw new glory in the difficulties to be surmounted. The enemy, finding upon the road traces of the calamities which had befallen the French army, endeavoured to take advantage of them; surrounding all the columns with Cossacks, who carried off, like the Arabs of the Desert, the trains and carriages which for a moment diverged from or loitered on the march. This contemptible cavalry, which can only make noise, and is incapable of penetrating through a company of voltigeurs, was rendered formidable by circumstances. Nevertheless, the enemy had to repent of all the serious attempts which he made."

On the 17th of November, Napoleon slept at Lyadi, a frontier

TROPHIES DESTROYED.

town of ancient Russia; and, at dawn next day, resumed his march, now become more gloomy than ever, from uncertainty respecting the fate of Ney and the rear-guard, of whom no information could be gained; and who, it was generally believed, must have fallen into the hands of the infuriated Russians. On the 18th, the French headquarters were at Dombrowna, a town inhabited by friends. Here the Emperor learned that the enemy had taken Minsk on the 16th. "We have nothing left, then," he said, despondingly, "but to make our way with the bayonet." On the 19th, the troops passed the Borysthenes, and marched to Orza, where they found good quarters and abundance of provisions. The Grand Army, exclusive of the division of Ney and of a number of stragglers, whose services could not be calculated upon in cases of emergency, now consisted of about twelve thousand men; without baggage, emaciated with famine, and almost naked. At Orza, Napoleon burned a number of articles, which, if taken by the enemy, might have been exhibited as trophies of victory; and among other things the official documents, letters, and memoranda which he had collected as materials for his own biography.

RETREAT OF NEY.

On the 20th, after many unavailing enquiries concerning Ney, just as the soldiers were quitting Orcha to advance upon Borisoff, a number of Polish horsemen arrived, and announced that the Marshal, with the rear-guard, was on the right-bank of the Borysthene, and would, in a short time, be at head-quarters. The Emperor was overwhelmed with joy when he heard this welcome news. "I have three hundred millions [of francs] in gold," he shouted, "in the cellars of the Tuileries, and I would have given it all to save Marshal Ney." When the veteran himself arrived, to relate the dangers through which he had passed, Napoleon grasped his hand, shook it heartily, and hailed him by his proudest title of BRAVEST OF THE BRAVE; — a designation which it has never been denied was fully merited. "The history of war," says Mr. Lockhart, "does not present many such examples of insuperable difficulties overcome by the union of skill and valour."

Ney had left Smolensk on the 17th, accompanied by between six and seven thousand men, leaving the greater part of his sick and wounded to the mercy of the enemy. On the road they saw nothing but traces of a dreadful rout; broken arms, fragments of armour, and remnants of uniform, with overthrown carriages and dismounted cannon, lying on the snow and sticking in the hollows. Many dead and dying horses were also found by the way; and not unfrequently the sight of half-devoured human bodies appalled the spectators. One spot bore traces of recent and desperate conflict. It was the battle-field of Krasnoï, on which the Emperor had halted for Davoust. A little beyond this scene, the plains and rising grounds skirting the Losmina were covered with the enemy. A thick mist, however, prevented Ney from observing this, till his men were close under the Russian batteries, and an officer appeared to demand his sword. "A Marshal of France never surrenders," replied the brave soldier. The numerous guns from the neighbouring heights almost instantly afterwards opened a tremendous fire of grape-shot upon the column, the concussion of which dissipated the mist, and revealed the magnitude of the enemy's host; which, however, according to the timid policy which was now invariably pursued by the Muscovites, stirred not from behind its sheltering cannon. Ney, undaunted by the perilous situation in which he stood, rushed, at the head of three

RETREAT OF NEY.

thousand of the Imperial Guard, through the ravine of Losmina, to assault the Russians at their batteries. He was driven back, however, by mere force of numbers, and many of his brave followers perished by the bayonets of the foe and in the river.

Notwithstanding the first failure, however, he rallied his men, and again ascended to the attack, driving the Russians back, till the mass again became impervious from its density. The unequal contest was maintained till evening, the Russians not daring to follow and crush the resolute band, whose valour had spread such terror through their ranks. When it grew dark, Ney withdrew from the field, as if intending to return to Smolensk, in order to mislead the enemy. He did not, however, march far in that direction, but, coming to a rivulet, broke the ice to see which way the current ran, observing, "This stream flows into the Dneiper—this shall be our guide;" and pursuing its course, reached in safety the boundary river of the Czar's hereditary dominions. A lame peasant informed them where they might pass on the ice. Ney, wrapped in his cloak, slept on the bank while the troops passed in single file, for the ice was thin, and bent and crackled under their feet. The waggons, laden with the baggage and with many sick and wounded soldiers, next attempted to pass; but the frail bridge broke beneath their weight, and the carriages, one after another, went down amid piercing shrieks and groans. An officer, named Brigueville, floated over on a piece of ice, and was rescued by Ney himself. The Cossacks, having tracked their retreat, and gathered in force behind them, now attacked and carried the remaining carriages, and made prisoners of a few stragglers, who had not arrived in time to cross with their comrades. The great object of Ney, however, was achieved, and he was enabled to march forward, though scarcely knowing whither, in search of the Emperor. During the night of the 18th, the gallant corps reached a village where plenty of provisions and shelter were found, and a hundred Cossacks were made prisoners. On the following day the troops pursued their route, constantly pursued by Platoff and his horde; from whom, however, there was little danger, except to the stragglers; the Russians scrupulously keeping out of reach of the French muskets.

On the 20th the wrecks of the Grand Army were all united; and Napoleon, on the 21st, pushed forward towards the Beresina. On the

ADVANCE TO THE BERESINA.

23rd, an officer brought information to the head-quarters at Toloczina, that Borisoff was in possession of the Russians. The Emperor remained for a time speechless and motionless, then raising his hand towards heaven, and sighing heavily, he said, "Is it written there that we shall commit nothing but errors?" That night was one of restlessness and agony. The officers who remained in his chamber, expressed their earnest wishes that their Sovereign could reach France; "were it even through the air," said Daru, "since the passage of the earth seems barred. Your Majesty," he added, "could much more certainly serve the army in Paris than here." Napoleon enquired whether all the reports of the ministers were destroyed, and being answered in the negative, replied, "Let them be burned forthwith; for it must be confessed that we are in a truly lamentable condition." He then had the situation of Borisoff explained to him, and glancing over the map, suggested that a passage might be obtained at a lower point of the river. This, however, was objectionable, as being in the neighbourhood of Tchitchakoff's position; and going lower, he found that he was approaching the country of the Cossacks. "Ah!" he exclaimed, stopping short, as the remembrance crossed him, "Charles XII. ! Pultowa!" He finally determined to attempt the passage at Studzianka, a village a little to the right of Borisoff, where the river was about a hundred yards wide and six feet deep. This must have appeared a highly perilous venture, even to Napoleon, as there was no bridge, and the landing on the opposite side was in a marsh, surrounded by heights already in possession of a powerful and well-organized army; but he had still strong confidence in the resources of his own genius, and in the courage and enterprise of his followers.

His preliminary measures were to collect the remaining eagles of his several regiments, and cause them to be burnt; to destroy all useless and unnecessary carriages; to form eighteen hundred of his dismounted Guard into two battalions; and to assemble round his own person all the officers who had been able to save their horses. This corps being formed into four companies of a hundred and fifty men each, was denominated the "Sacred Squadron." It was placed under the command of Grouchy, subject to the general orders of Murat. Generals of division performed the functions of captains, colonels

MEETING WITH VICTOR.

served as subalterns, and inferior officers as privates in the ranks. These arrangements being completed, the troops, greatly refreshed by the good quarters and plenty they had everywhere found since passing the Borysthenes, commenced their march through the dark pine forest of Minsk towards Studzianka; this road having been chosen in order to bewilder the enemy as to their destination. As they approached Borisoff, loud shouts were heard before them, which were at first believed to proceed from the hostile army of Wittgenstein. A few men ran forward to reconnoitre, and speedily returned with the pleasant news that it was the corps of Marshals Victor and Oudinot, which, having beaten Wittgenstein, had retaken Borisoff, and were waiting for Napoleon. The bridge across the Beresina, however, had been destroyed by the defeated Russians, and all the causeways on the further side were occupied by their troops and artillery.

The meeting of the French soldiers cannot be adequately described. Victor's men were ignorant of the disasters which had befallen the Grand Army since its evacuation of Moscow, and were, therefore, totally unprepared for the miserable crowd which presented itself—covered with rags, with pieces of carpet, women's pelisses, untanned horse-skins, and tattered cloaks, scorched with the bivouac fires; their feet naked or wrapped in the most wretched substitutes for shoes; and their faces dirty, smoke dried, and deformed with long matted beards. The veterans shed tears together over the recital of sufferings such as had never, perhaps, been previously heard of; and all were horror-stricken when they heard that the fugitive band, which had arrived, was all that remained of the magnificent army which had been recently quartered in the Kremlin, as conquerors of the Russian capital.

"Yet," says Hazlitt, "the unarmed, the dying, though they knew that they must make their way across a river in the face of a new enemy, doubted not of victory. They felt themselves conquered by nature alone. The sight of their Emperor sustained their courage. All that was wanted was strength to follow him: he alone, who had raised his soldiers to such a height, and precipitated them so low, could save them. Some crawled to fall and die at his feet; and even in the ravings of delirium they implored, but never reproached him.

BORISOFF.

If there were any murmurs, they were not heard when he was present. Of all their misfortunes, the greatest was that of displeasing him; so rooted was their trust in, and their submission to, the man who made the world submit to them, and whose genius, till now always triumphant, always infallible, had taken the place of their own free-will."

On the 25th, a variety of movements were made, by order of the Emperor, all intended to deceive the enemy as to the point at which he intended to cross the river. Two passages, above and below Borisoff, were carefully examined. Three hundred men, and a number of stragglers, were despatched towards Oukoholda, with instructions to collect, as hastily and earnestly as possible, the necessary materials for constructing a bridge. A number of cuirassiers were shortly afterwards sent in the same direction, filing off with great parade in sight of the enemy; and, lastly, a number of Jews and others, who it was thought would report what they knew to the Russians, were interrogated about the ford. These demonstrations succeeded in withdrawing the attention of Tchitchagoff from the spot where preparations were really making for the passage. The utmost diligence and caution, however, were necessary. All day the army lay concealed in the woods, or loitered about Borisoff: at night the engineers commenced their labours; and their persevering efforts were crowned with success, though at a large sacrifice of their number from cold and exhaustion. Many of them worked, throughout the night, up to their necks in water, and compelled to struggle every few minutes against immense pieces of ice, floated down by the stream. Their only light was from the watch fires of the Russians, who were still encamped on the opposite heights.

Napoleon superintended the working parties in person. He seemed exceedingly anxious and uneasy as to the probable result of the adventure; but said nothing that could indicate want of confidence in its success. Rapp, Mortier, and Ney, however, declared that if an escape were now effected, they should henceforth believe in the Emperor's presiding star. Even the bold and reckless Murat acknowledged that he was hopeless as to the army; and said, that it was time to relinquish all thought of saving any but the Emperor, on whose fate depended that of France. Similar fears and desires pervaded the

RETREAT OF TCHITCHAGOFF.

soldiers in the ranks. Some brave Poles volunteered to extricate Napoleon from the dangers which surrounded him, by guiding him through roads with which the Russians were unacquainted, to the frontiers of Prussia; and their commander, Poniatowski, offered to pledge his life for their success; but this suggestion was instantly rejected, as implying cowardice, and involving shameful flight from danger.

As day dawned, and the Russian fires gradually grew paler, the French took their arms and ranged themselves, in order to answer, as well as they could, the cannonade which was expected to be directed upon the bridges at which General Eblé's division were still labouring, and which were not yet nearly completed. When the French generals, who were watching the opposite bank of the river, saw the enemy retreating, with baggage and artillery, towards Bori-soff, they could scarcely believe their eyes. A short time, however, sufficed to convince them of the fact. Rapp and Oudinot then hastened to Napolen. "Sire," said they, "the enemy has raised his camp, and abandoned his position."—"Impossible!" replied the Emperor, incredulously. The news, however, was soon confirmed by Ney and Murat, when he hastened to the edge of the water, and beheld the last files of the Moscovite army retire into the woods. With an exuberance of joy, such as he seldom displayed, Napoleon clapped his hands and shouted, "Then I have deceived the Admiral!" A few Cossacks, with a couple of field-pieces, having observed some sudden activity among the French, returned and fired; but Napoleon forbade his artillery to reply, lest the foe should take the alarm and return. General Jacqueminot, and the Polish Count Predziecki, however, followed by about fifty chasseurs, carrying behind them the same number of light-infantry, plunged into the river; and, though the ice cut the chests and flanks of their horses, they reached the opposite bank in safety, and established themselves so as to cover all approach to the bridges. Two slight rafts were then constructed, by means of which, in the course of an hour, four hundred men passed the stream, and the Cossacks fled. The bridge for the infantry was shortly afterwards finished, and the division of Legrand rapidly crossed, with its artillery, amid loud shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" Napoleon himself on attaining the right bank, exclaimed, "My star, then, still reigns!"

PASSAGE OF THE BERESINA.

The passage of the troops, baggage, and stragglers continued during the whole day and night of the 26th and 27th — Oudinot and Dombroski protecting the heads of the bridges, and Victor guarding the

rear on the heights of Studzianka. It was not till late on the 27th, that the Russians discovered they had been outwitted; and then, with fury heightened by chagrin, they returned to the attack — Wittgenstein, recrossing the river at Borisoff as soon as that town was evacuated, marched against Victor, and Tchaplitz was detached against Oudinot to Stakowa: Tchitchagoff himself remained opposite Oukoholda, as if he still expected that a passage would be attempted in that quarter. In consequence of the promptitude of Wittgenstein's movements, the first brigade of the division of General Partounaux fell into the hands of the enemy. It appears to have left Borisoff at five o'clock in the evening, missed its way in the dark at six; and, after marching two or three leagues in a wrong direction, was surrounded and taken by the Cossacks of Platoff and the corps of Seslawin. Two thousand infantry, three hundred cavalry, and three pieces of artillery were thus lost to the Emperor.

On the morning of the 28th, an almost simultaneous assault was made upon the French positions on both sides of the river. The battle was commenced by Tchaplitz, who endeavoured to turn Napoleon's right, and thus cut off all egress from the bridges; but

PASSAGE OF THE BERESINA.

Oudinot, Ney, and their comrades, gave the assailants so warm a reception, that they were speedily compelled to retire, when General Doumerc, charging them at the head of a division of cuirassiers, while the Poles of Dombroski, emerging from a wood, attacked them in flank, the Russians were routed with dreadful slaughter, and the loss of six thousand prisoners, two standards, and six pieces of cannon. Colonel Dubois, for his distinguished bravery in successively breaking six squares of infantry, by his rapid and dextrous movements, was rewarded with the rank of General conferred on the field of battle. Tchaplitz, several times during the engagement, sent to Tchitchagoff for reinforcements; but the Admiral excused himself from complying with the demand on account of "the wind being contrary!" Had he properly supported the attack, it is scarcely probable that a remnant of the French could have escaped destruction. The country around is a dreary swamp, which the invaders were compelled to cross by means of railways formed of trunks and branches of pine trees; and combustibles having been previously collected and laid for the purpose, a single spark from the pipe of a Cossack would, according to Segur, have been sufficient to destroy all means of extrication from the morass, and render useless the passage of the Beresina. "But," says Sir Walter Scott, "it was not so decreed!" Tchitchagoff seems to have been satisfied with the glory of having once in his life directed an attack against the great Napoleon. The possibility of making him a prisoner does not appear, at that time, to have occurred to any of the Russian commanders.

Victor, meanwhile, maintained an unequal contest on the left bank of the river against Wittgenstein and Platoff. The bridges, in various places, had repeatedly given way under the weight of baggage, artillery, and troops, with which they had been constantly burdened; and these accidents had retarded the passage for several hours. The unarmed stragglers mingling with the usual followers of a camp, sutlers, Jews, women, children, and domestics; and with the survivors of those who had accompanied the army from Moscow, were crowded together on the bank near the bridges; and, by their efforts to cross, made the confusion more dreadful, delaying instead of hastening the escape of all. Many were crushed down and trampled to death; others were thrust over the bridges; while those who had not strength

PASSAGE OF THE BERESINA.

enough left to struggle, sat down upon the snow to await, resignedly, whatever fate might ensue. About mid-day on the 28th, a hurricane arose, and gave additional horrors to what was already so wild and terrific. Soon afterwards, Victor was compelled to give ground before the overwhelming forces brought against him. This occasioned a fearful panic among the French, and drove them in such numbers upon the bridges, that the larger one gave way, and precipitated multitudes into the water. "The scream of mortal agony," says Scott, "which arose from the despairing crowd, became at this crisis so universal, for a moment, that it rose shrilly audible over the noise of the elements, and the thunders of war; above the wild whistling of the tempest, and the sustained and redoubled *hourras* of the Cossacks." This fearful scene continued till night; and even the darkness did not end it; some, plunging into the icy river, saved themselves by swimming; others found a watery grave; and many rushing to the still standing bridge, pressed furiously forward, regardless of all but themselves. Victor was enabled to keep back the enemy till about nine in the evening, when all the regular troops having passed, he led his corps across the bridge. The throng and confusion subsequently became greater than ever. A number of Cossacks mingled with the French, hoping thus to secure a footing on the right-bank, and to carry disorder into the Emperor's own quarters. At day-break, on the 29th, General Eblé was ordered to set the bridge on fire; and then an immense number, both Russians and French, rendered desperate by disappointment, rushed into the flames, or threw themselves headlong into the river, in the vain hope of reaching the opposite bank. Many of the camp followers and guns of Napoleon, and a considerable quantity of baggage, became the "prey" of the Cossacks. The numbers lost on this occasion, by the sword and the flood, have never been distinctly ascertained; but the Russian accounts state that, when the thaw permitted, upwards of thirty-six thousand bodies were dragged from the Beresina, and burnt upon its banks. The greater portion of these, undoubtedly, appertained to the Army of Invasion.

The situation of the French, during the three days occupied in crossing the river, was dreadful. The corps of Victor and Oudinot, which had not experienced the privations of the retreat from Moscow,

BRILOWA.

had, till then, preserved their organisation; but now all were involved in the same confusion. Discipline entirely disappeared: the men no longer obeyed their officers, who indeed made but feeble attempts to enforce commands, which they believed to be useless. All were engrossed with providing for self-preservation; apparently forgetful that, in their situation, this would have been less difficult had the order, necessary to ensure success to the exertions of a multitude, been maintained. The village of Brilowa was entirely pulled down; and the wood, of which its habitations had been principally constructed, was used as fuel for the camp fires. The weather was so excessively cold, that the tears, which were forced by agony, were frozen on the cheeks of the men; and scarcely any provisions were to be obtained. Around every bivouac, the morning disclosed a circle of dead bodies. Ministers of State, generals, and privates, huddled together without regard to rank, sat as near to each other as possible, that they might derive warmth from their neighbours' bodies; and

all waited, with hopeless despondency, for the frost or the Russians to release them from insupportable suffering. The Sacred Squadron, and a few veterans of the Old Guard, alone maintained a shew of soldier-like fortitude. These bivouacked around the Imperial tent; and, however they disregarded other things, they kept a strict watch

ARRIVAL OF PROVISIONS.

over the personal safety of Napoleon. But even in the midst of these horrors, traits of character, which could scarcely have been expected, were observable. An old nobleman, a relic of the gay and brilliant days of the Bourbon Court, was seen at morning sitting on the snow-covered stump of a tree, performing all the minutiae of his toilet, shaving, dressing, and powdering his head, as though perfectly at ease, and about to inspect his troops upon parade in the heart of Paris; while near him were several scientific men, with their teeth chattering in the Northern blast, discussing the causes of the wind's violence and direction.

On the 29th of November, the Emperor quitted the banks of the Beresina, and pushed forward to Kamen, where he halted for the night. Here the Russian prisoners were folded like cattle; and, as they received no food—the French having none to give them—a great number perished from the cold and starvation. The survivors were seen, in many instances, devouring the carcasses of their fallen comrades. On the 30th, Napoleon slept at Plechnitz, on the 1st of December at Slaiki, and on the 3rd at Malodeczno. Here provisions and forage in abundance were again found, and convoys arrived from Wilna. The wounded officers and soldiers, the baggage, the women, children, and stragglers, and whatever else could impede or embarrass the movements of the army, were now sent forward under escort. Several thousand horses were obtained from the various dépôts, and the cavalry remounted. The remaining artillery was repaired, and the troops were once more placed in marching order. It was at Malodeczno, when the greatest dangers attending the retreat seemed to have been overcome, that Napoleon announced to his chief officers his intention to quit the army, and return to France. As the causes of his resolution, he assigned the conspiracy of Mallet, the state of France generally, and rumours which had reached him of hostile preparations making in Prussia, among the Princes of the Rhenish Confederation, and even in Austria—all of which powers it was necessary to overawe. The generals unanimously approved the design, and preparations were forthwith made for the Emperor's departure.

On the 5th of December, the troops reached Smorgoni, and Ney having brought up the rear-guard, the marshals were all invited to

DEPARTURE OF NAPOLEON.

sup with the Emperor. At the conclusion of the repast, the latter stated that he should set out that night for France, leaving the command of the army to the King of Naples. "I hope," he said, "you will all obey him as myself, and that the most perfect harmony will reign among you." He assured them, that he would soon return at the head of three hundred thousand men, and, in a second campaign, complete the conquest which the frost had retarded. He then embraced them all and took leave; and, at ten o'clock, set out, accompanied by Caulaincourt, in a carriage which had been provided for the occasion; Wukasowich, captain of his guard, and Roustan, his favourite Mameluke, occupying the box; Duroc and Lobau followed in a sledge. That same night, the travellers narrowly escaped being captured by the Russians, who, having surprised and sacked the village of Youpranoui, abandoned it about an hour before the Emperor's arrival. At Wilna, he gave a lengthened audience to Maret, Duke of Bassano; and proceeding thence to Wilkowiski, changed his carriage for a sledge, and hastened to Warsaw, where he arrived on the 10th.

The Abbé de Pradt has given a curious, though evidently caricatured, account of an interview which he had with Napoleon in the Polish capital. "I was engaged," he says, "in answering a despatch of the Duke of Bassano, when the doors of my apartment flew open, and gave admittance to a tall figure led in by one of my secretaries. A black silk handkerchief enveloped his head; his face was buried in the furs which wrapped his neck; his walk was impeded by a double rampart of furred boots. It seemed like an apparition from another world. 'Make haste—follow me,' said the phantom. I arose, advanced towards him, and catching a glimpse of his profile, recognised him, and exclaimed, 'You here, Caulaincourt! Where is the Emperor?' The Duke replied, 'At the Hôtel d'Angleterre, waiting for you.'—'Why not alight at the palace?' I enquired. 'He travels incognito,' was the answer. 'And whither are you proceeding?' 'To Paris.'—'But where is the army?' 'It exists no longer,' said Caulaincourt, raising his eyes towards heaven. 'What then of the victory of the Beresina, and the six thousand prisoners?' 'That is all past; the prisoners have escaped: we had other business than to mind them.'

"It was half-past one when we reached the hotel. A Polish sentinel stood at the gate; and in the yard was a small carriage, mounted on a sledge, together with two open sledges, half-demolished. This was all that remained of so much grandeur and magnificence. Methought I saw the winding-sheet borne before the mighty Saladin. Presently the door of a low narrow room opened mysteriously, and I was introduced to and left alone with the Emperor. The window shutters of the mean apartment were half closed. A Polish maid-servant was blowing a fire, made of green wood, which resisted all her efforts to kindle, but filled the room with smoke and steam. Napoleon, enveloped in a superb green pelisse, covered with gold trimmings, and lined with fur, was walking rapidly up and down the chamber. 'Ah! Monsieur l'Ambassadeur!' he exclaimed, when he saw me; and requesting my assistance to take off his pelisse, he repressed my expressions of solicitude and sensibility by enquiring about the state of the Duchy." The Abbé proceeds, at considerable length, to relate a conversation, parts of which, however, were evidently fabricated in spleen, because the Emperor, finding a disposition in the Minister to study his own interest rather than that of his Sovereign, and to assume the airs of a patron, instead of retaining the obedience of a servant, left for him, at the close of the interview, an order to return to France. The dialogue, nevertheless, contains several remarkable observations, which appear to have been genuine. "I live in the midst of agitation," said Napoleon. "It is sluggish kings only who grow fat in their palaces: my place is on horseback in the camp. I have constantly beaten the Russians; they dare not stand before me. They are no longer the soldiers of Friedland and Eylau. I quit my army with regret; but it is necessary to watch Austria and Prussia; and I have more weight on my throne than at the head of my army. What has occurred is unfortunate; but it was the effect of climate—the enemy had nothing to do with it—the Moscovites have been beaten everywhere. I cannot hinder it from freezing in Russia, any more than I could prevent the Danube from rising sixteen feet in one night at Essling. They told me every morning, that I had lost ten thousand horses during the night. Perhaps I staid too long at Moscow. It was fine, and I expected peace there; but the winter came on before the usual time. Ah! it is a grand political

game: he who risks nothing gains nothing. There is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous! It was proposed to me to enfranchise the Russian slaves; but I would not listen to it. There would have been a general massacre: it would have been horrible. I made regular war upon the Emperor Alexander; but who could have expected such a blow as the burning of Moscow. They attribute this to me; but it was themselves who did it." Several times during the conversation, he repeated the above aphorism, which he has rendered immortal: — "From the sublime to the ridiculous there is but one step!"

After having been visited by Count Stanislaus Potocki and the Minister of Finance, and granted a loan to the Polish Duchy of between two and three millions of francs in cash, and three or four millions in bills, he stepped into his humble sledge and departed. Passing through Silesia, the Prussians are said to have deliberated as to the propriety of arresting him; "but," says Napoleon, "they passed the time in consulting which they ought to have employed in action; and, as was said by Charles XII. of the Saxons, when they suffered him to depart, unmolested, from Dresden: 'They dispute to-day, whether they ought not to have detained me yesterday.'" Such was the amity of the Court of Berlin towards its "august Ally!" It was only the celerity of the Emperor, his disguise, and the assumed name he bore, which prevented his experiencing, at this period, the misfortune of Cœur de Lion; and, instead of ending his days at St. Helena, becoming a prisoner of state in some miserable fortress of Prussia or Russia.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 14th, the Emperor reached Dresden, where he had a long private conference, at the house of Count Serra, with the King of Saxony, the most faithful of all the sovereigns on whom he had bestowed favours in the plenitude of his power. He next proceeded through Leipsic to Mayence; and arrived at Paris, about half-past eleven at night, on the 18th, two days after the publication of the twenty-ninth bulletin, which announced to France the ruin of its Grand Army.

Maria-Louisa had retired to rest before her husband obtained admittance to the Tuileries; and when her attendants saw a man, muffled in furs, enter the ante-room adjoining her bedchamber,

RECEPTION BY THE EMPRESS.

they raised a cry of terror, which, awaking the Empress, brought her to the door, to see what had occasioned the alarm. The meeting between the Imperial pair, is said to have exhibited the utmost confidence and affection. The conduct of the Empress, it should be noticed, had been highly exemplary in the affair of Mallet. She was at St. Cloud when information was brought her of the conspiracy; and, instead of exhibiting the least consternation or embarrassment, she instantly gave orders that the troops should be placed under arms, for the protection of the King of Rome and herself; and, if necessary, to march upon Paris. Napoleon was highly gratified with this instance of promptitude and courage; more especially as most of those, from whom such qualities might have been expected, had acted with such utter pusillanimity.

CHAPTER XLII.

NAPOLEON IN PARIS — PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW CAMPAIGN — CONTINUATION OF THE FRENCH RETREAT — DEFECTION OF THE PRUSSIANS — CAUTIOUS POLICY OF THE AUSTRIANS — MURAT ABANDONS THE ARMY — RESULTS OF THE INVASION. 1812—1813.

UCH has been said of the sudden change towards Napoleon, which the ascertained loss of his Grand Army wrought upon the French people; but, if a judgment may be formed from the expressed opinions of officials, and the language of the press at the period, there appears to have been little alteration of sentiment. As soon as the Emperor's return was announced, numerous addresses of congratulation were sent, not only from Paris, and the large cities and towns of France, but from Rome, Milan, Florence, Turin, Hamburgh, Amsterdam, Mayence, and the most populous places throughout the empire, all of which agreed in offering whatever sacrifices might be deemed necessary to remedy the disasters

DISPOSITION OF THE FRENCH.

of the last campaign, and in expressing their confidence in Napoleon's power and wisdom to overcome all enemies. "The presence of the Emperor alone," it was asserted, "was sufficient to remove all apprehension from the minds of his subjects, and to convert disquietude into tranquillity and happiness." In the *Journal de Paris* of the 19th of December, 1812, the following observations, which seem to be a mere echo of the public voice, were made upon the twenty-ninth bulletin:—

"These details cannot but add to the glory with which the Army has covered itself, and to the admiration which the heroic firmness and powerful genius of the Emperor inspire. After having vanquished the Russians in twenty battles, and driven them from their ancient capital, our brave troops have had to sustain the rigours of the season, and the severities of an inhospitable climate, during a march of more than fifty days, through an enemy's country, deprived of artillery, transports, and cavalry: yet the genius of the Sovereign has animated all, and proved a resource under the greatest difficulties. The enemy, who had the elements for auxiliaries, was beaten wherever he appeared. With such soldiers and such a General, the eventual success of the war cannot be uncertain. Napoleon will give his name to the nineteenth century!"

It was in vain that thousands of pamphlets and papers were sent from England, and distributed among the population of the maritime provinces of France, denouncing the Emperor as a coward, a deserter, and a miserable pretender, regardless of everything but his personal aggrandizement and safety. The French, who best knew him, as well as their own grievances, still deemed the war a just one, and Napoleon the only chief to whom the country could look for exemption from the yoke of those who had never ceased to war upon it since the deposition of its "legitimate" despots. Offers of service, protestations of loyal devotion, men, money, all that could restore the Army to efficiency, or shew the spirit by which the Great Nation was animated, were tendered from every quarter; and the Emperor had but to name what he required to secure the active co-operation of all classes towards the fulfilment of his wishes. More than ordinary activity in the preparations for a new campaign was displayed, as an atonement, it has been suggested, for the supineness which had paralysed the

PREPARATIONS FOR NEW CAMPAIGN.

great functionaries during the progress of the recent conspiracy, concerning which, however, the Emperor said little. His reproach to the ministers, who had allowed themselves to be deceived by such shallow pretensions as those of Mallet, was less severe than might have been expected. "Gentlemen!" he said, "it appears that you thought my reign ended. To that I can have nothing to object; but where were your oaths to the King of Rome? What became of your principles and doctrines? You make me tremble for the future!" The only person who was punished for neglect of duty, was Frochot, the Prefect of the Seine, who, however, was merely dismissed from his office. This person, who, there is reason to believe, knew more of the plot than has been made apparent, subsequently received a pension from Louis XVIII.,—a circumstance which seems to imply that the conspiracy was instigated by the Royalists, in whose hands, probably, Mallet and his companions were but humble instruments to commence that confusion by which the aristocrats hoped to profit.

The Senate readily accepted decrees for anticipating the conscription of 1814, and for converting into troops of the line the first *ban* of the National Guards, consisting of a hundred thousand men. Four regiments of Guards, one of light infantry, and one of Polish cavalry, together with several skeleton regiments, were withdrawn from Spain, where, as Lord Wellington had been compelled, soon after the capture of Madrid, to retreat once more into Portugal, without a prospect of being able speedily to resume offensive operations, their presence could be spared. At the same time, the sailors of the French fleet, whose services had, for some time, been entirely nominal, were formed into corps of artillery, and trained to military evolutions. Horses were purchased; provisions, clothing, stores and ammunition collected; guns cast, and waggons and other means of transport constructed, with an alacrity which shewed that the heart of the people, as well as their ruler's, was set on the great work in hand. It seemed, says Sir Walter Scott, as if Napoleon had "but to stamp on the earth, and armed legions arose at his call; doubt and discontent disappeared as mists at sun-rising, and the same confidence, which had attended his prosperous fortunes, revived in its full extent, despite of his late reverses." His levies of men

MURAT'S RETREAT.

are estimated to have amounted to a total of three hundred and fifty thousand. His expenditure from the treasures which, as a means of avoiding the imposition of new taxes, he had hoarded in the cellars of the Tuileries, amounted to nearly three hundred millions of francs. Never were his energies more strikingly exhibited than at this period, nor the pre-eminence of his genius more fully developed. From a state of absolute torpor, France, in a few days, was kindled by the breath of her chosen hero to an enthusiasm such as has never, perhaps, been exceeded, not even by the British when preparing the gigantic means of defence against threatened invasion.

Among other resources, the operation of the conscription was extended to the sons of the nobility and great landed proprietors, who had been spared from previous draughts, or had paid for substitutes,—in some instances, it is said, at the enormous price of seven hundred pounds sterling. These, consisting of about ten thousand persons, were formed into four regiments of Guards of Honour—a corps now first instituted, having been suggested probably by the "Sacred Squadron," which had rendered such good service in the retreat from Smolensk to Smorgoni. It was intended that this Guard should watch over the personal safety of the Emperor, and form a reserve to be brought forward only in extraordinary emergencies; but the old Imperial Guard being dissatisfied at this interference with its dearest privileges, the newly raised soldiers were soon reduced to the level of ordinary household troops.

While these exertions were making in order to recruit the Grand Army, and drive back the tide of war into the dominions of the Czar, the soldiers, who had been left under the command of Murat in Poland, continued their disastrous retreat. The disorder which had pervaded all ranks, even during the presence of Napoleon, now became uncontrollable. The Imperial Guard refused to render obedience to any chief, either on the march or at the bivouac, and could not be induced to maintain a shadow of discipline except when the fierce *hourra* of the Cossacks was heard announcing an approaching attack, and then the sound of the trumpet restored them to order under the banners which they had borne through so many victorious engagements. After the exhaustion of the supplies which had been sent from Wilna, the only food that could be obtained was a scanty

WILNA.

portion of rye-flour, which, in the absence of salt, was seasoned with gunpowder, and the flesh of horses which fell by the way under the weight of their riders, or the baggage with which they were laden. On the 6th of December, the day after the Emperor's departure, the thermometer had sunk to twenty-seven degrees below zero; and as it was difficult to obtain wood for fires, numerous disputes and quarrels arose at the bivouacs for space to warm those who were perishing of cold. Many dropped on the march and by the watch-fires; the blood gushing from their eyes and mouth, till death relieved them; whilst others, where they could approach a fire, thrust their frozen and benumbed limbs among the embers, and were burnt to the bone without being conscious of the injury; and of those who lay down many awoke no more. It is reported by more than one eye-witness, that at these ghastly bivouacs, not a few brave men degenerated into cannibals, and took their loathsome repast from the yet quivering limbs of comrades whom they had loved. This severe weather, however, while spreading destruction by its rigours, prevented additional havock from the swords or artillery of the Russians, who, like the French, were incapable of braving the frost, but perished by thousands every day.

Arrived at Wilna, plenty once more greeted the famished soldiers; and they had again the comfort of shelter from bleak winds and driving snow. Stern veterans, who had seen blood spilt like water in the fight, or had shared the spoils of a realm, without exhibiting a token of sensibility, wept for joy as they received a coarse loaf of bread, or a draught of wholesome water, and were welcomed to a seat beside the blazing hearth of some friendly inhabitant. But they had not been long in these pleasant quarters, before Wittgenstein and Platoff overtook them; and, forcing their way into the town, created such panic among the French, that they fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving a great portion of their magazines and remaining baggage in the hands of the Russians. The Jews, hoping to propitiate the victors, deliberately butchered many of those whom they had received into their houses as guests; and stripping others, thrust them, naked, into the streets to perish: but their inhumanity met its due reward; for the Russians made it a pretext to extort from them large sums by way of penalty; and those who refused, or were

MURAT.

unable to pay, were hanged as murderers. Ney, with the rear-guard, halted near Kowno; and, driving back the Cossacks, gained sufficient time for the wreck of the army to pass the Niémen on the ice; and Kutusoff, at this point, desisted from further pursuit.

During the last engagement, an overturned waggon was discovered to be laden with gold. The Cossacks came up at the moment when a number of French soldiers were engaged in securing its contents; and, attracted by the treasure, all consented to forego strife, in order to share the rich booty. It is worthy of record, that the Imperial Guard, when the retreat ceased, restored their share of the spoil, evidently with little, if any, deduction; as the greater portion of the amount which had been taken was recovered.

At Gumbinnen, the King of Naples called a Council of War, with no other apparent object than that of publicly venting his spleen against the Emperor, for calling him from Naples to take part in the disastrous expedition which had just terminated. "It is impossible," he said, "to continue to serve a madman, who is no longer able to afford security to his adherents. Not a single Prince in Europe will hereafter listen to his word or respect his treaties. Had I accepted the proposals of England, I might have been a powerful sovereign, like the Emperor of Austria or King of Prussia." Davoust, who on several previous occasions had checked the presumption of Murat, replied, with indignation, to this unseasonable harangue: "The Sovereigns you have named are Monarchs by the grace of God; and their power has been consolidated by time, by long-accustomed reverence, and hereditary descent: but for you — you are king merely by the grace of Napoleon and the blood of French soldiers; and you can remain a king only by the power of Napoleon, and by alliance with France. You are inflated with black ingratitude; and I will not fail to denounce you to the Emperor!" Murat, confounded by the zealous loyalty of the Marshal, broke up the meeting without further discussion, alarmed, probably, for the consequences of what he had said. He had taken his resolution, however, and only awaited an opportunity to put it in force.

From Gumbinnen, the French marched to Königsberg; experiencing, by the way, every degree of malevolence, short of open hostility, which the Prussians could exhibit. Provisions were, as far

D'YORCK.

as possible, withheld, and the troops were treated with insult and mockery wherever the presence of a native garrison, or the extent of population, seemed to guarantee impunity to the offenders. At Königsberg, indeed, the carriage of Davoust was surrounded and attacked in one of the principal streets, and the Marshal himself was threatened with violence. It was due, in all probability, to his indomitable courage and presence of mind that no serious consequences ensued. When the clamour grew loud, Davoust, leaping into the midst of the crowd, seized the person who appeared to be most actively engaged in inciting the rabble, and directing his attendants to bind the captive behind his carriage, drove off before they could sufficiently recover from their astonishment at so daring an act to attempt a rescue. The sick and wounded suffered greatly from the inhospitality of their Allies. They were left in miserable quarters without food or attendance; so that invalids were almost certain to die of disease or hunger.

But the unfriendly disposition of Prussia was now manifested more unequivocally than in the conduct of the populace. The auxiliary corps of General D'Yorck formed part of the army, which, at the commencement of the campaign, had been confided to Marshal Macdonald, and which, while Napoleon pushed forward to Moscow, had been left to operate in Courland, and hold in check the garrisons of Riga and St. Petersburg. There had been reason to suspect the intentions of D'Yorck from the first; but it was not until the disasters of the French had become irremediable, that he ventured openly to exhibit his hatred to the cause in which he was engaged. When Macdonald, in consequence of the retreat of the Grand Army, gave orders for his troops to retire upon Tilsit, the Prussian General at once detached his corps from the Marshal's main body, and entered into an arrangement with the Russians, by the terms of which he was to be at liberty to retire into his own country, and either remain neutral for two months or join his force to that of Alexander. This compact was signed upon the 30th of December, and immediately afterwards D'Yorck wrote to Macdonald to announce his secession from French alliance; at the same time, boasting of his treachery as a duty imposed upon him by regard for his country and his honour! Frederick William, when appealed to on the subject,

SCHWARTZENBURG.

disavowed having sanctioned the proceedings of his officer, and issued an order for sending him prisoner to Berlin; but it was well understood, that obedience to this command would not have been deemed good service by him who gave it: the best exposition of whose sincerity is afforded by his own conduct about three weeks afterwards.

The Austrian commander, Prince Schwartzburg, pursued a similar line of policy to that of D'Yorck, though having the absolute command of his troops his defection was not so palpably flagrant. He had cautiously abstained from any unnecessary aggressions upon the enemy during the campaign; but had contrived throughout to maintain appearances of duty by the execution of a series of manœuvres, which appear to have been perfectly understood between the Russians and himself as meant to evade active participation in the war. The Prince, indeed, instead of rendering any service to Napoleon, materially injured his cause, by repressing the inclinations of the Poles to rise in his behalf against their oppressors; and when it was ascertained that the Emperor was in actual retreat, an armistice was concluded between the Russians and Austrians, by which they agreed to decide their relative position as friends or enemies by the rapidity of certain marches and counter-marches—Schwartzburg consenting to retreat without fighting whenever the Russians should reach a given point without finding a nominal foe before them. As regarded these portions of the belligerent forces, therefore, "the campaign," as admitted by Sir Walter Scott, "resembled nothing so much as a pacific field-day, in which two generals in the same service venture on a trial of skill." It may be readily imagined that with such an understanding the Russians would not be long in outstripping the Germans. It only remains to be stated, that, as soon as his Allies had recrossed the Niémen, Schwartzburg leisurely retreated into the territories of his Sovereign, leaving the French to their fate.

It was at Königsberg that information of these events first reached Murat, who, thenceforward, grew more than ever dejected and hopeless; and having, about the same time, learned that his Queen had been performing acts of sovereignty at Naples, of which he disapproved, he hurried forward to Posen; and there, on the 16th of January, 1813, abruptly quitted the army, and returned to Italy.

DESERTION OF MURAT.

The Emperor, on hearing of this desertion, was naturally incensed. "Your husband," he wrote to his sister Caroline, Murat's wife, "is extremely brave on the field of battle; but out of sight of the enemy he is weaker than a woman; he has no moral courage." To the King, himself, he wrote: "I do not suspect you to be one of those who think that the lion is dead; but if you have counted on this, you will find yourself mistaken. Since my departure from Wilna, you have done me all the evil you could. Your title of King has turned your head." Eugene, meanwhile, was appointed to the chief command of the army, by an order which contains the following oblique sarcasm on the fugitive Prince: "The Viceroy is accustomed to the direction of military movements on a large scale, and, besides, enjoys the full confidence of the Emperor."

"In quitting the eminent post which Napoleon had assigned him," says a French historian, "Murat thought more of his crown than of his glory; yet eventually he lost the one without preserving the other. The Emperor was but in the first days of adversity, and already gross disaffection and perfidy had begun to be displayed by those who were indebted to him for rank, fame, and fortune. When the hearts of his own relatives, and such he had considered Bernadotte as well as Murat, were infected with treason, what could be expected from others?"

Thus terminated the fatal campaign of Russia; the most stupendous military expedition of modern times. Napoleon had hoped that this would have been the last act of his career as a soldier. "Peace concluded at Moscow," he said, "would, with respect to the great cause of France and of Europe, have been the end of casualties and the commencement of security. The foundation of my system would have been laid, and the only remaining task would have been its organization. Satisfied on these grand points, and everywhere at peace, I should have had my congress and my holy alliance. In an assembly of sovereigns, we should have discussed our mutual interests, and settled our accounts with the people as clerks with their masters. I wished to establish an European code, an European court of appeal, with full powers to redress all grievances without recourse to war. Europe would then have become in reality but one nation, with the same laws and institutions; each

RESULTS OF THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN.

country participating in the benefits derived from the arts, the commerce, and the wealth of the rest. My dictatorship, thus rendered unnecessary, would have given place to a constitutional reign. But I had undertaken in the expedition to fight against armed men; not against nature in the violence of her wrath. I defeated armies; but could not conquer the flames, the frost, stupefaction, and death!"

The French are computed to have lost during the campaign about three hundred and fifty thousand soldiers; of whom a hundred thousand were slain during the advance and in the retreat; a hundred and fifty thousand perished through hunger, fatigue, and the severity of the climate; and about a hundred thousand of wounded and captured remained prisoners in the hands of the enemy, not above half of whom ever returned to their native country. The account has been generally swollen by including the Jews, suttlers, women, and children who followed the army into Russia, and by those who joined it on the retreat from Moscow, amounting it is said to upwards of fifty thousand additional persons. The number that recrossed the Niémen, including the recruits which had recently joined the army, and had scarcely been engaged,—without reference to the corps of Schwartzenburg or D'Yorck,—was about fifty thousand; nearly twenty thousand of whom died in the hospitals and towns of Prussia. Upwards of sixty thousand horses are also said to have been destroyed, nearly a thousand cannon, and about twenty thousand waggons and carriages. It was remarked that the Italian corps of Eugene sustained the inclemency of the weather better than either the French, the Wespahians, or the Saxons.

Never perhaps did a single campaign carry such desolation into the homes of a people, as that of Moscow into the homes of France. There was scarcely a family but had lost some dear friend or relative. For more than six months nothing but black dresses were to be seen throughout Paris; and though every one seemed anxious to assist in the preparations making to repair the disasters of the nation, it failed not to be remarked, that the first great reverse the Emperor had experienced attended his first enterprise after the espousal of Maria-Louisa; and the superstitious attached more reverence than ever to the good influence of the presiding star of the discarded Josephine.

RUSSIAN MEDAL.

The Czar's losses have never been fully stated; but including the inhabitants of the abandoned towns, who perished for want of food and shelter, they must have greatly exceeded those of the invaders. Alexander, in commemoration of his deliverance, caused a medal to be struck, which is worthy of notice for the modest simplicity and literal truth of its inscription. "Not to us, not to me; but to Thy name.—January, 1812."

It need scarcely be observed, with respect to the date of this, that the Russians preserve the old style, and commence their year in March.

828

CHAPTER XLIII.

STATE OF FRANCE—ATTEMPTED ARRANGEMENT WITH THE POPE—PRUSSIA
DECLARES WAR—BERNADOTTE JOINS THE CONFEDERACY—PROCLAMA-
TION OF THE BOURBONS—DEPARTURE OF NAPOLEON FOR THE ARMY—
COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES—DEATH OF BESSIÈRES—BATTLE OF
LUTZEN. 1813.

829

JUSTICE has been amply rendered to Napoleon for his exertions to renew the war at the commencement of 1813; but the state of the empire at that period, as affected by its domestic policy, has been generally overlooked. The prudence and vigour of the Imperial administration, however, affords matter of still greater astonishment than the military resources which his genius and energy enabled the Emperor to create. At the sitting of the Legislative body on the 25th of February, 1813, the

STATE OF FRANCE.

following report was delivered by Count Montalivet, Minister of the Interior. "Gentlemen,—Notwithstanding the immense armies which a state of war, both maritime and continental, has rendered indispensably necessary, the population of France has continued to increase; French industry has advanced; the soil was never better cultivated, nor our manufactures more flourishing; and at no period of our history has wealth been more equally diffused among all classes of society. The farmer now enjoys benefits to which he was formerly a stranger: he is enabled to purchase land, though its value has greatly risen; his food and clothing are better and more abundant than heretofore; and his dwelling is more substantial and convenient.

"Improvements in agriculture, manufactures, and the useful arts, are no longer rejected, merely because they are new. Experiments have been made in every branch of labour, and the methods proved to be most advantageous have been adopted. Artificial meadows have been multiplied; the system of fallows is abandoned; rotation of crops is better understood; and improved plans of cultivation augment the produce of the soil. Cattle are multiplied, and their different breeds improved. Even the poor agriculturist finds means to purchase Spanish rams, and horses of the finest stock. . . This great prosperity is attributable to the liberal laws by which the empire is governed; to the suppression of feudal tenures, tithes, mortmains, and the monastic orders; measures which have set at liberty numerous estates, and rendered them the free patrimony of families formerly in a state of pauperism. Something is due also to the more equal distribution of wealth consequent on the alteration and simplification of the laws relating to freehold property, and to the prompt decision of lawsuits, the number of which is now daily decreasing."

The expenditure of the government on public works, from the establishment of the Imperial throne to the date of the report, is stated (in round numbers) as follows: two millions and a half of pounds sterling on palaces and buildings, the property of the crown; five millions and three quarters on fortifications; five millions on sea-ports, docks, and harbours; eleven millions on roads and highways; one million and a quarter on bridges in Paris and the various departments; five millions on canals, embankments, and the drainage of

EXERTIONS OF NAPOLEON.

land; four millions on public works in Paris; and six millions on public buildings in the departments, and cities and towns of the empire: making a total of about forty millions and a half spent in improving and embellishing the country, without the imposition of additional taxes, and during a reign which had not yet extended over nine years! "These miracles," says a French author, "were all effected by steadiness of purpose, talent armed with power, and finances wisely and economically applied."

Whether in the camp or the cabinet, Napoleon superintended in person the entire administration of his immense empire. Every ministerial project was submitted to, and its bearings examined and discussed by him. The financial accounts were all audited by himself; the correspondence with foreign powers, and even with the prefects of the Imperial departments, passed under his eye, and received alterations from his pen. His secretaries had incessant labour, and were worn out from want of rest. The Emperor himself seemed superior in physical, as well as mental, powers to all those who were thrown in contact with him. An anecdote related of Daru, which belongs to this period, is characteristic in more than one respect. The Count had been called up after midnight to write to Napoleon's dictation. Overcome by previous fatigue, he was scarcely able to trace the words uttered to him, and at last fell asleep over the paper. On awaking, he perceived the Emperor sitting opposite to him, quietly engaged in completing the document which Daru had commenced. The diminution of the candles shewed that the ill-timed slumber had been of considerable duration; and the Count was overwhelmed with confusion when his eyes met those of Napoleon. "You see, Sir," said the latter, "I have been doing your work. I suppose you have eaten a hearty supper, and passed a pleasant evening; but business must not be neglected." "Sire," replied Daru, "I have been for several nights too closely engaged to permit me to sleep. Your Majesty now sees the consequence of this; for which I am extremely sorry."—"Nay," exclaimed the Emperor, "why did you not before inform me of this; I do not wish to kill you. Go to bed. Good night!" The Count retired; and the Emperor continued at the desk till the work was finished.

Among other things calculated to conciliate the disaffected, and

THE POPE.

to prevent future dissensions and conspiracies among his subjects, Napoleon, previously to entering upon a new campaign, sought to arrange his differences with the Pope, who had been residing for some months, under surveillance, at Fontainebleau. The Emperor, on the 19th of January, paid him a visit; and by his frankness, and the concessions which he expressed his willingness to make, induced the Pope to enter upon negotiations for an amicable settlement of the affairs of the church. In a short time, eleven articles were agreed upon and signed both by the Emperor and Pius VII., by which the exercise of the Pontifical power was secured to the Holy Father, under the same forms and to the same extent as they had been used by his predecessors; the territories of the church were to be exempted from Imperial taxation, and governed by Papal officers. The suppressed bishoprics were to be re-established; and the Pope to have the power of nominating to a certain number of vacant sees in France. The cardinals, bishops, and priests, who had been imprisoned, deprived of their benefices, or in any way punished for their contumacy, were to be set at liberty, restored to their livings, and compensated for their sufferings; while nothing was required by the Emperor but that his Holiness should within six months give canonical institution to the French bishops inducted to their sees without the sanction of the Pontiff. The concordat closes with the following sentence: "The Holy Father has been induced to concur in the foregoing arrangements in consideration of the actual state of the church, and the confidence with which he has been inspired by the Emperor, that his Majesty will grant his powerful protection to the necessities of religion, unhappily too numerous in the age in which we live."

Napoleon, anxious to suppress the schism which had arisen between the devout and the lukewarm throughout his dominions, and, though no cordial believer in the creed which he patronized, still desirous of promoting its welfare as a source of satisfaction to his people, had no sooner obtained the signature of Pius to this concordat, than he caused it to be registered as a law by the Legislative Senate, and published as such in the *Moniteur*. In the meantime, however, the Pope had become more enlightened on the general state of Europe, and the difficulties of the Emperor; and entertaining hopes of a speedy

PRUSSIA DECLARES WAR.

release from his thralldom without yielding anything of the pretended patrimony of St. Peter, he issued decretal letters signifying that the articles printed were not a concordat in themselves, but merely preliminaries for the basis of a future treaty. Napoleon was doubtless exasperated at this duplicity, which, instead of allaying, served only to increase the religious feuds which rent the empire; but it was no time to think of proceeding to extremities; and matters were, therefore, left to take their course, till a more favourable opportunity should arise for bringing the wily Pontiff to reason.

It had now, indeed, become more than ever necessary to avoid making new enemies. Frederick William, who hesitated to declare his real sentiments only while he was uncertain as to the extent of the French disasters, had gained confidence on seeing the miserable wreck which sought refuge in his dominions, and hastened to assure the Czar of his friendship. He quitted Berlin, where Augereau was at that time quartered to watch the conduct of the Prussian Cabinet and overawe the inhabitants, on the 22nd of January; and, fixing his abode at Breslau, put himself at once into communication with Alexander, urging the latter to press forward with his army before Napoleon should be able to reinforce his enfeebled troops. On the 30th of January, he set up his standard, and published a proclamation, calling upon his subjects to arm and rally round their King, for the maintenance of the national independence and the recovery of the glory of the Great Frederick. On the 1st of March, he concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Russian Autocrat; on the 15th, he had an interview with Alexander at Breslau, at which he vented in tears his penitence for having opposed his brother during the recent campaign, and was affectionately encouraged with the assurance that "the French Monarch should not cause him to weep again;" and on the 16th, Prussia declared war against Napoleon. The latter, long since convinced of his error in having left to one so little trust-worthy, the extensive power which had been restored to him after the battle of Jena, and prepared for the consequences of that error, merely observed, when the hostile declaration was notified at St. Cloud, "It is better to have a declared enemy than a doubtful ally." For an independent sovereign, Frederick William had been deprived of too much, not to seek to recover his losses

BERNADOTTE.

and to avenge the humiliation inflicted on him: for a vassal prince, he had been suffered to retain too large a territory; and too potent a political influence, not to be restive under the control of a superior.

Bernadotte, about the same time, believing the moment had arrived when the hopes with which Alexander had amused him of being declared successor to the Imperial throne of France were to be realized, renewed his pledge of adherence to the Czar, and openly joined the coalition against his native country, and the man to whom he was indebted for his elevation. At the conference which had taken place between Alexander and him at Abo in the preceding year, he had commended the resolution of the Moscovite firmly to reject any pacific overtures that might be made to him by Napoleon. "That noble resolution," said Bernadotte, "will enfranchise Europe;" but now, in order to give a less odious colouring to his treason and ingratitude, he published a letter to his former benefactor, in which he ascribed his hostile disposition to the injuries which had been wrought on Sweden by the Continental System, and the blood which had been so lavishly shed to maintain it. He accused the Emperor of having caused the sacrifice of a million of men to maintain a despotism which struck at the rights, and ruined the commerce, of all nations; yet, while thus increasing the obstacles to peace, he urged, with affected sincerity, that nothing would afford him so much pleasure as to be an instrument of pacification between his Majesty and the Northern powers. "The calamities of the Continent," he said, "require peace, and your Majesty ought not to repulse it; but whether you determine for peace or war, I shall always preserve for your Majesty the sentiments of an old brother in arms." Bernadotte, it may be added, waited not for a reply to this strange epistle; which indeed, except through the newspapers, never reached Napoleon, before issuing his declaration of war. Had overtures for peace been listened to at this period, the ambitious dreams of the ancient Republican would have been prematurely dissipated.

Everything on the Continent betokened that the crisis of French domination was at hand. The agents of England, ever on the alert, were now more than usually active in arousing all, who had real or imaginary grievances to complain of, to take arms in what began to be called "the common cause;" promising them speedy redress and

GERMAN INSURRECTIONS.

vengeance, and distributing among them gold with lavish hand. Denmark, notwithstanding the wrongs she had endured from enemies that were her own as well as Napoleon's, was induced to remain neutral when her efforts would most have availed; even Austria withheld her contingent; began to hint at restitution of the provinces she had lost in former wars; and made a merit of not instantly joining the coalition to dethrone one on whom her Monarch had conferred his daughter as a pledge of constant amity and alliance. The Westphalians complained of the government of King Jerome; and the once free towns of Germany exhibited growing symptoms of rebellion. Hamburg, indeed, proceeded to such lengths that it was, ere long, found necessary by the French governor to suspend the constitution, and place the city under martial law.

It is remarkable that, at this time, the Allied Sovereigns in all their proclamations were loud in advocating the principles of liberty, and in denouncing despotism in all its forms. Princes, who had long borne arms against liberal doctrines, now became the patrons of secret societies formed for the dissemination of free opinions, and invoked the intelligence and patriotism of those in whom, but a year or two earlier, it would have been criminal to question the wisdom or justice of government, or to suggest that man had rights which were at variance with existing laws and institutions. Perhaps it was that the Monarchs had witnessed the yearnings for freedom of unfortunate Poland; that the cry for emancipation of the Russian serfs had not escaped their ears; and that the throes of German feudalism had taught them a lesson which was not to be forgotten. Napoleon, by an oversight which cannot be explained, had neglected these strong indications, till they were converted by his adversaries into weapons of destruction against himself. That he eventually understood the matter, and regarded it as the main cause of his downfall, is certain, from his expressions at St. Helena:—"Had I granted free constitutions to those who desired them," he said, "and abolished vassalage, the people would have been content, and the struggle would have been a mere contest of Princes for supremacy." How little was gained by the people from their final victory need here be dwelt upon.

The Count de Lille chose this favourable moment, when a counter-

BOURBON PROCLAMATIONS.

revolution seemed about to commence, for addressing to the French people a proclamation on the miseries which the prolongation of war must necessarily inflict upon the country. He told them of his love for France; of the good intentions of the Allies towards those who should return to their allegiance under their rightful Sovereign; accused Napoleon of being the only obstacle to the peace of the world; and promised on his restoration to "abolish the Conscription." The Emperor treated this address with scorn; relying, as he had always done, upon the love which his subjects bore to his own person and government, and the hatred entertained by almost all classes for the rule of the imbecile and faithless Bourbons. Perhaps, however, it would have been prudent to have taken more notice of this significant intimation of the ulterior designs of the Allies, at least as regarded the ancient Royalists, on whom Napoleon had conferred many important offices in the State; and who, consequently, had ample means of becoming acquainted with his plans and resources, and of betraying them to the enemy. It could scarcely have been expected that men, who had most to hope for from the re-establishment of the ancient dynasty, would endeavour to retard the advent of their own fortune; especially when the spell had been broken which previously linked success with the name of the Emperor, and the general movement throughout Europe shewed the extensive prevalence of a belief that the power of Imperial France was declining.

Napoleon looked with visible anxiety upon the storm which was gathering around him; but he well knew, that had he then sought to avert it, sacrifices would have been demanded from him, which he did not conceive to be required by the pressure of circumstances. The multiplying of his enemies, therefore, merely occasioned him to redouble his exertions to baffle and defeat their machinations; and he was well and enthusiastically seconded by the gallant people who had elected him as their chief. Every voice seemed raised to applaud his actions, and to assure him of unshaken confidence and zeal. Fathers cheerfully gave up their children to recruit the army designed to retrieve the glory and ensure the safety of the State; and every town and village rang with notes of preparation for the decisive war which drew near.

The last act of the Emperor, previously to joining the Grand Army,

COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.

which was already on its march towards the Elbe, was to establish a Council of Regency, with Maria Louisa, who had afforded him so much satisfaction by her calmness and courage during the panic occasioned by the revolt of Mallet, at its head. Then quitting Paris, he hastened on the 15th of April, 1813, to Mayence, where he halted for eight days, to give time for collecting the troops, which were directed to concentrate at Erfurth.

Eugene, after the departure of Murat, and the declaration of Prussia, had been compelled to retire upon Magdeburg, leaving garrisons in the important fortresses of Dantzic, Thorn, Spandau, Zamosk, Custrin, and other places, to check the advance of Alexander, who had now rejoined his army in person, and to engage the attention of the Prussians. On the advance of the new levies, the Prince, removing from Magdeburg, fixed his head-quarters on the Saale, in order to form a junction with the Grand Army when it came up; while the Allies, advancing, took possession of Dresden; whence they chased the King of Saxony, who had rejected the seductive offers made to him to desert his benefactor. On every point the enemies of France were gaining ground; when Napoleon, on the 25th of April, reached his camp at Erfurth, and, by his presence, instantly gave a new aspect to the state of affairs.

Hostilities had been already commenced by Ney; who, after a sharp conflict, in which the infantry under his orders exhibited more than usual enthusiasm and valour, had taken Weissenfels, and driven back the advanced guard of the Allies to the right bank of the Saale; thus re-establishing his communication with Eugene, which the operations of the enemy had interrupted. The Emperor almost immediately afterwards fixed his head-quarters at Weissenfels, and caused three bridges to be thrown over the river; intending, although not a third of his troops had come up, and the greater portion of those assembled were raw levies—"mere boys," says Scott—to give battle to his opponents, and by an early victory restore the influence of his name, and reanimate such of his followers as might be affected by remembrance of the retreat from Moscow. There was, however, little want of confidence in the French generally. The presence of Napoleon was still hailed by them as a certain pledge of victory over human foes; and the enemy, knowing to what its recent success was

POSERNA.

attributable, still deemed the Conqueror in so many battles invincible in the field. On the 29th of April, a skirmish took place, of which the most remarkable incident was, that a Prussian colonel, with a body of hussars, having surrounded fifteen grenadiers of the thirteenth regiment of the line, called upon the latter to surrender; and being answered by a deadly fire of musketry, the hussars galloped off at full speed, leaving the colonel and seven of their comrades dead on the spot.

On the 1st of May, Ney, pursuing his first advantages, advanced, with the division of Souham, to the defile of Poserna; into which, notwithstanding its being defended by six pieces of cannon and three lines of cavalry, he led his gallant soldiers; and, after a fierce combat, succeeded in dislodging the enemy. Being followed by the divisions of Gerard, Marchand, Brenier, and Ricard, he gave battle to and totally defeated the corps of Wintzingerode, consisting of about fifteen thousand horsemen: affording the rare example of a body of infantry routing and chasing from the field an equal number of cavalry. The mounted Guard, coming up at the close of the action to continue the pursuit, Bessières, their commander, was struck by a spent ball

DEATH OF BESSIÈRES.

in the breast, and fell dead from his horse. This brave officer, who had led the household troops of Napoleon, from the original establishment of the corps of Guides, during the Italian campaign, in which the future Emperor first fixed the attention of Europe, was sincerely lamented by his Sovereign and friend; who, in writing to the Empress, spoke of him as "justly entitled to the names of brave and good. He was distinguished alike for his skill, bravery, and prudence; for his great experience in the direction of cavalry movements; for his capacity in civil affairs, and his attachment to the Emperor. His death on the field of honour is worthy of envy, it was so rapid as to have been free from pain; and his reputation is without blemish — the finest heritage he could have bequeathed to his children. There are few whose loss could have been more sensibly felt. The whole French army partakes the grief of his Majesty on this melancholy occasion." Bessières had risen from the ranks; and, by the testimony of all who served with him, deserved his elevation for the valour, integrity, and humanity he constantly displayed. "None," says a writer, who is generally adverse to the Emperor, and to the nobles of his creation, "wore the ducal coronet with more unsullied honour than did Bessières that of Istria." The King of Saxony afterwards raised a monument to the memory of this illustrious soldier on the spot where he fell, which is near to the tomb of Gustavus Adolphus.

In the night, between the 1st and 2nd of May, the Imperial headquarters were established at Lutzen. The Young and Old Guard, under the command of Marmont, with whom was the Emperor, formed the right of the army; the corps of Ney, which occupied the village of Kaia, was stationed in the centre; and the troops of Eugene, resting upon the Elster, formed the left-wing. The Allies, commanded by the Czar and the King of Prussia in person, had advanced rapidly from the north, to prevent Leipsic from falling into the hands of the French; and finding that Napoleon's reinforcements had not yet arrived, they resolved to attack him in the plain of Lutzen, celebrated as the scene of the triumph and death of Gustavus Adolphus, two hundred years before. Accordingly, about two in the morning of the 2nd, Blucher, with the choicest of the Allied troops, crossed the Elster, and made a desperate attack on the position of

LUTZEN.

Ney. The fury of the assault, the numbers engaged in it, and the support it derived from a formidable cavalry, rendered its first shock irresistible. Ney, unable to repulse the masses opposed to him, was giving way, when Napoleon, although assailed in flank in the act of advancing, contrived, by a masterly movement, to push forward a strong body of the Imperial Guard to sustain the centre, while the two wings were wheeled round, so as to outflank and surround the main body of the enemy. The battle was of the most sanguinary character. Several times the village of Kaia was taken and retaken; but, at length, it remained in the hands of Gerard, who, though wounded by several balls in the course of the action, refused to quit the field while the contest continued, declaring, "that the moment was come for Frenchmen, who loved their country, to conquer or to die."

The centre now advanced, supported by the Young and Old Guard, and eighty pieces of artillery; which, being directed by Generals Dulauloy, Drouot, and Devaux, were pushed rapidly forward against the already drooping enemy, and carried terrible destruction into their ranks. The Allies, unable to endure this galling fire, and being about the same time informed, that the French right and left wings were closing upon them, and that Macdonald had attacked their reserves, beat a hasty retreat; which, however, their immense numbers and formidable cavalry enabled them to effect, in comparatively good order. The victory of Napoleon was, consequently, less complete than was desirable, and than it had been on so many former occasions—his trophies being limited to a few prisoners and possession of the field of battle. The Allies lost about twenty thousand men in killed and wounded; the French not above ten or twelve thousand.

The triumph, such as it was, filled Napoleon with joy, and was hailed by the whole army as a presage of returning fortune to his eagles. Despatches were immediately sent to every Court in alliance with France—even, it is said, to Constantinople—to announce the event. "In my young soldiers," he said, "I have found all the valour of my old companions in arms. During the twenty years that I have commanded the French troops, I have never witnessed more bravery and devotion. If all the Allied Sovereigns, and the Ministers who direct their Cabinets, had been present on the field of battle,

LUTZEN.

they would have renounced the vain hope of causing the Star of France to decline." It was, indeed, an achievement worthy of gratulation, that an army of nearly a hundred and thirty thousand men, with upwards of twenty thousand cavalry, had been defeated by not more than eighty-eight thousand men, including only four thousand cavalry.

CHAPTER XLIV.

NAPOLKON AT DRESDEN — PROPOSAL FOR A GENERAL CONGRESS — BATTLE OF BAUTZEN — DEATH OF DUROC — RETREAT OF THE ALLIES — ARMISTICE — AUSTRIA JOINS THE ALLIES. 1813.

BATAILED at Lutzen, the allied armies of Alexander and Frederick William retreated first to Leipsic; thence, finding they were pursued, to Dresden; and, finally, they recrossed the Elbe, and established themselves in a strong position at Bautzen, where they threw up a number of entrenchments and fortifications, in order to render their camp impregnable, until the numerous forces which were marching to join them should arrive, and enable them to resume offensive operations.

On the 11th of May, Napoleon entered Dresden, and was again greeted, as a conqueror and friend, by the fickle populace of that

PACIFIC OVERTURES.

city; who only a few days previously had hailed, with enthusiastic acclamations, the Czar and the King of Prussia as the Liberators of Germany. On the 12th, the King of Saxony, who, on the approach of the Allies, had been compelled to retire to Prague for shelter, returned to his capital, to which he was welcomed by the Emperor with a splendid military fête. The inhabitants sincerely rejoiced at the restoration of their good old Monarch, who was universally beloved; and in addition to discharges of cannon, and the music of the troops, the bells pealed from all the churches, and the applauses of the citizens, male and female, rent the air as the King and the Emperor rode side by side through the streets to the royal palace. It was the last spectacle of the kind,—the last triumph of fidelity, in an ally, which Napoleon was destined to witness.

According to his usual custom, the Emperor, on becoming master of Dresden, sent to the Allies a pacific overture—proposing that a general Congress should assemble at Prague, to treat for universal peace. The hopes which had been created by the failure of the Russian campaign, however, had not yet been sufficiently humbled for Russia and Prussian to listen favourably to what they conceived would be regarded as an admission of their incapacity to realize their recent boast of speedily dethroning him, whom they had called “the scourge and tyrant of Europe and mankind.” Austria had been sounded, and had pledged herself to join the coalition against France, on the first pretext which could be found for desertion. Napoleon seems perfectly to have understood the nature of the intrigues in progress. “I beheld,” he afterwards said, “the decisive hour gradually approaching. My star grew dim. I felt the reins slipping from my hands. Austria, I knew, would avail herself of any difficulties in which I might be placed to secure advantages to herself; but I had resolved on making the greatest sacrifices. The choice of the proper moment for proclaiming this resolution was the only difficult point, and what chiefly occupied my attention. If the influence of physical force be great, the power of opinion is still greater. Its effects are magical. My object was to preserve it. A false step, a word inadvertently uttered, might for ever have destroyed the illusion. . . While successful, I could offer sacrifices honourably, and the idea of my superiority remained unimpaired.” It was upon

EUGENE.

this reasoning that he offered to treat after Lutzen, in order to avert the calamities which he clearly perceived to be impending; but he was not prepared to submit, at discretion, to terms dictated by those over whom he had just been successful in the field; and from the conferences which he held with Count Bubna at this time, he distinctly learned that nothing less than his absolute degradation would satisfy the Allies, or secure him a continuance of the friendship of Austria.

On the rejection of his proposals, Napoleon at once sent Eugene to Italy for the purpose of organizing an army of defence against the period, which was foreseen to be not far distant, when the Emperor Francis should declare war against his son-in-law, and seek to recover his old possessions in the plains of Lombardy. In dismissing the Viceroy, Napoleon, to display his sense of the eminent services which the Prince had rendered to the army during its retreat from Russia, conferred the ducal palace and territory of Bologna and the domain of Galliera, which formed part of the Emperor's private property, on Eugene's eldest daughter, whom he, at the same time, created Princess of Bologna.

The Allies, meanwhile, were compelled to withdraw their detachments from the various positions which they had taken on the left bank of the Elbe, and to concentrate their entire forces at Bautzen, to enable them to sustain an attack should such be made. Consternation was general throughout their ranks. They had expected an easy victory over a foe whom they believed to be dispirited and almost prostrate from recent losses; instead of which they had met with nothing but enthusiasm in the hostile army, and defeat in their own. The German population, which had exhibited such a general desire to shake off the yoke of France while Napoleon was at a distance, now began to hesitate and to subject their patriotism to prudential considerations. Bernadotte, on whose assistance and promises so many hopes had been built, halted at a safe distance from the scene of action, to be ready in case of necessity to retreat without hazarding an engagement; and England had not yet remitted her promised subsidies to enable the Allies to equip the additional troops which they might otherwise have brought into the field. Had Austria remained faithful to her old engagements, the war might now have

HAMBURGH.

been brought to a close, and peace re-established on the basis of mutual security to all the nations of Europe. The thirst for vengeance, however, which animated the powers that had been humbled by France, was strong; and Napoleon was too proud to stoop as a suppliant for what he still deemed himself able to win by the sword.

One unpleasant consequence of the retreat of the Allies was, that the cities and towns which had risen in revolt to join them were now left to the mercy of the French; and, as they had shown little moderation, when for a moment in the ascendant, they had little reason to hope for kindness or consideration now that they in turn were defenceless. The municipality of Hamburg, in conjunction with their brethren of the other cities composing the Hanseatic League, had raised an army of ten thousand men for the service of the Allies, and had inflicted great cruelties upon such of the French soldiers and others as had fallen into their hands; but, after a brief period of independence, the city was compelled to capitulate to Vandamme and Davoust, and to receive once more a French governor. The conduct of the Allies towards this place, is worthy of being remembered. The citizens had thrown open their gates to the liberating troops on the first summons of Generals Czernicheff and Tetterborn, and obstinately resisted the efforts of the French to retake the town. Immediately after the battle of Lutzen, however, the Russians and Prussians were recalled, being replaced by a corps of Swedes sent for the purpose by Bernadotte, who was then, with a large army at Stralsund, waiting to see how the war was likely to proceed before marching in person to attack his countrymen. The Danish governor of Altona, knowing that the Cabinet of Copenhagen had withheld all supplies from the French Emperor, and was in communication with the Allies, and further influenced, perhaps, by his own near relationship to the Prussian General Blucher, sent at this time a body of troops with a number of gun-boats and cannon to succour the beleaguered city; but his government, in the interval, having ascertained that the Allies were determined to indemnify Bernadotte for the seizure by Russia of Finland, with the cession of Norway, commanded the Danes to withdraw, after a junction of three days with the enemy; and the Danish Prince, thenceforward, returned to alliance, offensive and defensive, with Napoleon. The

ADVANCE TO BAUTZEN.

cautious Swedes upon this evacuated the city, leaving the inhabitants, who had certainly been overhasty in their proceedings, to their fate. Thus Russians, Prussians, Danes, and Swedes, all exhibited the same contempt for a patriotism which was unable immediately to forward their own individual interests. The population was treated with less rigour than had been anticipated. "The French soldiers," says Scott, "kept good discipline, and only plundered after the fashion of regular exactions;" which means that contributions were levied to indemnify the French military and civil authorities and merchants for the losses they had sustained by the insurrection.

Napoleon remained for a week at Dresden, in order to learn the result of his pacific overtures before re-opening the campaign; but finding negotiation hopeless, and knowing that Austria was concentrating a large army behind the Bohemian frontier, he, on the 18th, commenced his march towards Bautzen, having previously sent Ney in advance towards Spremberg to menace Berlin. In his route, the Emperor passed the ruins of the small town of Bischoffswerder, which had been set on fire during a recent engagement between some French troops and a body of Russians. He was much affected at the sight, and promised to rebuild the place; presenting the inhabitants, at the same time, with a sum of four thousand pounds sterling towards repairing their losses. On another occasion, riding over ground from which the wounded had not yet been removed, he expressed, "as, indeed," according to an eminent, unfriendly writer, "was his custom, for he could never view bodily pain without sympathy," a considerable degree of sensibility for the sufferers. "His wound is incurable, Sire," said a surgeon, whom Napoleon urged to attend to one of the wretched objects before him. "Try, however," replied the Emperor; "it is always well to lose one less."

Early in the morning of the 21st, Napoleon came in sight of the formidable position of the Allies. It was situated a short distance in the rear of Bautzen, with the river Spree in front: a chain of wooded hills, occupied by the Russians on the right, and a group of well-fortified eminences, held by the Prussians, on the left. Ney and Lauriston were at this time posted towards Hoyeswerda, watching the motions of the enemy, and prepared to act in concert with the Grand Army. The action of the 21st consisted in the movement of

BAUTZEN.

a column of Italians, who were pushed forward by Napoleon to turn the Russian flank; but Barclay de Tolly and General D'Yorck attacked and dispersed this body before Ney could support them. The rest of the day was spent in the passage of the Spree, which the French effected at several points immediately in front of the Allied armies without molestation—the fugitives of Lutzen being too greatly alarmed at the proximity of their vanquishers to venture from their stronghold for the chance of a doubtful conflict. The Imperial head-quarters were fixed for the night in the town of Bautzen, and the hostile forces bivouacked in presence of each other.

The Emperor, satisfied that any attempt to storm the camp of the enemy would be useless, resolved to turn it. Ney was accordingly directed to make a large circuit round the extreme right of the Russians, while Oudinot engaged their left; and Soult and the Emperor in person attacked the centre. Miloradowich and his Cossacks were wholly occupied in defending themselves against Oudinot; and the Prussians maintained their ground for four hours against the repeated charges of Soult, several times losing and regaining the heights which formed the key of their position. The carnage during this protracted struggle was dreadful on each side; but at length Blucher was driven back, leaving the French in undisputed possession of the ground. The corps of Ney, meanwhile, followed by those of Lauriston and Regnier, had gained the rear of the Allies, and now poured deadly volleys of shot upon their exhausted masses. The Russians and Prussians, driven in on both flanks, and panic-stricken in the centre, scarcely waited for orders to commence their retreat, which they accomplished with such celerity as to outstrip all pursuit, and gain time to rally on the great roads leading to Bohemia—the route through Silesia being closed against them through the manœuvre which had been so ably executed by the “Bravest of the Brave,” and his gallant corps of youthful Conscripts.

Napoleon, several times during the day, exposed himself to the hottest fire of the enemy, and, when the latter retreated, was among the foremost in pursuit. He was impatient, however, at seeing so much slaughter with such comparatively trifling results; and as he returned from witnessing the flight of the foe, he exclaimed to those

BAUTZEN.

about him, "What! no guns? no prisoners? These people will not leave behind them so much as a nail!" The close of this well-fought day was rendered memorable by a series of accidents which wrought deep affliction in the bosom of the Emperor. The Russian rear-guard had been compelled to halt at the heights of Reichembach, to protect the passage of their comrades. The cuirassiers of the Imperial Guard attacked and threw them into confusion; but this unimportant achievement cost the life of General Bruyeres, who was struck down by a bullet in the moment of success. This General, who was a veteran of the Army of Italy, was a favourite of Napoleon for his courage and fidelity. Immediately after he had fallen, and while the Emperor, surrounded by a brilliant retinue, was surveying from an eminence the retreat of the last of the enemy's soldiers, a cannon aimed at the Imperial group, shivered a tree beneath which Napoleon stood, and rebounding killed General Kirgener, the brother-in-law of Marshal Lannes, and mortally wounded Duroc, by tearing open his abdomen. The dying Marshal was instantly borne on a litter to the camp; but knowing that surgical aid was useless, he asked only for the Emperor, who was walking with an air of unwonted

DEATH OF DUROC.

dejection in front of his tent. "Sire," said Duroc, taking the hand of his friend and Sovereign and raising it to his lips, "my whole life has been consecrated to your service; and I regret it only as it can be no longer useful to you." "Duroc," replied Napoleon, "there is another life, in which we shall one day meet again."—"Yes, Sire," returned the Marshal; "but that will be thirty years hence; when you have triumphed over your enemies and realised all the hopes of our country. I have lived as an honest man. I have nothing to reproach myself with. I leave a daughter, to whom your Majesty will be a father!" The Emperor was greatly affected, and remained for some time incapable of speaking, with the hand of his ancient comrade locked in his. Duroc, as much afflicted at witnessing Napoleon's grief as by his own sufferings, was the first to break silence. "Sire," he said, "this sight pains you: leave me." After his last adieus, it was found necessary for Soult and Caulaincourt to support the Emperor in returning to his tent, where he would neither see any person except his usual attendants, nor listen to any reports that were brought to him. Even when asked concerning some necessary arrangements for the following day, his sole reply was "Ask me nothing till to-morrow."

The character of Duroc has been drawn by a master-hand. "He was," said Napoleon, "a pure and virtuous man, totally disinterested and extremely generous. Throughout my career, he was the only person who possessed my unreserved confidence, and to whom I could freely unburthen my mind. His talents were not brilliant; but he had an excellent judgment, and his services were of the most useful kind. He would never have abandoned my person or fortunes. His death was a national calamity." The Emperor shortly afterwards issued a decree in favour of Duroc's young and accomplished widow and child; and summoning to his presence the proprietor of the farm on which the Marshal had died, he assigned to him a sum of eight hundred pounds sterling, a fifth of which was to be spent in erecting a suitable monument on the spot where the deceased met his death, and the rest was to repair the damage the farmer had sustained during the action. "The money," says Baron Odeleben, "was paid in the presence of the rector and magistrate of Makersdorf, who undertook to see the monument erected." The

RETREAT OF THE ALLIES.

bodies of Duroc and Bessières were subsequently conveyed to Paris, and buried in the cemetery of the *Invalides*.

In the battle of Bautzen and the skirmishes by which it was preceded and followed, M. de Montveran, a writer by no means favourable to Napoleon, computes that the enemy lost between eighteen and twenty thousand men in killed and wounded, and the French about fifteen thousand, including the Italian column of seven thousand soldiers which had been driven to the Bohemian mountains by Barclay and D'Yorck. Few prisoners were taken on either side.

On the 23rd of May, General Regnier, who was charged with the pursuit, obtained new advantages at Gorlitz over the Allies, who continued to force their retreat over bad roads and a wretched country, along the Bohemian frontier into Upper Silesia. In their hasty marches, the Russians and Prussians suffered severely from fatigue, want of provisions, and the constant attacks of the French, who hung upon their rear, and cut off all who straggled or were detached for any purpose from the main body of their army. On the 24th, Ney forced the passage of the Neiss, and in the morning of the 25th, he made his entry into Buntzlau, where he was rejoined by the Emperor in the evening. It was in this town that the Russian Commander Kutusoff, after a few weeks illness, had recently died from exhaustion produced by the severe weather attending his march from Moscow. On the 26th, a slight check was sustained by General Maison before the town of Hanau; but this did not long arrest the victorious march of the French troops. On the 28th, General Sebastiani took a large convoy of provisions and ammunition at Sproltau; and Oudinot beat, at Hoyerswerda, the Prussian corps of Bulow. Breslau, on the same day, capitulated, and Napoleon fixed there his head-quarters; the Princesses of Prussia having retired into Bohemia at his approach.

Berlin itself was threatened by Lauriston; and the Allied Sovereigns, anxious to save that capital from a second occupation by the French, now perceived that it was necessary to procure a suspension of hostilities. Accordingly, at ten in the morning of the 29th, Count Schouwaloff, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia, and the Prussian General Kleist, were despatched to Napoleon, to solicit an

CONGRESS OF PRAGUE.

armistice; the terms of which were arranged by Caulincourt, and signed on the 4th of June. The French Emperor, by the conditions to which he at this time acceded, is universally admitted to have shewn a sincere desire for peace. He proposed a general Congress at Prague, and relinquished possession of Breslau and Lower Silesia; thus enabling the Allies to re-establish their interrupted communications with Berlin. Napoleon, as soon as the preliminaries were settled, returned to Dresden; the Emperor of Austria repaired to Bohemia; and the Russian and Prussian Monarchs established their head-quarters at Schwednitz.

The Congress itself was a mere subterfuge on the part of the Allies, to enable them to procure the reinforcements and supplies of which they stood in need; and to afford Austria the desired opportunity of joining the coalition. The Czar could not avoid manifesting his contempt for negotiation at the very commencement of the business; by selecting, as his representative, Baron d'Austetten, who, being a Frenchman by birth, was unfit for the post. Intrigue and vexatious punctilios, thought of only as a means of procrastination, prevented the plenipotentiaries from meeting till the 29th of July, when Austria assumed the office of mediator, which she soon exchanged for that of umpire. "The real Congress, however," says Montveran, "was not the assembly at Prague. It had taken place two months before; and its shadow was now resorted to by pretended friends and avowed enemies, merely for the sake of cementing the union which was to effect the overthrow of Napoleon." While the negotiations were pending, Count Metternich, the Austrian envoy, proceeded to Dresden, to inform Napoleon of the proposals of the Allies. On the part of Austria, the cession of the Illyrian provinces and Venetian Lombardy was demanded; and on that of the Allies, the evacuation of Holland, Poland, all the fortresses upon the Oder and Elbe, and Spain and Portugal; together with the resignation by Napoleon of his titles of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine and Mediator of the Helvetian Republic. "These extravagant propositions," says Napoleon, "were made only, that they might be rejected. Even had I consented to them, what would it have benefitted France? I should have humbled myself for nothing, and furnished Austria with the means of making further demands, and opposing me with greater

INTRIGUES OF AUSTRIA.

advantage. One concession granted, would have led to the enforcement of new ones; till, step by step, I should have been driven back to the castle of the Tuileries, whence the French people, enraged at my weakness, and considering me the cause of their disasters, would have justly banished me for yielding them a prey to foreigners."

In his reply to Metternich, the Emperor assumed a firm and candid tone. "The interference of Austria," he said, "was delayed to see if France might not be reduced to a lower state than at the opening of the campaign. Now, however, that I have been victorious, your Sovereign thrusts in his mediation, in order to prevent me from following up my success. In assuming the office of pacificator, he is neither my friend, nor an impartial judge between me and my adversaries,—he is my enemy. You were about to declare yourselves, when the victory of Lutzen rendered it prudent first to collect additional forces. You have now assembled, behind the Bohemian mountains, upwards of two hundred thousand men, under the command of Schwartzenburg. You seek only to profit by my embarrassments. . . Will it suit you to accept of Illyria, and remain neuter? Your neutrality is all I require. I can deal with the Russians and Prussians with my own army." "Sire," replied the Diplomatist, "it is in your Majesty's power to unite our forces with your own; but neutrality is impossible. We must be with or against you."

The separate conditions of Francis's alliance, and those for a general peace, were repeated; and Napoleon, becoming exasperated, exclaimed:—"The truth is, you hawk about your friendship from one camp to the other, and make it depend upon the extent of territory you can obtain; and yet you talk to me of the independence of nations. Think you, however, that I shall be so docile as to march back my troops, with reversed arms, beyond the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees; and, by subscribing one vast capitulation, deliver myself into the hands of my enemies, and trust to their generosity for a doubtful permission to exist? Metternich! tell me, honestly, how much you have received from England to take part against me?"

Talleyrand, Cambacérès, and Fouché, who were in attendance at Dresden, on being consulted as to the demands of the Allies, advised concessions, in order to obtain peace, representing that the continuance

OFFER OF NAPOLEON.

of war had exhausted France, and that a convulsion would be the consequence of protracted hostilities. The Emperor appears to have suffered greatly in mind during the brief period which succeeded the delivery by the Allies of their ultimatum. "How greatly was I perplexed," said he, when speaking at St. Helena of this crisis, "to find that I alone was able to judge of the extent of our danger. On the one hand I was harassed by the coalesced powers, which threatened our very existence; and on the other by my own subjects; who, in their blindness, seemed to make common cause with the foe. Our enemies laboured for my destruction; and the importunities of my people, and even of my ministers, tended to induce me to throw myself on the mercy of foreigners. . . I saw that France, her destinies, and her principles, depended on me alone. The circumstances in which the country was placed were extraordinary and entirely new. It would be vain to seek for a parallel to them. The stability of the edifice, of which I was the key-stone, had depended upon each of my battles. Had I been conquered at Marengo, France would have encountered all the disasters of 1814 and 1815, without those prodigies of glory which succeeded, and which will be immortal. At Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, and at Wagram it was the same. The vulgar failed not to blame my ambition, as the occasion of these wars; but they were not of my choosing: they were produced by the nature and force of events; they arose out of that conflict between the past and the future — that permanent coalition of our enemies, which compelled us to subdue, under pain of being subdued."

That Napoleon was willing to do all that could be reasonably desired of him, was evinced by his final offer to accede to the following bases of pacification:—The dissolution of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and the division of its territory between Russia, Austria, and Prussia; the cession of the Hanse Towns; the reconstruction of Prussia, which was to have a frontier on the Elbe; the transfer of Illyria and the port of Trieste to Austria; the surrender of Holland and Spain; and the establishment of German and Swiss independence. These, with few and unimportant exceptions, were all the conditions that had been at first required; and, as regards any concern for the freedom and rights of nations, they proclaim aloud the honest views

DEFECTION OF AUSTRIA.

of the confederacy. The Allies, however, were now in a condition to resume a hostile attitude with a prospect of success. Alexander had received strong reinforcements; the Prussians had more than doubled their numbers; the Swedish army had arrived at the scene of action; large subsidies had been received from England; and Austria had decided on instantly uniting its troops with the enemies of France. Moreover, intelligence had been received of the decisive battle of Vittoria, in which King Joseph and Marshal Jourdan had been defeated and chased from Spain; the news being accompanied with an assurance that Wellington was advancing to the invasion of France. The old Republican General Moreau, at the solicitation of his former comrade, Bernadotte, and of the Czar, had about the same time arrived in the enemy's camp, and mounted the green cockade of Russia, eager to wreak vengeance upon Napoleon, for having once obtained the power, and omitted, from a sense of superiority and pity, to consign him to an ignominious grave; and treasonable movements began to be manifested in the French camp: General Jomini, chief staff officer of one of the *corps d'armée*, having gone over to the enemy with all the information he had been able to collect, respecting the Emperor's plans for the approaching campaign. The conditions of Napoleon were, therefore, rejected; and, in the night of the 10th of August, a number of rockets, of a new and brilliant kind, gleaming upwards from height to height, spread along the Bohemian and Silesian frontier the welcome news that the armistice was broken off, and that hostilities would immediately recommence. On the 11th, Austria sent in its declaration of war against France. Napoleon, having calculated on this result, received the news of his father-in-law's defection with perfect equanimity; and when reminded of the gigantic forces now arrayed against him, he merely replied, "It would be a thousand times better to perish in battle, in the hour of the enemy's triumph, than to submit to the degradation sought to be inflicted on me. Even defeat, when attended by magnanimous perseverance, may leave the respect due to adversity. Hence I prefer to give battle: for should I be conquered, our fate is too intimately blended with the true political interests of the majority of our enemies, to allow great advantages to be taken: and should I be victorious, I may save all. I have still chances in my favour, and am far from despairing."

RESULT OF THE ARMISTICE.

The error of Napoleon, in having acceded to the armistice, now became apparent to all Europe. Had he pressed forward, Austria would have remained neutral to watch the event; and the Allies, cut off from all means of communication with Bernadotte, and driven back upon Poland, would have been compelled to treat: or, if not,—had Germany risen in its rear, and the French army been obliged eventually to succumb,—the consequences could not have been more fatal than those which actually ensued.

CHAPTER XLV.

RECOMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES — BATTLE OF DRESDEN — RETREAT OF THE ALLIES — DISASTERS OF THE FRENCH — DEFECTION OF THE BAVARIANS — NAPOLEON RETIRES TO LEIPSIK. 1813.

UNDER protection of the truce, the Allies had been enabled to augment their forces to about five hundred thousand men, who were disposed as follows: — The *Grand Army*, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand Austrians, and eighty thousand Russians and Prussians, commanded by the Czar, the King of Prussia, Moreau, and Prince Schwartzburg, lay behind the Erzgebirge mountains, to the south of Dresden, with its head-quarters at Prague. The *Army of Silesia*, numbering eighty thousand Russians and Prussians, commanded by Blucher, was posted in advance of Breslau. The third army, commanded by Bernadotte, and comprising thirty thousand Swedes and sixty thousand Russians and Prussians, was stationed near Berlin. A fourth army, consisting of sixty thousand Austrians,

PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

led by General Hiller, watched the passes of the Alps, ready to attack the Viceroy of Italy, should he make any demonstration in favour of Napoleon. A corps of forty thousand Austrians, under the Prince of Reuss, lay on the frontier of Bavaria; and about thirty thousand Russians, Prussians, and Austrians lay around Schwerin, in the Duchy of Mecklenburg. But besides these regular forces, numerous bands of insurgents had collected at different points, severally ready to join the Allies, and impede the operations of the French, as opportunities might occur to them. The ranks of the Allies contained about a hundred thousand cavalry. To this immense force Napoleon could not oppose more than two hundred and sixty thousand soldiers, which were thus stationed: — One hundred thousand, under Macdonald, occupied Buntzlau, on the border of Silesia; fifty thousand were quartered in the neighbourhood of Zittau, in Lusatia; twenty thousand lay at Pirna, under the orders of St. Cyr, watching the passes into Bohemia; sixty thousand, commanded by Oudinot, were at Leipsic; and from twenty-five to thirty thousand remained at Dresden, under the eye of Napoleon. The French cavalry consisted of about forty thousand men, and was once more placed under the command of Murat; who, having learned that his old commander was again in the field, and renewing his career of victory, could not remain at a distance from the scene where brilliant feats of arms were to be achieved, and new glory was to be won.

The plan of campaign, as regarded the Allies, was arranged by Moreau and Bernadotte; to whom, as best understanding the tactics of Napoleon, and the temper and soldier-like qualities of their countrymen, this important matter had been confided. The disposition of the French forces having been ascertained, and General Jomini examined as to his knowledge of the orders subsisting at the time of his desertion, it was conceived to be Napoleon's intention to unite his Guards with any corps which the Allies should venture to attack; and thus in detail to engage and overwhelm the several armies opposed to him. The orders issued by the renegade generals to counteract this system, shewed their estimation of their former patron's superiority. No general was to give or accept battle; but each was to do his utmost to mislead the French, by false demonstrations; and, in case of success on any point, in withdrawing the Emperor for a moment from

HOSTILITIES RENEWED.

his central position, other armies would advance, attack his marshals during his absence, and escape to their reserves before his return. They hoped thus to baffle and elude him, till his army should be wasted, and his resources exhausted, when they might close round him, and either destroy or make him prisoner.

This plan was sufficiently judicious, and must have speedily succeeded; but that Napoleon had sufficient genius to enable him to form a new scheme of operations, as soon as he perceived that the enemy had accurately divined the scope of his first. Instead, therefore, of waiting to be attacked, as was his original purpose, he pushed forward, first against the Grand Army of the Allies, which had begun its march from Prague into Saxony; and, on that falling back, he hastened to Zittau, to join Ney and Macdonald, who were manœuvring in front of the Army of Silesia; and driving before them the "debauched old dragoon," Blucher, upon the mountains of Katsbach. On the 21st of August, bridges were hastily thrown over the Bober, at Loewenberg, and the French army daringly passed that river, in the face of the enemy, and under a heavy fire of artillery. Blucher, faithful to his original instructions, fled to Goldberg; and, being pursued, was overtaken and routed on the 23rd. In the last action, a column of twenty-five thousand Prussians was broken and totally dispersed by Gerard.

It was at this stage of proceedings, that Napoleon heard of the renewed advance of the enemy's Grand Army upon Dresden. It was of the utmost importance to retain possession of this city, which was the pivot of the French operations, and the key to their line of communications with Paris. Leaving Macdonald, therefore, to continue the pursuit of Blucher, Napoleon hastily returned with the Imperial Guard and the troops of Ney towards the Elbe, where the combined Sovereigns had already concentrated an army of two hundred thousand men, for a simultaneous assault upon the Saxon capital, defended alone by St. Cyr and his corps of twenty thousand men. The march of the Emperor on this occasion has been compared, for its celerity and effect, to the lightning's flash. A few hours later and it would have been useless; Dresden would have been in the power of the enemy, and Napoleon cut off from all hope of receiving reinforcements or supplies.

DRESDEN ATTACKED.

The unwieldy masses of Allied troops had surrounded Dresden, on the afternoon of the 25th; but, deeming their number still too small to render victory certain, instead of giving the signal for instant assault, they bivouacked on the neighbouring heights, to afford time for the arrival of General Klenau with an additional force. This procrastination cost them dearly. It enabled St. Cyr to make arrangements for a defence which, however feeble, prevented the immediate capture of the city; and in the end proved sufficient to avert its fall. The folly of delay having in the meantime occurred to them, the Allies, on the morning of the 26th of August, notwithstanding the continued absence of Klenau, resolved on attacking the place; and accordingly, dividing themselves into six columns, advanced towards the walls.

The troops of St. Cyr were insufficient, though all his reserves were employed for the purpose, to man the walls and defences of the city. From the windows of his palace, the venerable King of Saxony beheld the devastation of the beautiful gardens and pleasure-grounds by which his capital was environed. About ten o'clock, the shells and balls of the assailants began to fall thick in the streets and squares; and the inhabitants, in a state of the utmost consternation, uttered loud murmurs, and threatened to yield up the city in order to save their habitations from destruction. Defection too had commenced in the ranks of the besieged. Two regiments of Westphalian hussars, quitting their posts in the garrison, went over with all their equipments to the Allies.

Suddenly loud acclamations and cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" announced that something extraordinary had occurred in the direction of the river; and the populace hurrying towards the bridge, beheld Napoleon on horseback, rushing into the city, followed at charging pace by his Guards; who, notwithstanding the fatigues of their long forced marches, eagerly desired to be instantly led to the encounter. Dismay was now banished, and confidence restored. Accents of joy and congratulation succeeded to those of despair, as the last troops of the Emperor defiled into the streets, and formed in order of battle behind the gates by which they were expected to debouch upon the besiegers. It has been observed by a French writer, that the enthusiasm with which the cuirassiers of Latour-

BATTLE OF DRESDEN.

Maubourg were greeted, made it appear that their presence was in itself a certain presage of victory. Napoleon, after a few hasty, but important questions as to the measures which had been adopted for defence, and a word of approbation on the conduct of St. Cyr, hastened to the palace to reassure the Saxon Royal Family, which is said to have been preparing for flight. A moment or two afterwards he was again on his charger, hurrying towards one of the city gates, and affording to the now reanimated population, by the calmness and serenity of his brow and the mildness of his eye, a pledge of security. At one o'clock, he was at the extremity of the suburb of Pilnitz, glancing round the exterior of the city and reconnoitring the advanced posts of the enemy, which he approached so nearly that a young page, by whom he was accompanied, was struck dead at his side by a bullet.

At three in the afternoon, the long expected signal for assault was given by three discharges of cannon from the batteries of the Allies. The combined troops, sweeping the plain, now rushed with wild impetuosity upon the redoubts; so excited by the presence of their Sovereigns, and so sanguine of victory, that the universal battle cry was "Paris—Paris!" a word which forcibly indicated their hopes and object. The French soldiers, reserving their fire till the assailants were within a few paces, opened upon them at once such a terrific volley of musketry and artillery, that the Allies were staggered at the onset, and recoiled as though all had received at the same moment a deadly blow. The battle, however, soon became general, and was maintained with the utmost fury; till Napoleon, seizing the proper moment, directed Murat with the cavalry to make a sortie on the right flank of the enemy, and Mortier to attack the left; while four divisions of the Young Guard, led by Dumoustier, Barrois, Ducouz, and Roguet, under the orders of Ney, issued from the Pirna and Plauen gates, and advancing directly to the attack, by their dauntless bearing under a galling fire, struck terror to the bosoms of the Allies. Notwithstanding the boldness and gallantry of their advance, the combined troops, when the Guards approached them, gave way and fled in all directions; and the plain was presently scoured by the French cuirassiers, who cut down all who attempted resistance.

DRESDEN.

Prince Schwartzburg, seeing the unexpected issue of the engagement, exclaimed to his royal companions, "The Emperor is surely in Dresden! The favourable moment for carrying the city has been lost. The utmost we can now hope is to rally!" The presence of Napoleon was confirmed by the events of the day, which were influenced not alone by the able dispositions and skilful manœuvres which he had directed, but also by his active participation in the heroic efforts and the perils of his army. "Napoleon," says Major Odeleben, a Saxon, who was in attendance on him during that day, "in the midst of a storm of bullets, rode forward at full gallop to recover two redoubts which had been taken; and being stopped short for a moment on the field of battle by the fall of an officer of his suite, who was killed in his presence, he turned to look around him, and then first perceived that several of his aides-de-camp were wounded."

The Allies rallied in the evening on the heights from which they had descended with such confidence in the morning; and about nine at night the sound of the cannon ceased. At eleven, the Emperor was still on foot traversing his outposts from bivouac to bivouac,

DRESDEN.

reconnoitring the lines of the enemy to enable him to arrange his plans for the ensuing day. On re-entering the palace, Berthier was called into his cabinet, and the necessary orders having been dictated, were immediately despatched to the several generals, directing a combined movement at daybreak. In the meantime, however, an Austrian corps, emboldened by a copious distribution of brandy, attempted to surprise the Plauen gate; but meeting a vigorous resistance from General Dumoustier and Colonel Cambron, one entire battalion with its colours was captured, and the rest of the assailants, under cover of the darkness, fled to their camp. This attack announced that the Allies, although in the evening they had appeared to be completely disordered, still relied on their numbers for success, and were unappalled by the defeat they had sustained. Napoleon, in consequence, sent instant and pressing orders for all his marshals and generals stationed in the neighbourhood of Dresden, to hasten with their troops to the city to take part in the battle of the morrow; commands which were so well obeyed, that before dawn upwards of a hundred thousand soldiers were assembled to renew the engagement on which the enemy believed the fate of France to depend.

At six in the morning of the 27th, the Emperor was again on horseback, at the Freyburg gate, to survey anew the positions of the enemy and the ground on which the battle was to be fought. On the heights before him, he failed not to observe a wide unoccupied space which had been left for the corps of Klenau, the arrival of which was momentarily expected. Seeing the advantage to be derived from this circumstance, Murat and Victor were immediately ordered to advance and take the position; which was done with the promptitude for which those marshals were distinguished, while a brisk cannonade engaged the enemy's centre. The artillery was the principal arm used in the battle. "It was then," says the 'Manuscript of 1813,' "that the French soldiers submitted to the severest laws of modern tactics, champing the curb which restrained their ardour, and remaining for hours entirely immoveable, a mark for the bullets which the hostile lines continually exchanged."

At eleven o'clock, Murat, who was then beyond the defiles of Plauen, was seen, sabre in hand, with his gold-embroidered mantle streaming from his shoulder, charging the Austrian infantry at the

FLIGHT OF THE ALLIES.

head of the indomitable carbineers and cuirassiers. His success, the glory of which was shared by Victor and Latour-Maubourg, was, henceforth, complete; the left wing of the enemy was broken and thrown into total confusion. On the right, the Young Guard, led by the Emperor in person, was not less fortunate. Everywhere the triumph of Napoleon was perfect. Ney, Marmont, Mortier, St. Cyr, Nansouty,—every officer and soldier engaged, vindicated the reputation which French valour and military skill had acquired throughout the world. At three in the afternoon, the Allies were precipitately retreating towards the mountains of Bohemia, by such unoccupied cross-roads and paths as they could find, and which the heavy rain had rendered almost impassable. The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia had again the mortification of seeing their eagles humbled by the man whose destruction they had vowed; and of being obliged to flee from the face of him whom they had recently stigmatized as a cowardly fugitive.

The trophies of the day were between twenty and thirty thousand prisoners, forty standards, and sixty pieces of cannon. The Allies lost, besides, in killed and wounded, more than ten thousand men, among whom was Moreau, both of whose legs had been shattered by the first discharge of cannon fired by the Imperial Guard.

DEATH OF MOREAU.

"Heaven," says M. Laurent, "would not permit the victor of Hohenlinden to aggravate his crime and perpetuate his infamy on the field of battle, but caused the scandal of such a man's presence in the midst of the Russians to cease." Napoleon himself is said to have aimed the ball by which the traitor met his death. Having observed a group of officers reconnoitring on an eminence at a short distance in front, he ordered some cannon to be turned in that direction, and immediately afterwards saw a movement which indicated that some person of rank had fallen. In the evening, a peasant brought into Dresden a boot, smeared with blood, and a greyhound, the property of the general who was slain. The collar of the dog bore the name of *Moreau*, and gave the first intimation that the greater of the two whom sordid selfishness, combined with personal malice and hatred, had induced to wield parricidal arms, had paid the earthly penalty of his offence. De Bourrienne has stated, as an unquestionable fact, that the sum proffered by Alexander to induce the "virtuous Moreau" to quit his American exile was twelve millions of rubles—upwards of two millions of pounds sterling; he has not added, however, whether this enormous price was paid.

In the evening, Napoleon, drenched with rain and sinking from fatigue, returned to Dresden, where he was received by the inhabitants and the King of Saxony with raptures. His generous conduct on the occasion tended not a little, it may be imagined, to conciliate the people; who, prior to the arrival of his army, had exhibited strong symptoms of the insurrectionary spirit so generally diffused, by means of the societies of *illuminati*, throughout Germany. He distributed large sums of money among those whose property had been injured by the cannonade; spoke kindly to all who approached him; caused the utmost attention to be paid to the wounded, as well those of the Allied armies as of his own; and relieved with liberal hand the wants of his prisoners, many of whom, being deserters from the contingent corps in his pay, could scarcely have expected such treatment.

Early in the morning of the 29th, the Emperor was again on horseback, directing the pursuit of the flying enemy; but, the incessant restlessness and toil which he had endured for five or six days past, and some food, suspected to have been poisoned, of which

VANDAMME.

he had hastily eaten on the preceding evening, produced violent retching and fever, which compelled him to return in his carriage to Dresden, and leave the completion of the enemy's ruin to inferior hands. This sudden and most unfortunate indisposition has been generally assigned as the indirect cause of the long series of calamities which ensued.

The King of Naples, Marmont, and St. Cyr, meanwhile, continued to press hard upon the flying columns of the enemy; while Vandamme, with a corps of about thirty thousand men, awaited to intercept their progress at Peterswald, in the mountains of Bohemia. From the last mentioned troops, Napoleon so confidently expected the total overthrow of the Allies, that when complimented, on his return to Dresden, upon his victory, he exclaimed, "That is nothing. Vandamme is before them. It is from him we must look for the great result." The impetuosity of Vandamme, however, whose fiery ardour had previously induced the Emperor to say, "Were that General lost, I know not what I should refuse to have him restored; but if I had two such, I should be compelled to make one shoot the other," had impelled him to give battle to the Russian General Ostermann, and to pursue him in the direction of Toplitz, whither the routed forces of the Allies were flying, in order to concentrate on the only road practicable for artillery, by which they could hope to reach Prague. Had Vandamme halted, the Grand Army of the enemy, cooped up between his corps and the troops in pursuit, must have surrendered at discretion, or, abandoning their guns and baggage, have dispersed and sought refuge in scattered bands among the forests and cross-roads of the country. But on the morning of the 29th, Vandamme, abandoning the line of the hills, marched into the valley of Culm, to complete, as he thought, the disorganization of the Allies, and to seize Toplitz, which was not more than half a league in advance, and was known to contain the immense magazines of the enemy. Ostermann, however, having received intelligence of the near approach and precarious situation of the Emperor Alexander, now resolved to make a stand in order to gain time. His resistance was of the most determined character. His troops stood "firm as a grove of pines opposed to the tempest," while Vandamme directed charge upon charge against their lessening numbers, till all the

PETERSWALD.

French soldiers were gathered on a narrow spot in the deep vale, and night closed upon the combatants. Ostermann lost an arm in this engagement; but he gained the time required to save his countrymen from destruction. Barclay de Tolly, Schwartzenburg, the Czar, and the King of Prussia, were enabled to rally a large body of their followers before morning; and, at day-break, to pour down from the heights of Peterswald such a torrent upon Vandamme, that, after a sanguinary contest, which the French were unable to maintain throughout the day, the French commander, together with Generals Haxo and Guyon, and about seven thousand men, remained prisoners of war. These officers were subsequently treated with great insolence and harshness by the Grand Duke Constantine, to whose custody they were consigned.

General Corbineau, by his courage and energy, saved the greater portion of the French troops. Seeing the immense host by which he and his comrades were surrounded, he led a furious cavalry charge up the hill of Peterswald, cut a road through the Allies, killed the artillerymen at their guns, and compelled Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, to quit the road till his comrades had effected a passage. The day, however, was a highly disastrous one. The Allies had been previously retreating in the utmost disorder,—the officers and soldiers complaining of the cowardice and want of skill of their generals, and the generals of their Sovereigns; but now they were enabled to reassemble and to resume some appearance of discipline, while the guns and prisoners they had taken gave a semblance of truth to the boast with which they entered Toplitz, that they had triumphed over the great Napoleon, and should soon expel him from the German territories. The victory also reanimated the spirit of the native insurrectionary clubs, whose members began again to throng around the so-called "Standards of Liberty." Murat, Marmont, and the other French generals, on hearing of the misfortune of Vandamme, instead of quickening the pursuit, halted, and allowed the Czar to fix his head-quarters at Toplitz.

Affairs in the north were scarcely better. Wherever the Emperor was not present in person, the overwhelming numbers of the Allies almost invariably gave them an ascendancy; while, where he was, all disparities were more than compensated by the superiority of his

genius and activity. Oudinot had been directed to give battle to Bernadotte, and having marched on the Berlin road to Gros-Beeren, near Potsdam, for that purpose, he had been encountered by the combined forces of Bulow, Borstal, and the Crown Prince, amounting to more than eighty thousand soldiers, and sustained a defeat, with a loss of about fifteen hundred men and eight guns. Oudinot was, in consequence, compelled to retreat, which he did with the utmost deliberation in the face of the enemy. Gerard, about the same time, having sallied from Magdeburg with five or six thousand men to effect a diversion in favour of Oudinot, fell in with a Prussian corps returning from Gros-Beeren, and put it to flight, but was in turn assailed by Czernicheff and his Cossacks, and lost six cannon, the greater portion of his baggage, and fifteen hundred prisoners. Macdonald was equally unsuccessful against Blucher. He had advanced on the Breslau road to give battle to the old partisan chief; but being met before he was prepared, and his troops becoming entangled in a narrow defile, flooded with heavy rains, he also sustained a defeat, before his wings could bring him any assistance. Lauriston, who commanded the right wing, was subsequently attacked and defeated; and Luckau, with a garrison of a thousand men, a day or two afterwards, surrendered to the Allies. The French Army of Silesia was thenceforth utterly disabled.

The news of these events, in which a total loss of nearly thirty thousand soldiers had been sustained, reached Napoleon while he lay still sick at Dresden. "This," said he to Murat, "is the fate of war. Exalted in the morning; low enough before night. There is but a step between triumph and ruin." On the table before him was a map of Germany; he took his compasses, and measuring distances, apparently without a purpose, repeated the following lines of a favourite poet:—

" J'ai servi, commandé, vaincu quarante années ;
Du monde, entre mes mains, j'ai vu les destinées ;
Et j'ai toujours connu qu'en chaque événement
Le destin des états dépendait d'un moment."

The end of disasters had not yet arrived. Oudinot, having concentrated all his forces beneath the walls of Wittemberg, was

NEY.

superseded, on the 4th of September, by Ney, who brought with him new troops, and a strict charge from Napoleon to force his way, at all risks, to Berlin; so as to place Bernadotte between the French Grand Army and the corps operating on his rear. Ney exhibited his customary alacrity to obey his instructions; and, after obtaining some advantages over General Taubentzein on the 5th, he moved, on the 6th, upon Jüterbock, where a general action was forced on by the Allies; in the midst of which a corps of Saxons, in all probability according to previous agreement, suddenly quitted their post and fled, leaving a large gap in the army of Ney, into which the cavalry of the Allies rushed, and was enabled to cut the assailing force in two, and to compel the separated divisions to retreat in different directions, with a loss of about ten thousand men and upwards of forty pieces of cannon.

These repeated checks dissolved the spell which had previously encompassed French valour, and reduced the followers of Napoleon to a level with ordinary soldiers, liable to the common errors and mischances of war. The troops themselves grew depressed in spirit; the officers longed for repose; and many openly expressed their wishes for peace upon any terms that could be obtained, provided the integrity of the territory of ancient France were guaranteed. The enthusiasm, which had formerly wrought such marvels, no longer existed; and a feeling of discontent began to usurp its place in the breasts of all save the few gallant veterans who remained of the victorious campaigns of Italy, Egypt, Austerlitz, Jena, and Wagram. The Allies, on the other hand, were excited to the utmost by their unexpected successes; and, gaining courage in proportion to the reputation of the chiefs over whom they triumphed, their soldiers boasted at least an equality with their opponents — an advantage infinitely superior in its consequences to the partial victories by which the change of feeling had been induced.

Notwithstanding the continuance of his indisposition, Napoleon, unable to endure the torture to which he was subjected by constant reports of the discomfiture of his troops, hastened, early in September, from Dresden into Silesia, to turn, by his talents and the influence which his presence still exercised, the tottering balance of fortune. It was evident that the crisis of his fate was come; and the occurrences

EXERTIONS OF NAPOLEON.

of every succeeding day demonstrated more clearly that his salvation, and that of the empire, must depend upon his own vigorous daring, and on the subtlety and firmness of his unassisted genius. His enemies, as well by their actions then, as by their subsequent acknowledgments, have done justice to the efforts of his closing career, admitting that these were worthy of his fame, and that they constituted the crowning rays of his coronal of military glory. On the 4th of September, he joined the corps of Macdonald at Hochkirch; and, with scarcely an hour's delay, resumed the offensive against Blücher, who had taken post on the heights of Wollenberg, whence he threatened a descent in the direction of Bautzen. The Allies, however, were speedily dislodged, and driven back towards Górlitz, whither they were pursued during the whole of the 5th, and compelled precipitately to recross the rivers Neisse and Queisse.

The Emperor now received news that the Grand Army of the Confederates was again struggling to extricate itself from the Bohemian mountains, and threatened a new descent upon Dresden. He hastily returned, therefore, towards the Elbe; and, at seven in the evening of the 6th, came in sight of Wittgenstein, who, with the advanced guard, had marched as far as Pirna. The Allies, however, being well-informed by friends in the French camp of all Napoleon's movements, no sooner heard of his approach than, without hazarding a battle, they retired to their old quarters; "afraid," according to Sir Walter Scott, "of one of those sudden strokes of inspiration under which their opponent seemed almost to dictate terms to fate." The Emperor pursued them through the passes of the Erzgebirge to Peterswald; whence, surveying the impracticable defiles of the valley of Culm, in which Vandamme had been defeated, he returned again to Dresden, on his road encountering and defeating a Prussian corps, and making prisoner a son of General Blücher. Availing himself of Napoleon's absence, the elder Blücher meanwhile had again advanced towards Dresden; and, again, on the Emperor's approach, he fled: the Allied Grand Army, during his retreat, marching forward as before, in order to snatch by stratagem what its chiefs dared not attempt to win in the field. The rapidity of the Emperor on this occasion, however, outran the calculations of the foe; and Schwartzburg having ventured to attack the corps of Count Lobau, at Geyersberg,

SKIRMISHES.

was unexpectedly assaulted in turn by the man whom he most feared, and whom it was his principal study to avoid. He was defeated with considerable slaughter, and driven back in confusion upon Toplitz—Napoleon pursuing beyond the valley of Culm to Nollensdorf, where his march was delayed by a storm which rendered the high roads impassable, and enabled his opponents, whom repeated flight had rendered better acquainted with the country, to escape. A third time the Emperor returned fruitlessly victorious to Dresden, the centre of his operations, and again he was called forth to encounter a new foe in the person of Bernadotte; who, having advanced towards the Elbe, was preparing to cross that river, in order to cut off the French communications with Paris. Like his predecessors, Bernadotte, though at the head of a far greater force than Napoleon could muster, wanted courage to await the onset of his former Sovereign and friend. He retreated with haste towards Berlin immediately a demonstration was made against him; and Blucher, Wittgenstein, Bulow, and Schwartzenburg successively renewed, and were defeated in, their attempts to seize Dresden, and to effect the passage of the Elbe.

Thus in incessant skirmishes, but with no decisive action, the month of September wore away. Napoleon was constantly present at the point where the greatest danger seemed to threaten, and was constantly baffled by the vigilant fears of the Allies; who shunned his presence as if his look could have darted destruction through their ranks. His very successes, however, diminished his chances of ultimate triumph. His army, already enfeebled by the disasters of his generals, grew weaker after every engagement; the loss of each slain and wounded soldier being felt as irreparable; while the enemy, constantly receiving reinforcements from all quarters, was scarcely sensible of the ravages made in its innumerable host by the sword or disease.

Since the battle of Dresden, everything had been favourable to the confederated Sovereigns, in whom nothing more was requisite than confidence and ordinary military talent, to enable them to have brought the war to a close, and thus have spared much bloodshed to their subjects, as well as the desolation of one of the finest regions of Germany. Desertions from the French camp, of straggling parties of men and officers, belonging to the several contingent troops

DEFECTIONS.

furnished by the Princes of the Rhenish Confederation occurred daily. Partisan bands, raised among the *illuminati*, roamed over the country, cutting off detachments of French soldiers, and carrying away into captivity the sick and wounded—destroying in their progress all that could afford subsistence to man or horse; and plundering, without remorse, such of their countrymen as refused to join in their marauding excursions. These “Cossacks of the Elbe,” as they were called, became even more terrible than the savage tribes whose excesses alone they emulated. English gold was distributed with unsparing hand among those who rendered service to the Allies, or were willing to take an active part in the overthrow of Napoleon. German patriotism thus became an object of public barter, and aspirations for Liberty were elicited by the clink of the purse. Lord Cathcart, Sir Robert Wilson, and other English commissioners accompanied the Allies to apporportion the price at which adherents, singly or in bodies, were to be purchased.

Before the end of September, the Emperor received a letter from the King of Bavaria, with information that it would be impossible for the latter to maintain his alliance with France longer than six weeks. The Westphalians, about the same time, revolted, and compelled King Jerome to abandon his capital, and retire for safety upon the Rhine; and Saxony and Wurtemberg were in a state of ferment; the people openly threatening to desert their Sovereigns, and join the Allies *en masse*. Napoleon, at this crisis, determined on a bold movement: by which he hoped to baffle his opponents and secure the wavering fidelity of his nominal friends. An immense body of the Allied troops had already crossed the Elbe, and, establishing themselves on its left bank, threatened to close on the French rear. The Emperor proposed to change positions with his enemies, and penetrating their line to form in their rear; withdraw his garrisons from the fortresses on the line of the Vistula, Dantzic, Thorn, and Modlin; and, under the protection of the magazines and reserves established at Torgau, Wittemberg, Magdeburg, and Hamburg, to remove the seat of war to the plains between the Elbe and the Oder; to seize Potsdam, Berlin, Brandenburg, and Mecklenburg; and compel the Allies to retrace their steps in order to prevent the ravage of their own territories. The daring novelty of this plan

DEFECTIONS.

captivated several of the Imperial generals, who had previously urged a retreat towards the Rhine; and preparations for carrying it into execution were entered upon with ardour. Regnier and Bertrand were ordered to advance upon Berlin, and had already crossed the Elbe, and met with some successes over the corps of Taubentzen, when they were hastily recalled to Dresden.

The occasion of this change of orders was a letter from the King of Wurtemberg, intimating to the Emperor, that the King of Bavaria, instead of waiting the expiration of the promised six weeks, had already joined the Allies, and was marching forward to the Rhine to cut off all communication with France; that the King of Wurtemberg himself was under the necessity of yielding to circumstances, and following the example of his neighbour; and that a hundred thousand men would in a few days surround Mayence, and carry the war into France. This intelligence, added to the news that the Russians had just received a reinforcement of from sixty to eighty thousand men, under General Beningsen, rendered it necessary for Napoleon to fall back towards Leipsic, there to concentrate his troops, in order to give battle, or secure the means of retreat towards the French frontier. The Allies, with upwards of half a million of men, were now converging upon the Saxon capital, so that the Emperor was compelled to hasten his departure, leaving behind him Davoust, in garrison at Hamburg; Lemarrois, at Magdeburg; Lapoype, at Wittemberg; and Narbonne, at Torgau. Still, against such fearful odds, he did not despair of being able to retrieve his fortune. "All is not lost," he exclaimed, "while a battle is yet in my power; and a single decisive victory may restore the Germans to their senses."

It was at this time, when the enemy had strained every nerve to bring overwhelming numbers into the field,—when in their ranks were to be seen tribes of wandering Baskirs and Tartars, hordes unknown to European warfare—savages armed with bows, arrows, and javelins, and clothed in uncouth raiment made of sheep-skins—men brought from the great wall of China, to fight for "the independence and civilization" of Europe,—that Napoleon felt his forces inadequate to the accomplishment of their object, and appealed, once more, to the Senate of the Empire for an extraordinary levy, to preserve France from invasion. The Empress-Regent, on the 7th of October, pro-

RETREAT TO LEIPSIC.

ceeded for the first time, in great state, to the Legislative Chamber, and pronounced a discourse which had been prepared for her by Napoleon at head-quarters. The Senate, unwilling to believe that his good fortune had wholly deserted the Emperor, and propitiated by the popularity of the domestic administration of the country, promptly, and unanimously, voted a supply of two hundred and eighty thousand conscripts—a force which was raised with alacrity, sent towards the frontier, and a great portion of its numbers speedily incorporated with the various divisions of the Grand Army.

On the 15th, the Emperor, having previously given the signal for retreat, reached Leipsic, where the corps of Victor, Augereau, and Lauriston were already assembled. The Allies also streamed towards this central point; and, on the same evening, gathered their magnificent host around the walls of the city—the centinels of the hostile armies being posted, during the night, within musket-shot of each other.

CHAPTER XLVI.

BATTLES OF VACHAU AND LEIPSIK—DESEDITION OF THE SAXONS—DEATH OF PONIATOWSKI—RETIREAT OF THE FRENCH—DEFEAT OF THE BAVARIANS—RETURN OF NAPOLEON TO PARIS. 1813.

ALAMITOUS as recent events had been, and inferior as was the force at his disposal, Napoleon hesitated not to accept the battle which the enemy now seemed desirous to force upon him. On the evening of the 15th of October, he carefully surveyed the ground on which the Allies were ranging themselves; and, after having issued orders to his marshals and generals for the disposal of their several troops, he visited all the posts in person, distributed eagles to such regiments as had not yet received those ensigns, and caused the soldiers to swear that they would not shrink from their duty in the hour of danger. "Yonder lies the enemy," he exclaimed;

VACHAU.

"swear that you will die rather than see France dishonoured."—"We swear!" responded the soldiers; and cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" resounded through the camp, startling the astonished foe by their loud and long continued echoes. The army of Napoleon consisted of about one hundred and fifty-seven thousand men, supported by six hundred pieces of artillery; the Allies mustered three hundred and fifty thousand men, and had with them a thousand cannon. In both camps there seems to have been equal confidence of success.

The night of the 15th passed in watchful silence, undistinguished, except by a midnight discharge, on the part of the Allies, of three death-rockets, with brilliant trains of white light, which ascended from the south of Leipsic, and marked the position of Prince Schwartzburg, with whom were now the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia. These signals were presently answered from the north by four rockets, of a deep red colour, soaring over the positions of Blucher and Bernadotte; and intimating, that on the morrow the French would sustain a combined attack from all points of the horizon.

Napoleon, undismayed, commenced the engagement at about nine o'clock on the morning of the 16th on the southern side of Leipsic, where Schwartzburg was making demonstrations for attacking the villages of Markleberg and Dolitz, and for effecting the passage of the Pleisse. The Allies being supported in this quarter by two hundred pieces of artillery, at first obtained some advantages; but on attempting to penetrate the French line, they were driven back with immense slaughter by the infantry of Poniatowski and Augereau, and the cavalry of General Milhaud. Six times in succession they charged, and were repulsed by their immoveable opponents. Several attacks led by Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg and Generals Gorzakoff and Klenau, were also directed against the villages of Vachau and Lieberwalkwitz, but these were defended with such determination by Victor and Lauriston that, after the failure of repeated efforts to force them, the enemy was compelled to retire.

It was soon perceived that in every direction the French were able to defend their positions; but this was not enough for the Emperor, the exigencies of whose situation demanded the achievement of a brilliant and decisive victory, to restore the confidence of his soldiers,

restrain the hostilities of the insurgent Germans, and strike the Allies with terror. Watching, therefore, for a moment of lassitude, when the enemy, fatigued with exertion, and discouraged by failure, sought a breathing space, the Emperor in turn became the assailant; and, launching the columns of Macdonald and Sebastiani against the corps of Klenau to the left, and causing Mortier, at the same moment, to advance with two divisions of the Young Guard to the support of Lauriston, while Oudinot moved forward to sustain Victor, and General Curial marched to reinforce Poniatowski, the battle was renewed with tenfold fury. A hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, under the direction of General Drouot, protected the various movements in progress, and poured an almost incessant stream of murderous shot into the midst of the dense masses against which it was directed.

The Prince of Wurtemberg was the first to give way. His troops, unable to sustain the impetuous assault of Victor and Oudinot, fled in disorder, and were chased as far as Gossa. Klenau's line was next pierced by Mortier and Lauriston; and Macdonald and Sebastiani advancing took with the bayonet the village of Gossa, and a strong redoubt, called the Swedish camp, in the very centre of the enemy's line, which was thus rent asunder, and presented a tempting opening for the cavalry to rush in and complete the victory. Poniatowski, meanwhile, though, from the nature of the ground where he was posted, and the numbers opposed to him, he was unable to advance, maintained his ground with the utmost gallantry, and captured a body of horse sent across the Pleisse by Schwartzenburg to attack him in the rear, among whom was the Austrian General Merfeld.

The day was now drawing to a close; the Allies, having lost heart and hope, were flying in confusion before the King of Naples, Kellerman, and Latour-Mabourg, when the Emperor of Russia, impelled by despair, suddenly ordered all his reserves, and even his own Body Guard, to advance for the purpose of stemming the pursuit, and affording time for his discomfited troops to rally. The Cossacks of the Guard rushed furiously forward, and with their long lances bore back the swordsmen of Murat, retook a number of guns which had just been wrested from their countrymen, and compelled the pursuers to rein in their horses and defend themselves, while the fugitive Allies reformed in the rear. The contest was then

VACHAU.

renewed on all points; the exhausted troops of the enemy being regularly relieved by fresh corps as on a parade—so numerous were they, and so disproportionate the army against which they had been marshalled.

The battle continued till night-fall, victory from time to time inclining to the French; yet from the numerical superiority of the Allies, producing no decisive result. At sunset, three cannon-shot discharged at the extremity of each line, as by pre-concert, gave signal for the cessation of conflict, and the hostile forces bivouacked in presence of each other on nearly the same ground they had occupied in the morning. Had valour, intrepidity, and skill, decided the fate of the day, Napoleon would have been triumphant; but, as he himself said, it required thunderbolts to enable him to conquer such masses. The Allies claimed a victory at the time; but their historians have since conceded that point, and admitted that the battle was entirely indecisive.

It was not alone at Vachau, however, that the contest of the 16th raged. Blucher, on the north, with treble numbers, attacked Marmont, took the village of Mœckern, some prisoners, and about twenty pieces of artillery, and compelled the French to quit their original position, and occupy new ground nearer the walls of Leipsic. At Lindenau, General Giulay attempted to destroy the bridges over the Pleisse, and thus cut off the French retreat; but was defeated in his object by the active vigilance of General Bertrand.

The Allied armies in the battle of Vachau, lost about twenty thousand men. The French, independently of the prisoners taken by Blucher, did not lose more than two thousand five hundred. Among the wounded was General Latour-Maubourg, who had his thigh carried away by a cannon ball. Napoleon, at the close of the action, eulogised the conduct of all his officers and soldiers; and signified his special approbation of the valour and intrepidity of Lauriston and Poniatowski, by conferring upon each of them the dignity of Marshal of the Empire.

During the night, Count Merfeld, who, in the battle, had rendered his sword to Captain Pleineselve, of the corps of Poniatowski, was summoned to the Emperor's presence. This officer, at the close of the brilliant campaign of Italy in 1797, had accompanied Count

NAPOLÉON SUES FOR PEACE.

Bellegarde to General Bonaparte's head-quarters at Leoben to solicit an armistice on behalf of Austria. From his own generosity to Francis, on that and several subsequent occasions, Napoleon had a right to expect that any application from himself would be favourably listened to. He saw that the contest for supremacy had become hopeless, and he was now willing to treat for peace on terms of equality with those whom he had so often prostrated at his feet; the simple reservation which he desired being independence for France. Merfeld was liberated on his parole, and made the bearer of a request to the Allies for an armistice. "This is no subterfuge on my part," said Napoleon, on dismissing the General: "I seek only to repose in the shadow of peace; and, after having contributed to the glory of France, my utmost wish is to secure her happiness. I am willing to make great sacrifices for this end. Adieu, General, when, on my entreaty, you mention the word armistice to the two Emperors, I doubt not that the voice which strikes their ears will awaken the most impressive recollections." The Allied Sovereigns, however, remembered only that they had been humiliated; and, gathering new hopes from the evident perplexity of their former conqueror, they swore to listen to no proposal from him while a single trooper of his army remained on the German side of the Rhine: they had previously entered into a private agreement to dethrone him in case their success should warrant such a stretch of power. Napoleon waited anxiously, but in vain, for an answer to his overtures. Neither generosity nor courtesy were thought to be due to a monarch who had risen from the ranks of the people, now that he was unable to enforce his behests with the sword.

The battle, which night had interrupted, was not renewed on the morning of the 17th; because the floods occasioned by the great falls of rain, and the bad roads, had prevented the arrival of Beningsen and Bernadotte, whose assistance the Allies considered necessary to enable them to resume the contest, with a prospect of success; and because Napoleon believed, from the hesitation of the enemy, that time was taken to deliberate on his proposals for a cessation of hostilities. The day, however, was passed on both sides in preparations for attack and defence. Napoleon contracted his circuit of operations, ranging his army considerably nearer to Leipsic, on a narrower base, but on firmer

PREPARATIONS FOR BATTLE.

ground, than the troops had occupied on the 16th. He directed every movement in person; visited all the posts; encouraged his soldiers, most of whom were young men; and distributed rewards to such as had distinguished themselves. The day was thus passed in active duties, and night brought no repose. At a late hour, it was ascertained that the Allies were preparing to attack on the following morning. The Emperor, therefore, proceeded from his bivouac to the tents of his several generals, to give orders for the coming day. Ney, who had been posted at Reidnitz, was awaked at midnight, and bade

to prepare for the decisive engagement of the morrow. Bertrand was visited at Lindenau, and others were called upon at their several stations, — Napoleon himself appearing to be incapable of fatigue, while anything remained to be done which was necessary to the accomplishment of the object in view.

At eight in the morning of the 18th, the Allies were in motion; and at ten, a furious cannonade thundered along the hostile lines. The enemy's principal efforts were directed against the villages of

LEIPSIC.

Connewitz and Probstheida, to the capture of which they seemed to attach the utmost importance. Four times they assaulted Probstheida with such fury, and in such numbers, as seemed irresistible; and four times they were driven back with immense loss by Murat, Victor, Augereau, and Lauriston, acting under the eye of Napoleon himself. At last, about two o'clock, General Pirch, with Prince Augustus of Prussia, forced an entrance into the place, and attempted to dislodge its defenders. The Emperor, however, placing himself at the head of the reserve of the Old Guard, led them to the encounter; and the Allies, unable to withstand the vigour of the charge, speedily abandoned the village and fled to their first position. Poniatowski, with his brave Poles, meanwhile maintained his ground on the banks of the Pleisse, against the most fearful odds. Macdonald, at the village of Stoetteritz, on the left, was equally successful in resisting the repeated assaults of an overwhelming force; and Ney, in the faubourg of Halle, preserved his post with equal intrepidity against Bernadotte and Blucher, who sought to pass the Partha, and carry confusion into the midst of Napoleon's ranks. The French and Polish soldiers had never behaved better. The youthful Conscripts fought as bravely as the Guards; and prodigies of valour and endurance ceased to be regarded as such. Of Napoleon, it has been said by an adversary, that "throughout the whole of this eventful day, he continued calm, decided, collected; and supported his diminished squadrons in their valiant defence with a presence of mind and courage as determined as he had so often exhibited in directing the tide of onward victory. Perhaps," adds the same writer, "his military talents were more to be admired, when thus contending at once against Fortune and overpowering numbers, than in the most distinguished of his victories"

Genius, science, bravery, and perseverance, however, were all rendered unavailing by the most infamous treachery which has disgraced the annals of modern times. At about three o'clock, when Bernadotte was advancing against Ney, the whole of the Saxon army, and the cavalry of Wurtemberg, taking with them a battery of forty guns and all their ammunition and equipments, quitted the important post which had been assigned to them in the French line, and passed over into the ranks of the enemy; turning their cannon as they did so upon the battalions with which they had so long been blended.

LEIPZIG.

This craven conduct has, with every appearance of probability, been ascribed to the intrigues of Bernadotte; who, it will be remembered, at the battle of Wagram, commanded the Saxon contingent force, and had then taken occasion to flatter those troops at the expense of his countrymen. Zeschau, the Saxon General-in-chief, with about five hundred of his followers, alone remained faithful to the flag and cause of his Sovereign and of his Sovereign's benefactor. This dastardly desertion generated a new phrase, which is synonymous with assassin in the French language; and soldiers to the present day designate such as turn their arms against their comrades as "Saxonniers."

Ney, by this unlooked-for defection, was obliged to give way; and, in a few minutes, Bernadotte having crossed the Partha took possession of Reidnitz, within half a league of Leipzig. The Emperor, informed of what had occurred, instantly repaired to the spot, with a corps of his Guard, and attacking the united Swedes, Russians, Prussians, and Saxons, drove them from their new positions, and reanimated the drooping spirits of his soldiers. Again, the battle was resumed on all points, with energy increased on the part of the French, from their detestation of the perfidy to which they had been subjected, and their resolution to be avenged. Such indeed was their fury and determination, that the Allies, notwithstanding their immensely superior numbers, were compelled to retire, and to content themselves with the use of their guns and howitzers till night-fall; when a discharge of three distinct cannon-shot once more announced the termination of the conflict.

Napoleon, though his losses had undoubtedly been great, was still unconquered, and resolved to renew the struggle on the following day. He, accordingly, gave orders for preparation, and retired to his tent, to arrange his plan of action. At about seven o'clock, however, Generals Sorbier and Dulauloy came to inform him that there only remained about sixteen thousand cartridges to serve the guns, a number scarcely sufficient to support a hot fire for two hours; upwards of two hundred and twenty thousand charges having been expended during the battles of the 16th and 18th. Retreat was thus rendered inevitable. Instant orders were accordingly issued for breaking up the camp with all possible silence and expedition, and retiring upon Erfurth through the defiles of Lindenau. The

RETREAT.

march commenced about eight o'clock, soon after which the Emperor re-entered Leipsic, and fixed his quarters for the night at an inn called "The Prussian Arms," where he had an interview with the good old Saxon King, who had accompanied him from Dresden, and was still desirous of adhering to his falling fortunes. This Prince was deeply mortified and abased when informed of the conduct of his army; but Napoleon, who knew his fidelity, reassured him of his confidence and friendship. "Excellent man," said the exile of St. Helena, "he was always the same; always such as when, in 1807, he inscribed, on a triumphal arch in his capital, 'THE GRATEFUL FREDERICK AUGUSTUS TO NAPOLEON.'"

The Emperor passed the night in dictating to Caulaincourt and Maret orders for the retreat; and at day-break on the 19th, went forth to superintend as far as he could the movement of the troops. The corps of Victor and Augereau defiled first across the old stone bridge of Leipsic. Marmont was charged to defend, as long as possible, the faubourg of Halle; Regnier that of Rosenthal; and Ney the roads from the east. To Macdonald and Poniatowski the perilous duty was assigned of protecting the rear, and guarding the approaches to the Elster from the south, until Ney, Regnier, and Marmont, had passed the river. To Poniatowski the Emperor gave his orders in person. "Prince," he said, "to you I assign the defence of the southern faubourg." "Sire," answered the gallant Marshal, "I fear I have too few soldiers left."—"Well," replied the Emperor, "but you will defend it with those you have." "Doubt it not, Sire," returned the Prince, "we are all ready to die for your Majesty." The illustrious, but unfortunate Pole sealed his fidelity and devotion with his life.

It was proposed to Napoleon to set fire to the suburbs of the city, in order to prevent the Allies from establishing themselves there, until the French should have passed the bridge and arrived at Lindenau; but from this barbarity the Emperor's nature revolted, notwithstanding his being reminded, at the moment, of the desertion of the Saxons, and informed that some of the inhabitants of Leipsic were already firing upon the retreating troops from the ramparts. The generosity exhibited on this, and, indeed, innumerable occasions, was but ill requited.

RETREAT.

The enemy did not learn till day-break on the 19th, that the French were in retreat. Immediately the discovery was made, however, the columns of the Allies hastened towards Leipsic, in order, if possible, to prevent the escape of the foe. In the suburbs they encountered a stern and unexpected resistance. Macdonald and Poniatowski, regardless of the numbers with which they were confronted, acquitted themselves of the important duty assigned to them with a heroism which could not be excelled. Charge upon charge was made upon the gallant few by whom these officers were surrounded; but every effort to pass or disperse them was vain. They knew that the preservation of their comrades depended upon their perseverance, and their determination to resist, till their last man had fallen or the Emperor was safe, was not to be shaken.

While the Allies were thus detained before the walls of the city, Napoleon had his final interview with the King of Saxony. He expressed to the good and faithful Prince the sincere regret with which he was compelled to leave him in the midst of native and foreign enemies; and, to delay the moment of separation, he prolonged the conversation till the sound of a brisk cannonade before the very gates of the city shewed that every lingering moment was fraught with increased danger. The King, alarmed, pressed the Emperor to mount his horse and instantly depart. "You have done all that could be done," he said, "and it is carrying your generosity too far, to risk your personal safety in order to afford us a few additional moments' consolation." Napoleon, who was deeply affected, still resisted the old man's entreaties; but the sound of musketry drew near, and the Queen and the Princess Augusta united in imploring the Emperor to consult his own security. Napoleon reluctantly yielded. "I would not yet quit you," he said, "but that I perceive my presence redoubles your alarms. I will insist no longer. Receive my adieus. When her power shall return, France will repay you the debt of gratitude which I have contracted." Frederick Augustus then conducted his friend and benefactor to the gates of the palace, where they embraced for the last time; and Napoleon, springing on his horse, and addressing a few words to the King's Body Guard, discharging them from all ties to himself, and, exhorting them to watch over the safety of their own Sovereign

BRIDGE OF LEIPSIK.

and his family, hastened by the suburb of Runstadt towards Lindenau.

The French rear-guard were still defending, foot by foot, the approaches to Leipsic, retreating slowly and in good order before the Allies, when, in consequence of the heavy fire of the Saxons from the ramparts, a loud outcry arose in the ranks, and the troops pressed together in confusion towards the great bridge over the Elster. The bridge had been mined, and Colonel Montfort had orders to blow it up the moment the last of the troops had passed, in order to retard the march of the enemy, and afford time for the baggage train to pass through the gorge of Lindenau. Montfort, instead of remaining at the station to give the signal, entrusted his important charge to the discretion of a corporal and four miners. The corporal, seeing the confusion and hearing the cannonade from the walls, believed the Allies to be in possession of the city and in pursuit of the retiring army; he, therefore, gave the signal, the train was fired, and the bridge blown up with such a dreadful explosion that it awoke the Emperor, who, having had no previous rest for four or five days and nights, had just fallen asleep at the mill of Lindenau. Four corps d'armée, with upwards of two hundred pieces of cannon, and several hundreds of baggage and other conveyances, were still on the Leipsic side of the river. The moving masses could not, on the instant, be stopped; but soldiers, horses, cannon, and waggons, urged resistlessly onward, rolled into the deep river, and, for a brief space, the horrors of the Beresina were renewed. A cry of terror ran from rank to rank: "The enemy has broken down the bridge." Regnier, Lauriston, Macdonald, and Poniatowski, were thus cut off from the main body, without a hope of being able to maintain their defence. Their troops, consequently, dispersed. Macdonald leapt into the stream, and saved himself by swimming. Poniatowski, at the head of a small body of Polish officers and cuirassiers, dashed into the midst of the enemy's troops, and having cut for himself a passage, turned into some gardens in the suburbs, threw himself into the Pleisse, from which he escaped with the loss of his horse and a wound in the left arm, mounted another charger, gained the steep banks of the Elster, and, being pursued, plunged into that river, and was seen alive no more. Regnier and Lauriston disappeared also

PONIATOWSKI.

about the same time, and were believed to be killed or drowned. The number of French that perished at Leipsic, or fell into the hands of the Allies, in consequence of the premature destruction of the bridge, has been stated at thirty thousand men, making a total loss, since the night of the 15th of October, of about eighty thousand soldiers in killed, wounded, prisoners, and stragglers. The enemy, during the same period, is said to have lost one hundred and fifty thousand men; but this estimate is probably exaggerated.

Marshal Poniatowski, who met an untimely death at Leipsic, was nephew of Stanislaus Augustus, the last King of Poland. He was greatly beloved by his countrymen, for whose rights and freedom he had contended from early youth against the aggressions of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians. In the struggle to which, in 1794, the Poles were incited by the success of the French Revolution, the Prince fought as a volunteer against the enslavers of his native land; and when, on the fall of Kosciusko, the fetters of Poland were rivetted, he refused the most splendid offers, both from Catherine and Paul, to

TRIUMPH OF THE ALLIES.

enter the service of the enemy. His body was found five days after his death, and was buried with great military pomp: the enemy, as well as his comrades, assisting at his obsequies. A modest pyramid has since been erected near the spot whence he made his fatal leap. Napoleon, more than once, spoke of him as the rightful King of Poland; adding, that he possessed every requisite qualification for that high station.

The Emperors of Russia and Austria, the King of Prussia and Bernadotte, met and congratulated each other at noon in the great square of Leipsic. No interview was accorded to the King of Saxony; but an intimation was conveyed to him that, for his fidelity to France, he would not be permitted at present to reascend his throne. He was subsequently hurried away prisoner to Berlin, with a guard of Cossacks; and did not regain his freedom till the fall of Napoleon, when the Congress stripped him of more than half his dominions, as the penalty of his obstinate gratitude. Thus was exemplified the respect of the coalesced powers for the rights of nations, and for the immutable justice which, according to their proclamations, they had banded to vindicate. Bernadotte, at Leipsic, had the satisfaction to be admitted to the same table and to familiar conversation with the great assertors of the doctrine of divine right;—his plebeian origin being forgotten, on account of the necessity of his services. The Saxons, at the same time, received the thanks of the Allies for their treasonable conduct towards their Monarch. All contradictions seemed for the time to have become reconciled, and all extremes to have met.

Meanwhile, Napoleon, with the shattered and disorganized remnant of his army, continued his march towards Erfurth, where his headquarters were established on the 23rd, and where Colonel Montfort and the corporal of sappers, previously spoken of, were brought before a council of war, for their share of the disasters at the bridge of Leipsic. The result of the proceedings against these persons has not transpired, except that the Colonel, while endeavouring to justify his conduct, admitted the facts alleged against him; and perfectly exonerated the Emperor from a charge industriously circulated then and since throughout Europe, that the Emperor had given express orders to blow up the bridge immediately he should have effected

NAPOLÉON AT ERFURTH.

his own passage; a circumstance, the belief of which was warranted by no act of his life, and which malignity alone could have condescended to repeat as a probability.

From Erfurth, Murat, under pretence of going to fetch reinforcements for the defence of the French frontier, but with the real intention of thenceforth disconnecting his fortune with that of the Emperor, and making terms for himself with the Allies, departed for his own dominions. Napoleon embraced him cordially and repeatedly at parting, as though under a presentiment that they were to meet no more. The troops of the various German contingents, which had not already deserted, were now supplied with provisions and dismissed; together with a corps of Bavarians, who, reversing the conduct of the Saxons, had remained faithful to their colours after the defection of their King. These soldiers, "whom," says De Bourrienne, "the Emperor may be said to have adopted on the field of battle, and to have trained to victory," quitted the French ranks with sorrow; deprecating the necessity which separated their fate from that of the Chief who had made them renowned. On sending them away, Napoleon wrote to their King, reminding him that Bavaria having disloyally, and without notice, declared war against France, the Bavarians might with justice have been detained as prisoners of war; but that such a step would destroy the confidence which he wished the troops in his service to repose in him; and he had, therefore, abstained from any act of retaliation. At the same time, the Polish troops were mustered, and the option offered them, either to make their peace with the Allied Sovereigns, while it was yet in their power, or to adhere to the broken fortunes of the Emperor, and again brave the chances of war. The gallant soldiers thus appealed to, repelled, with honest indignation, all idea of deserting the only Monarch who had expressed a word of sympathy with them since the destruction of their country's independence, and unanimously resolved to remain with him, and to share or avert his overthrow.

On the 25th, after a halt of two days, Napoleon resumed his march towards the Rhine, closely followed by the Cossack hordes of Platoff, Czernicheff, and Orloff; and, at a more respectful distance, by Blücher, and numerous bodies of Austrians, Prussians, and Swedes. An army of about sixty thousand Austrians and Bavarians had outstripped

HANAU.

his march, and taken post at Hanau, to intercept his passage. On the 30th, Napoleon came in sight of this formidable barrier; and, though the Allies had a numerous cavalry, and eighty guns well placed and efficiently served, he instantly gave orders for the attack. The French artillery, while being brought into position in the wood of Lamboi, narrowly escaped being captured by the cavalry of the enemy, which surrounded the guns on all sides, and attacked the artillerymen at their posts. The cannoniers, however, armed themselves with carbines, and valiantly defended their pieces; influenced by the example

of their brave commander, General Drouot, who, sword in hand, directed their operations, and skilfully protracted the struggle till the arrival of General Nansouty with the cavalry of the Guard, who in turn compelled the Bavarians to assume the defensive. Possession of the wood, nevertheless, was still contested, tree by tree, until Napoleon sent two battalions of the Guard to support the French tirailleurs; at sight of whom the Bavarians fled, and took up a new position behind

RETURN TO FRANCE.

the small river Kintzig, which was rendered impassable for pursuit by a miller, who opened the flood-gates of his mill immediately his countrymen had passed. The French bivouacked that night before the town of Hanau; and, in the morning of the 31st, while Napoleon pushed forward towards Frankfort, Marmont stormed the Austro-Bavarians' position, utterly routed the enemy, and captured several standards and guns, and upwards of four thousand prisoners. The enemy in this combat, besides prisoners, lost more than ten thousand men in killed and wounded: the French about half that number. The Bavarian General Wrede was dangerously wounded during the engagement, and his son-in-law, the Prince of Oettingen, was killed; four other of the enemy's generals were left upon the field among the dead and dying. Two squadrons of the French Guard of Honour especially distinguished themselves by their gallantry upon this occasion, and their conduct elicited the public approbation of the Emperor. The services of the German miller, whose sagacity had prompted him to let the water into his mill-stream at a moment when the whole Bavarian army was endangered, were so highly appreciated, that the King of Bavaria subsequently bestowed on him a considerable pension.

On the 1st of November, the Emperor reached Frankfort, whence he wrote to Maria-Louisa, informing her of recent events, and sending to her twenty flags, the dearly purchased trophies of Vachau, Leipsic, and Hanau. On the 2nd, at five in the morning, he re-entered Mayence, where he remained for three days, reorganizing his army and issuing orders for defending the passage of the Rhine, upon the line of which the Allies were rapidly advancing. On the 4th, at eight o'clock at night, he departed for Paris; and, at five in the afternoon of the 5th, re-entered the palace of St. Cloud. The Empress, when informed of his arrival, was in the apartment of the King of Rome. From a knowledge of the conduct of her father, it is said, that she had dreaded her husband's return. She hastened, however, to throw herself into his arms, with a countenance bathed in tears, and a voice inarticulate from emotion. Napoleon pressed her to his bosom, soothed her with endearing words, and anxiously enquired after their son, who was soon brought to him, to complete a picture of the deepest interest. Of the little group now gathered, the Emperor alone was

NAPOLÉON AT PARIS.

calm and composed. He had not yet abandoned hope; and he disdained to hold his wife responsible for the base conduct of her relatives. His mind, indeed, was as serene under accumulated misfortunes, as it had been in the midst of the most intoxicating successes.

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CHAPTER XLVII.

CONDITION OF THE EMPIRE—LEVY OF THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN—
REMONSTRANCE AND DISSOLUTION OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY — EXER-
TIONS OF NAPOLEON FOR THE DEFENCE OF FRANCE.

1813—1814.

RESSED on all sides, the gigantic empire of Napoleon was now seen to be on the verge of dissolution. As, in 1792, the territory of France was menaced with invasion. All Europe had combined to overwhelm the great Revolution and its principles; and the star of him who had so long turned the tide of war from the menaced land to the soil of the aggressors, was rapidly and visibly declining. The Parisian stocks, "the thermometer of public opinion," fell progressively after every fresh disaster in Germany; and when the news of Leipsic arrived, and it was known that the Allies were approaching the Rhine, they sunk so alarmingly, that it was found necessary to resort to false official statements of their price, in order to prevent an universal panic.

DEFECTION OF MURAT.

In Spain, the victory obtained by Lord Wellington over Marshal Jourdan, at Vittoria, had destroyed the authority of King Joseph; and the English, after taking the fortresses of St. Sebastian and Pamplona, had passed the Bidassoa, and encamped within the frontiers of ancient France, gradually pressing onward, and compelling Soult to retreat before them. In Italy affairs were little better. Immediately after Austria had sent in her declaration of adherence to the Allies, General Hiller was despatched with a force of about sixty thousand men, through the Tyrol, against Prince Eugene, in order to recover possession of the Lombard and Venetian States, constituting the kingdom of Italy. Bavaria speedily united a body of troops to those of Austria; and Murat, at the same time, entered into negotiations with the Allies, engaging to join the confederacy against his brother-in-law and patron, on condition of having the crown of Naples assured to him and his descendants. In this perplexing situation, Eugene, who, with skill worthy of a pupil of Napoleon, though his army did not number more than forty-five thousand men, had effectually protected the Italian frontier from Austria single-handed, was compelled to change all his plans and arrangements. His father-in-law, the King of Bavaria, threatened to attack him on the flank; and Murat, his old comrade, in the rear. The Neapolitan army had already seized Rome and Ancona, and was on its march for Upper Italy. An English naval force had taken Trieste. The Illyrians, the Tyrolese, and the inhabitants of the Papal legations, were rising in revolt; and the Lombards, dreading a renewal of the horrors of the Russian campaign, in which they had suffered so severely, began to halt between two opinions, whether it would be most prudent to make terms with their former masters, or abide the issue of their Liberator's struggle. The Viceroy, meanwhile, commenced a series of retrograde movements, falling back first upon the line of the Tagliamento, subsequently on that of the Adige, and finally on the Mincio, where he cantoned his troops, and waited to act as circumstances might require.

The treachery of Murat requires little comment. On quitting Napoleon, he had manifested the utmost zeal and interest for his welfare; and, after reaching his own kingdom, he continued to make professions of fidelity and attachment, and to draw from the Imperial

EUGENE.

treasury money to procure military stores and the equipments of an army. This, even De Bourrienne, forgetful that his own perfidy in acting as a spy for the Allies, resembled that of the person he condemned, has characterized as "unmanly and criminal conduct." Napoleon, when first informed of Murat's desertion, refused to credit the report. "It cannot be," he exclaimed. "Murat, to whom I gave my sister—to whom I have given a crown! Eugene must be deceived. It is impossible that Murat should have declared against me!" At the moment when these doubts were expressed, however, Murat was advancing with all speed to assist the Austrians in expelling the French from Italy.

It had been the Emperor's object for Eugene and Murat to unite their forces; and, marching through the Tyrol and Carinthia upon Vienna, to operate upon the rear of the Allies, and to attack the Austrian capital, while Napoleon opposed the invaders in front. This project, so worthy of the daring spirit by which it was conceived, was frustrated almost before it was expressed, and Eugene was rendered utterly powerless. It is due to the French officers and soldiers who had been retained in the Neapolitan army, to add, that as soon as the intentions of the King were known they, with one accord, renounced his service. "There can be no association," it was said publicly amongst them, "between Frenchmen who love their country and traitors." Murat, in vain, endeavoured to persuade them that he acted not from choice, but on compulsion; being threatened on the one hand by Lord William Bentinck, with a descent of the English and Sicilians; and on the other, with an invasion from Austria. But good faith and patriotism had not yet become entirely obsolete among the soldiers of Napoleon. The loyal devotion of Eugene was above all praise. It was insinuated, that the iron crown, with a dominion little less in extent than the kingdom of Italy, might be transferred to him if he would consent to bear arms against his second parent. Flattery and threats were alternately resorted to, to shake his resolution to the contrary. The Prince replied to them with becoming dignity. A proclamation addressed to the troops, concerning the defection of Murat, contains the following passage:—"Soldiers! My motto is 'Honour and Fidelity:' let this also be your device. With this in our hearts and God for our aid, we shall yet triumph over all

our enemies." Eugene continued to maintain his ground till officially informed that the Emperor had abdicated.

While these events were passing in the South, the Confederation of the Rhine crumbled away. Hanover, immediately Napoleon had crossed the Rhine, was occupied by the Allies, in the name of the King of England. The Electoral Prince of Hesse, at the same time, took possession of his hereditary state; and the braggart Duke of Brunswick was reinstated in his principality. The Princes who had previously hesitated to declare for the Coalition, warned by the fate of the King of Saxony, now hastened to tender their submission to the Allies, and were all admitted to pardon, on condition of contributing to the cause of the alliance a year's revenue of their respective territories, and a contingent of troops, double in number to that formerly furnished to Napoleon. This was a striking commentary on what had been called "The Liberation of Germany."

The French garrisons which had been left in the rear were still numerous; and could the troops composing them have been combined for a general movement they might have operated effectually, not only to check the advance of the Allies, but to have placed them in an extremely critical situation as to their safety. Dresden contained an army corps of thirty-five thousand men, under St. Cyr; Hamburg was well defended by Davoust; Magdeburg by Lemarrois; and Dantzic by Rapp. Wittemberg, Torgau, Stettin, Custrin, Modlin, Zamosk, and Glogau, were also filled with troops; making a total, chiefly of veterans of the empire, of one hundred and seventy-seven thousand soldiers, of whose services France was thus deprived at the moment of her utmost need. Napoleon, before quitting Leipsic, had issued orders for St. Cyr to evacuate Dresden, descend the Elbe, raise the blockades of Torgau, Wittemberg, Magdeburg, and Hamburg; and, having assembled all the troops engaged in maintaining those fortresses, to force a passage to France through the enemy's ranks, or to manœuvre in the rear, and cut off reinforcements and supplies, so as to compel the Allies to retrograde for the preservation of their own dominions. These orders never reached their destination, the messenger entrusted with them being taken prisoner; and St. Cyr, believing that he was abandoned to his own slender resources, agreed, on the 11th of November, to capitulate, on the assurance of a free

HOLLAND.

passage for himself and his troops, with their arms and baggage, to France. These conditions were signed, on the part of the Allies, by Count Klenau and General Tolstoy; but no sooner had St. Cyr quitted the city than he was informed that the terms of the capitulation having been too favourable to him would not be observed. The Marshal refusing to allow of any modification was surrounded, his soldiers disarmed and deprived of their baggage, and the whole corps were marched, as prisoners of war, into Bohemia. With reference to this proceeding, Mr. Hazlitt has pertinently remarked, that "the difference of birth in the contracting parties was doubtless understood to cancel the obligations of justice or honour on the one side; a boasted goodness of cause making up for barefaced want of good faith."

The fall of Stettin soon followed that of Dresden, and was succeeded by the capitulation of Dantzic—when the Allied Sovereigns again refused to abide by the conditions of surrender; but sent the garrison, like condemned felons, into the wilds of Russia, where they are said to have experienced the most brutal treatment from their captors. Torgau, Zamosk, and Modlin subsequently surrendered; and, at the end of 1813, Hamburg, Wittemberg, Magdeburg, Custrin, and Glogau, of all the French conquests in Germany, alone remained in the hands of the Emperor. These fortresses, however, were now of little importance to Napoleon, except that they detained from the vicinity of France a strong body of Allied troops, who were necessarily engaged in blockading them.

A general insurrection in Holland followed immediately upon the evacuation of Germany by the Grand Army of France. The Dutch, more perhaps than any other nation, had suffered by the maintenance of the Continental System; and since the abdication of King Louis, who had been a favourite with them, and whose loss they had constantly deplored, they had regarded the Emperor rather as the enemy of their commercial prosperity than as a paternal Sovereign. It was natural for them, therefore, to hail the approach of the Allies as the advent of their liberation, and to use every means to secure the fulfilment of their hopes. Among them, as with the Germans, numerous secret societies had for some time been formed, embracing disaffected citizens of all classes; who, without committing any overt act,

HOLLAND.

industriously prepared the population to avail themselves of the first opportunity which should arise to strike off the heavy yoke with which they were burdened. Hence, when the news reached them of the retreat from Leipsic, the ancient national flag was at once hoisted at Amsterdam and the Hague, amid loud and enthusiastic cries of "Orange boven" (up with the Orange); and the French governors of cities and provinces, being unsupported by troops, were speedily compelled to quit the country, with the exception of Bergen-op-Zoom, and a few other places of less importance, where there were garrisons. Bloodshed in this revolution must have been gratuitous; and the Dutch, a shrewd and reflective people, wisely abstained from excesses—the few outrages that occurred being the work of the lower orders, in whose excuse it may be urged, that they had been grievous sufferers from the destruction of their country's trade. Strong bodies of Russians and Prussians, under Generals Wintzingerode and Bulow, and an English force under General Sir Thomas Graham, immediately took possession of Holland, in the name of the emigrant Stadtholder, the Prince of Orange; who, in the course of the month of November, arrived from England to assume the direction of affairs, and render what assistance he was able to the Allies. Thus the United Provinces, from being a serious obstacle to the invasion of France, became the instrument by which that invasion was chiefly facilitated.

Meanwhile the Allies advanced rapidly towards the Rhine—the goal, according to their previous declarations, of their desires—the landmark they were willing to accord to him, before whose genius they had so often crouched, and whose ambition and love of glory they had so fatally flattered. Upon the right bank of this river, which the Germans hailed with a superstitious veneration, similar to that with which an Egyptian would have greeted the Nile, or a Hindoo the Ganges, the triumphant Monarchs halted for a time to recruit their armies, and to ascertain the temper of the people into whose territory they were once more about to carry the war, which had been so long denounced against the country of the Revolution. The liberation of Germany was complete; Napoleon's wars for conquest had terminated; he was now to fight for personal freedom, and for the independence of France.

In order to put a colouring upon their future proceedings, the

DECLARATION OF FRANKFORT.

Allies, on arriving at Frankfort, published a Declaration, expressing their determination not to separate until a general peace had been established; renouncing all negotiation or armistice which should not have such peace for its object; and setting forth, as the terms they were willing to accede to, that France should relinquish all her conquests, and retreat within the boundaries of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. These were conditions which Napoleon had already accepted at Prague, and which were no sooner communicated to him than he again avowed his readiness to treat upon those bases. Communications were accordingly opened, and Manheim was named for the assembling of a general Congress. The sincerity of the Allies was now tested. England had expressed her readiness to make great sacrifices to obtain peace: this was explained by Lord Castlereagh to have reference merely to the French colonies captured during the war; and the liberty of commerce and navigation, which was to be granted, was defined by the same agent to be—as much as France had a right to expect. The pending negotiations, too, it was then stated, would not be allowed to interrupt the war. Sir Walter Scott has supplied a solution to these riddles. “It was understood,” he says, “that Moreau’s engagement [many months before] with the Russian Monarch had been founded upon an express assurance, on the part of Alexander, that the Bourbons were to be restored to the crown of France. . . Hence, as Napoleon’s misfortunes accumulated, the negotiations between him and the Allies came to resemble the bargain driven with the King of Rome, according to ancient history, for the books of the Sybils. The price of peace, like that of those mysterious volumes, was raised against him upon every renewal of the conferences.” The war had in fact become a struggle for the dethronement of the Emperor, and the effectual suppression of those principles to which the great Revolution had given birth, not in France alone, but throughout Europe; and which were daily being extended by means of the laws, the institutions, and the soldiers of the “Great Nation.”

The Emperor, however, was not yet subdued. He desired peace; but was not disposed to purchase it by the sacrifice of his honour and the integrity of France. Italy, Spain, Holland, Portugal, he unhesitatingly consented to surrender; but, although the Allies had

EXERTIONS OF NAPOLEON.

not then declared their ulterior intentions, he knew that they were anxious to punish as well as to humble him. He lost no time, therefore, in preparing for the decisive conflict about to ensue. On the 15th of November, he demanded from the Senate a new levy of three hundred thousand conscripts, "in order to place France in a condition to negotiate, not submit to, a peace." The public taxes were at the same time greatly augmented: and Napoleon, from his own private coffers in the Tuileries, drew forth thirty millions of francs to provide for the emergency in which the country was placed. Caulaincourt was placed at the head of the Foreign department, Daru was appointed Minister of War, Regnier President of the Legislative corps, and Maret Home Secretary. Notwithstanding the alleged exhaustion of the country, resources arose as by creation—the Emperor directing, if not performing, all. "Though age," says De Bourrienne, "might have been supposed to have deprived him of some of his activity; yet, in that crisis, I beheld him as in his most vigorous youth: . . . again, he developed that fervid mind, which as in his early conquests annihilated time and space, and seemed omnipresent in its energies." Engineers were despatched to the north, to restore the fortifications which had marked the boundaries of ancient France; to raise new redoubts on the heights; to fortify the defiles; and to make preparations for destroying the bridges. The cavalry depôts, the cannon foundries, the forges, the powder manufactories were in full activity; and France once more assumed the appearance of a vast arsenal. Councils of war, of finance, and of administration, succeeded each other almost hourly during the day; the morning was devoted to reviews and the inspection of military stores; and great part of the night was spent in dictating orders, reading reports, and digesting plans of defence.

Had the exertions of the French people been commensurate with those of the Emperor, the war might perhaps have been driven back; but a spirit of discontent had been engendered by the reverses of the army, and faction had begun to rear its long concealed head, and to indulge in loud and bitter clamours. The barbarous Russians, when their country was invaded, and their Monarch had demanded sacrifices, answered nobly: "Ask all; we give all; accept all." The French, at least those who had the best opportunity of making their

THE ROYALISTS.

voices heard, demanded, on the contrary, peace and repose on any conditions not involving their absolute extinction. Well might Napoleon exclaim, when cautioned by the Council of State against publicly announcing the invasion of the frontier: — “Wherefore should not the truth be told? Wellington has entered the south; the Russians menace the north; and the Austrians, Prussians, and Bavarians are on the east. Shame! Wellington is in France, and ye have not risen in mass to drive him back. . . . There must be an impulse given—all must march: it is for you, councillors, the fathers of families, the heads of the nation, to set the example. People speak of peace—there is no other cry around—when all should echo to the call of war.”

Among the busiest of the intriguers who sought to paralyze the exertions of the Emperor, and profit by the straits to which the nation was reduced, was that inveterate remnant of old Royalists, whom Napoleon had permitted to return to France, and in most instances restored to the full enjoyment of their estates, or equivalent pensions from the Imperial treasury. By this party, a conspiracy is said to have been organized as early as March, 1813; the most distinguished members of which were the Dukes of Duras, Tremouille, and Fitzjames; the Marquis de Rivière; Count Suzaunet; the Messieurs de Polignac,—who, with De Rivière, having been condemned to death, as accomplices in the assassination meditated by Pichegru and Georges Cadoudal, had been indebted to the clemency of the Emperor for their lives,—and Audrien de Montmorency, Ferrand, de la Rochefoucault, and La Rochejacquelin. These, aided by several persons in the public service, actively fomented the spirit of gloomy apprehension which had arisen, opened communications with the Allies, whom they informed of every transaction in Paris, and of every rumour from the Tuileries; distributed arms and ammunition among their adherents; extolled the justice and wisdom, and excited compassion for the misfortunes, of the Bourbons; and prepared everything for a speedy explosion. The priests, in many districts, expecting that a restoration would put them again in possession of the large revenues of which they had been deprived by the Revolution, joined the Conspirators, and sanctified their objects by the forms of religion. In some instances, indeed, not content to trust

to their spiritual arms, they assumed more tangible weapons, and prepared to become partisan leaders, in the event of an insurrection. The Duke d'Angoulême, invited by these zealous friends to shew himself in France, sailed without delay to join the army of Wellington. The Count d'Artois departed for Holland, and proceeded thence to the head-quarters of the Austrians, who were advancing upon Switzerland: and the Duke de Berri went to Jersey, with the intention of putting himself at the head of the insurgents of Britany; but here his courage failed him, and he remained, regardless of the pressing invitations of his adherents, to watch the progress of events.

At the same period, Talleyrand put himself in communication both with the Bourbons and the Allies, anxious to make the best terms he could for himself; and, it is said, to secure from any new government to be imposed on France the benefits of a free constitution. This wily diplomatist, in anticipation of the fall of the Empire, joined eagerly in the demand for peace, conscious that this course would best serve him with his new confederates. In the Council of State, he uniformly maintained that the Emperor deceived himself as to the capacity for energetic exertion of the nation; that the people would no longer respond to appeals made to their patriotism; and that no sacrifice was too great to appease the Allies, and place the tottering throne of the Empire on a sound basis. Talleyrand, therefore, advised submission, and took care that the tenor of his counsel should be extensively known in the salons of the capital, where his reputation for sagacity and deep political knowledge was certain to give it weight, and to produce the effect he desired.

The Legislative bodies had been convoked to meet on the 2nd of December; but in hopes that the Congress would in the meantime be opened at Manheim, and that something definitive might then be laid before the Chambers, the sitting had been prorogued to the 19th. On the 20th, Napoleon communicated to the Legislative Assembly and to the Senate all the correspondence which had taken place relative to the negotiations entered upon with the Allies, both previously and subsequent to the battle of Leipsic. The object of this proceeding was undoubtedly not only to prove, that nothing had been omitted on the part of the Emperor to procure an honourable peace, but to arouse the whole country to an indignant sense of the degra-

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES.

dation sought to be inflicted upon it by the enemy. The Chambers named each a committee of five members to examine the documents, and report upon their contents and purport. Fontanes was appointed president of the Senatorial Commission; and M. Lainé, a Deputy of the Gironde, presided over the Legislative Committee. The report to the Senate was favourable to the views of the Emperor. It condemned the conduct and arraigned the sincerity of the Allies; who, in their recent proclamations, had thought fit to appeal to the people of France against their Sovereign, and to assert, that the war was not against the nation, but the Emperor. "Against whom," said Fontanes, in concluding his address, "is that attack directed? Against the great man, who has merited the gratitude of all kings; for he it was who, in re-establishing the throne of France, extinguished the volcano with which they were all menaced."

"This language," says M. Laurent, "by alluding to the imprudence and ingratitude of kings, placed in the strongest relief precisely that which, under the circumstances, the Emperor had most need to efface from the memory of the people. It was through the omnipotence of disciplined democracy, and the irresistible might of revolutionary movement, that Napoleon had acquired his supremacy; that he had so often triumphed over the enemies of France, and been so long deemed invincible. To invest him with importance as the restorer of ancient institutions and the liberator of Old Europe, was to strip him of his original character, his popular nature, the talisman which had enabled him to work the miracles by which his life had been distinguished. It was the spirit of the age alone which brought victory to the standard of the French Revolution. The plebeian Hercules, who, during so many years, had bowed beneath his powerful hand the genius of the past, having declined into a protector of royalty and aristocracy, it was unwise of his flatterers to recall and to felicitate him upon that deviation from early principle. . . . It was incontestible, indeed, that Napoleon had sought to identify himself with the ancient order of things. Without that fatal pretension, the unconquerable power which belonged to the new order would not have abandoned him; fortune would have been more constant, treason less active, and he would not have astonished the world in the following campaign by the number of his triumphs, and

REMONSTRANCE.

at the same time the rapidity of his fall." Without attempting to excuse Napoleon for the part he had taken as the champion of monarchy in Germany, in Poland, and in Russia, it may be fairly argued that the French were not entitled to the benefit of this after-plea for their supineness; as at the time that their country was invaded, at the close of 1813, they had to apprehend the renewal of a despotism which had no redeeming points, in lieu of a rule which, though sometimes from necessity stern, had always for its object the welfare and glory of France. It should also never be forgotten, that the foes of freedom—the coalesced Sovereigns who had threatened the French Republicans with extermination, the same powers that had cast lots for and denationalized Poland, and enslaved her people—had already poured their hordes upon "the sacred soil."

The Legislative body, being composed of Deputies chosen from the people at large, represented a greater diversity of opinion than the Senate, and was less disposed to second the Emperor in his exertions to repel foreign aggression. The recent conscriptions had borne heavily upon all classes; the increase of taxation was felt as a drain upon the resources of all. The miseries and prostration of 1792 were forgotten; and it was in vain that Regnault St. Jean d'Angely reminded the Legislators that, at that period, when the country was more impoverished and less powerful than at present, her levies *en masse* had delivered Champagne, and hurled back the torrent of war to foreign lands; that, in the year VII., the battles of Zurich had stayed a new invasion of all Europe; and, in the year VIII., the battle of Marengo had saved the nation. The Committee of the Assembly chose that moment to insinuate, that the prolongation of the war was solely attributable to the Emperor, whose ideas of aggrandizement and domination were the sole obstacles to a general pacification; and that domestic absolutism had superseded the reign of the laws. The report contained among others the following passages:—"All the belligerent powers have openly declared their wish for peace, agreeing in that respect with the universal desire of France. . . . As guarantees of the Emperor's intentions, we have adversity, the real counsellor of kings, the loudly expressed wishes of the people, and even the interests of the crown. . . . In order to prevent the coalesced powers from accusing France and the Emperor

REMONSTRANCE.

of any wish to maintain a too extensive territory, of which they seem to fear the preponderance, would it not exhibit real greatness to undeceive them by a formal declaration? This would fix the attention of the powers which do homage to French valour; since it is not enough to satisfy the people themselves, and to place them in a state of defence. According to the laws, it is for the Government to propose the measures which may be considered most prompt and safe for repelling the enemy, and establishing peace on a solid basis. These measures must be effectual, if the French people be persuaded that the Government aspires only to the glory of restoring peace; they will be effectual if the French people be convinced that their blood will be shed only in defence of their country and the laws which protect them: but the consolatory words, peace and hope, would resound in vain, if institutions to promote the blessings of both be not guaranteed. It appears indispensable, therefore, that while the Government shall propose the promptest measures for the safety of the State, his Majesty shall be entreated to maintain the full and constant execution of the laws which guarantee to the French people the rights of liberty, safety, and property; and to the nation the free exercise of its political rights."

This Report, which was read to the Chamber, on the 28th of December, by M. Lainé, was ordered, by a vote of four-fifths of the assembly, to be printed for distribution. Napoleon, however, was no sooner informed of its purport, than, perceiving the mischief which could not fail to result from its promulgation, he directed the publication to be suspended, and caused the proofs to be seized at the printing-office. On the 30th, the Emperor thus expressed his sentiments on the subject to the Council of State:—"You are aware, Gentlemen, of the situation of affairs and the dangers to which the country is exposed. Without any obligation to do so, I thought it right to consult the Deputies of the Legislative body, in order by that means to awaken them to a consideration of their best interests. They have converted this act of my confidence into a weapon against me—that is to say, against the country. Instead of assisting me with all their efforts, they seek to obstruct mine. We should assume an attitude to check the advance of the enemy: their conduct invites him. Instead of shewing him a front of brass, they unveil to him our wounds. They

DISSOLUTION OF LEGISLATIVE BODY.

stun me with their clamours for peace, while the only means to have obtained it was to recommend war; they complain of me, and speak of their grievances; but what time, what place, do they select for that purpose. These were subjects to have been discussed in private, and not in the presence of the enemy. Was I inaccessible to them? Did I ever shew myself averse to rational argument?—It is time, however, to come to a resolution. The Legislative body, instead of assisting to save France, has concurred to accelerate her ruin. It has betrayed its duty—I fulfil mine: I dissolve it.”

A decree was then read, proroguing the Assembly until fresh elections should have taken place. “Such,” resumed the Emperor when it was ended, “is the conclusion at which I have arrived; and if I were assured that it would bring the people of Paris in a crowd to the Tuileries to murder me this day, I would still do my duty. . . . My determination is perfectly legal; and if every one here will act worthily, I shall yet be invincible, as well before the enemy as behind the shelter of the law.”

The doors of the Legislative chamber were henceforth shut against the members; notwithstanding which, however, a deputation from their body attended at Court, on the 1st of January, to offer ill-omened felicitations on the new year. At sight of the persons composing it, Napoleon was unable to restrain his indignation. “I have suppressed the publication of your address,” he exclaimed, “because it is seditious. Eleven-twelfths of the members of the Legislative body are good citizens; I know and regard them; but the other twelfth consists of factious intriguers, and your committee is of that number. M. Lainé is a traitor, who corresponds with the Prince Regent, through the medium of De Sèze; the rest are agitators, like the Vergniaux and Gaudets, who perished on the scaffold. You have sought in your address to separate the Sovereign from the nation. I alone, whom four millions of citizens elected Emperor, am the representative of the people. Which of you could sustain the burden borne by me? I was not nurtured among kings; I am not a thing belonging to the throne,—which itself is but a piece of gilded wood, covered with velvet: if France desires a constitution which would bring back anarchy, let her seek another Sovereign. To satisfy you, I am required to yield more than the enemy demands. In three months

NAPOLÉON'S REPROOF.

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you shall have peace or I shall have perished. It is against me that the fury of the enemy is directed more than against France; but are we, therefore, to dismember the State? Have I not sacrificed my pride and my dignity to obtain peace? Yes—but I am still proud, because I have courage, and because I have done great things for France. Your address is unworthy of me and of the Legislative body; its object was to humiliate me—to cover me with dirt; but

NAPOLÉON'S REPROOF.

though my life may be taken, I will not be dishonoured. Return to your homes. I will publish your report in the *Moniteur*, with notes furnished by myself. Even if I had done wrong, you ought not to have reproached me thus publicly. People wash their dirty linen in private. To conclude, — France has more need of me than I of France.”

This severe reproof has been much criticised both by French and English writers; and, however well merited, it was, perhaps, impolitic: for, although the Legislative body had undoubtedly done great evil by its insidious attack on the Emperor, at a moment when entire union and confidence between him and the nation was most necessary to rescue the country from the hands of foreigners, yet Napoleon considerably heightened the mischief by giving currency to the opposition of the Deputies, and conferring importance upon their charges, through the violence of the reprobation with which he repelled them. While the whole nation was deemed to be united under its chief, the Allies had hesitated to make extravagant demands as the price of peace. As soon as dissension was understood to have arisen among the great bodies of the State, and the country had thus been rendered more vulnerable, the pretensions of the enemy were augmented, and the national independence proportionally endangered. It had been, indeed, the special aim of the confederated Monarchs to create division between the Emperor and the French people; and hence their declaration that they warred against the Sovereign as an individual and not against the nation. It must have afforded them the highest satisfaction to learn from their agents, that Napoleon himself had recognised the existence of the fatal distinction which they aimed at effecting — by declaring that France, with which he had always hitherto been identified, had more need of him than he of her. The occasion also could not fail to be turned to great advantage by the factions which already agitated the interior.

It is pleasant to be able to turn from such an ungracious subject to one of genuine patriotism and disinterested zeal. The talented and virtuous Carnot, consistently with his stern republicanism, had opposed the elevation of Napoleon, both as Consul for life and Emperor, and had retired into voluntary exile rather than sanction, by his presence, the vesting of supreme power in the hands of an individual. Though

CARNOT.

wealth, rank, and distinction could not have failed to follow him who had so ably seconded the youthful exertions of the Champion of France, Carnot, with honest self-denial, had kept aloof from all the splendid allurements of the Imperial Court, and had participated in none of its glory nor honours; being content to enjoy his opinions in obscure poverty. So poor, indeed, was he in his retirement, that he had been indebted to the beneficence of the old friend and protégé, whose title he had refused to acknowledge, for the payment of his debts on an occasion when his embarrassments were rendered public. This veteran statesman, who had not hesitated to express his disapprobation of the measures of government, when nothing, except inconvenience to himself, was to be apprehended from remonstrance or dissent, no sooner saw that the independence of France itself was threatened, and that the Emperor was but feebly supported in his efforts to stem the torrent of adverse fortune, than he wrote to offer his services for the defence of the country. The previous manly conduct of Carnot had proved that he was superior to intrigue or treachery, and perfectly trustworthy; Napoleon, therefore, at once entrusted him with the command of Antwerp, one of the keys of the empire; where it is sufficient to observe, that he behaved with skill and valour worthy of his olden reputation. What a contrast does the conduct of this steadfast Republican offer to that of Murat and Bernadotte, whom the Emperor had loaded with splendour and riches, and, finally, exalted to thrones!

The noble example of Carnot was not without its effect. The populace of Alsace, Lorraine, Franche-Compté, and Champagne, demanded arms and leaders to enable them to drive back their invaders; and in Paris, the lower orders, ashamed of the classes above them, became clamorous for action. They held numerous meetings; spoke of the fourteen armies, which, as if by enchantment, had sprung up in the midst of France to defend her at the commencement of the Revolution; and began to form bands for military training. From the enthusiasm thus awakened much good might have resulted; but the old Jacobins mingled their leaven with the mass, and rendered all abortive. These persons, impatient for the re-establishment of their principles, sought permission to act freely in their own way; to have the press and tribune abandoned to

them; to be protected in their endeavours to arouse all the revolutionary feelings of the rabble, and to have their favourite songs sung in the streets and theatres. Napoleon at first listened to these proposals in gloomy silence. The empire was shaken to the centre, and required all the aid which could be brought to support it. Hesitation, however, served to develop more clearly the objects of the Jacobins; and the Emperor, disgusted with these, and with the extravagant price which the leaders set upon their services, broke off all communication with them. "I shall find in battle some chance of safety," he exclaimed; "but none with these wild demagogues. There can be no connexion between them and monarchy; none between furious clubs and a regular ministry,—a Committee of Public Safety and an Emperor; between revolutionary tribunals and the reign of the laws. If I must fall, I will not bequeath France to the Revolution from which I rescued her!"

About this time, the deposed King of Sweden, whose misfortunes had been chiefly attributable to his former hostility to France, and who seemed always to have entertained a marked preference for the losing side, offered his services to Napoleon. The Emperor, on political considerations, declined to listen to his overtures. "I reflected," he afterwards said, "that if I received him, my dignity would require me to make exertions in his favour; and as I no longer ruled the world, common minds would not have failed to discover in the interest I might have displayed for him, an impotent hatred against Bernadotte. Besides, Gustavus had been dethroned by the voice of the people, and it was by the voice of the people that I had been elevated. In taking up his cause, I should have been guilty of inconsistency in my own conduct, and have acted upon discordant principles."

To prove the sincerity of his intention to relinquish the Peninsula, and to create, according to the expression of Talleyrand, an *olla podrida* for Spain, Napoleon, in the beginning of 1814, restored Ferdinand VII. to liberty. In the letter by which this was announced to the captive, who, in consequence of his father's refusal to resume the regal dignity, was now recognised as "legitimate" King, the Emperor said, "My political situation induces me to wish for a final adjustment of the affairs of Spain, where the

English are exciting anarchy and Jacobinism, and endeavouring to overthrow the crown and the nobility in order to establish a republic. Being desirous of re-establishing the amicable relations which formerly subsisted between France and Spain, I have empowered Count de la Forest to make proposals to you in my name." On these proposals, a treaty was forthwith arranged and subscribed, by which Ferdinand, being declared King of Spain and the Indies, undertook that the English army should evacuate his dominions, and that equitable commercial and other relations should be restored between him and the Emperor. These stipulations, however, the Spanish Regency and Cortes refused to ratify; as, considering their obligations and engagements to England, which it is almost needless to say embraced nothing republican or jacobinical, they must have been expected to do.

The Pope was, about the same time, released from Fontainebleau, and suffered to return unconditionally to Rome. The old man before his departure, convened a meeting of the cardinals who resided in France, and, in testimony of his indignation against Napoleon, enjoined those prelates to wear no decoration bestowed on them by the French Government; to accept no pension from the Emperor; and to assist at no festival to which they might be invited. The Pontiff was reinstated in his capital by the King of Naples, now an Ally of England, Austria, and Russia.

Meanwhile, the levies which Napoleon had demanded were raised but slowly. A sudden lethargy seemed to have overpowered the whole nation. The most urgent orders of the Government were disregarded; and, in many instances, the conscripts that were enrolled and armed deserted in whole bands, and roamed over the country as freebooters, rather than serve in a contest which was generally believed to be hopeless, and in which so much blood had been already shed in vain. Special commissioners, as in the times of the Revolution, were sent into the various departments to arouse the dormant energies of the inhabitants, but with little success;—the proclamations of the Allies, that the war was directed solely against Napoleon, added to those of the Bourbons, filled as they were with the most liberal promises of free and paternal government, had produced their effect; and sullen indifference had everywhere, except in the districts alarmed

MANIFESTO OF THE ALLIES.

by the actual presence of the enemy, superseded the ancient enthusiasm of the populace.

The Grand Army of the Allies, having violated the neutrality of Switzerland for that purpose, crossed the Rhine between Basle and Schaffhausen, on the 20th of December. The army of Blucher passed, on the 1st of January, 1814, between Coblenz and Rastadt; and Wintzingerode and Bulow, shortly afterwards, penetrated into the Netherlands. Bernadotte did not enter France with the Allies; but seized the opportunity, while confusion reigned throughout Europe, to make an unprovoked war upon Denmark, which in a short time he was enabled to strip of her ancient realm of Norway — a conquest which was afterwards willingly guaranteed to him by the Confederacy as an indemnification for Finland, which had been seized and appropriated by the Czar.

A short time prior to the invasion of France, a considerable sensation was created by the publication of a Manifesto, addressed to the subjects of Napoleon, which was disgraced by as much mendacity as, perhaps, ever entered into the composition of a state paper of the same length. "The French Government," ran this document, "having decreed a levy of three hundred thousand men, the Allied Powers by this act have received new provocation; and deem it expedient to declare to the world the principles on which the present war has been undertaken. Conducted by victory to the banks of the Rhine, the Allies have used their success only to offer peace to the French Emperor on honourable terms, and on a basis to secure the independence of other States. They wish to see France great, powerful, and happy; and to confirm to her a greater extent of territory than she ever enjoyed under her ancient kings; but, at the same time, they desire to see their own people happy and tranquil, and to secure, by an equitable partition of forces and a just balance of territory, their own States in future from those multiplied calamities which, for twenty years, have desolated Europe." The Allies, notwithstanding their decision that war and negotiations should proceed at the same time, thus inconsistently complained of Napoleon, for endeavouring to raise the means of meeting their own requisition; and forgot to add, that the basis of peace which they had proposed they had also rejected, or evaded, both at Prague and Manheim.

MANIFESTO OF THE ALLIES.

In making this declaration, the Allies were undoubtedly influenced by the Government of England; which, in the speech of the Prince Regent to Parliament, in September, 1813, had inserted a passage to the effect, that neither Great Britain nor the Allies required France to make any sacrifice incompatible with her happiness and just rights. The subsequent proceedings of the Coalition are said, by Sir Walter Scott, to have been chiefly directed by Lord Castlereagh.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE NATIONAL GUARD — DEPARTURE OF NAPOLEON FOR THE ARMY —
BATTLE OF BRIENNE — CHAMPAUBERT — VAUCHAMP — MONTEREAU —
TROYES — RETREAT OF THE ALLIES — ARMISTICE. 1814.

LONG and arduously as he had toiled to place France in a befitting posture of defence, Napoleon, at the end of January, had the mortification to find that the troops which he was able to lead to the field did not number above a fifth of those against which he had now to contend. The Allies had upwards of five hundred thousand men; the French force did not exceed one hundred thousand. The Emperor's last acts were to call out the National Guard, who were placed under the command of the brave Moncey, and entrusted with the defence of Paris, and to invest Maria-

NATIONAL GUARD.

Louisa once more with the Regency. The Empress, on the 24th of January, took the requisite oath, in a council, at which were assembled many of the Princes and Grand Dignitaries of the Empire and most of the Ministers of State; and on the same day, the officers of the National Guard assembled in the court of the Tuileries to receive Napoleon's farewell. The scene has been well described by De Bourrienne, who, as a captain in the corps, happened to be present.

"Napoleon," says that writer, "entering the grand saloon with the Empress, advanced with a lofty bearing, leading by the hand his son, not yet three years old. He had become corpulent; and upon his pale countenance was an air of sadness. The ordinary movements of the muscles of his neck were stronger and more frequent than I had formerly remarked. The ceremony was grave and solemn. Rarely does such profound silence reign in so numerous an assembly. An indescribable and vague uneasiness, an eager listening for the voice of Napoleon, prevailed throughout. In tones like those in which he formerly harangued the soldiers of Italy and Egypt, but with less of self-confidence, he thus spake:—'Gentlemen, Officers of the National Guard, I depart to-night to place myself at the head of the army. On quitting the capital, I leave behind, with confidence, my wife and son, upon whom so many hopes repose. I shall depart with a mind freed from a weight of disquietude, when I know that these pledges are under your faithful guardianship. To you I confide what, next to France, I hold dearest in the world... I recommend to you to be united among yourselves, and to resist every insinuation tending to introduce disunion. Endeavours will not be wanting to shake your fidelity to your duties: I depend on you to repel all such perfidious instigations.'" The Emperor's voice trembled, and his auditors were not unmoved. All seemed conscious, according to the memorable expression of Talleyrand, that this "was the beginning of the end." Mignet, in reference to the same period, has finely said, "Deprived of the support of the people, who merely looked on, Napoleon was now to stand alone against the world, with a mere handful of veteran soldiers and his genius, which had lost nothing of its vigorous daring. It is a noble spectacle to contemplate him at this moment; no longer an oppressor, no longer a

DEPARTURE OF NAPOLEON.

conqueror; but the undaunted defender of his country, his empire, and his renown."

He quitted the Tuileries at three in the morning of the 25th of January, after having burnt all his private papers, and embraced his

11 2

wife and son—for the last time! On the 26th, his head-quarters were at Vitry, and on the 27th, at St. Dizier; whence a considerable body of troops, which, for the space of two days, had been quartered there, and had committed great excesses in the neighbourhood, fled as soon his approach was known. The presence of the Emperor gave the

BRIENNE.

utmost satisfaction to the inhabitants, alarmed as they were, not only by the ravages of the enemy but by the proclamations of the Allies; who fearing, from the hostility already encountered, a general rising of the population, had announced that every peasant taken with arms in his hands, or detected in endeavouring to defend his country, should be put to death as a brigand; and that every village and town which offered resistance should be burnt. "This assuredly," says Mr. Lockhart, "was a flagrant outrage against the most sacred and inalienable rights of mankind;" yet it was promulgated and acted upon by those who have been emphatically called "the German Patriots!" Crowds gathered round the carriage of Napoleon, expressing their eagerness to pursue the hated enemy, who was no longer to be feared. Enthusiasm spread from place to place, until it reached the villages of Barrois and the forest of Der. The emboldened peasantry pursued the flying Prussians and Cossacks, and many prisoners were speedily brought to St. Dizier. From these it was ascertained that Blucher and Sacken were marching by Brienne upon Troyes, in order to join the Austrians. Napoleon resolved to pursue them. Accordingly, the army was again put in motion the same evening; and orders were sent to Mortier to retreat upon Troyes, with the Old Guard, so as to be in readiness to assist the movement of the Grand Army.

On the 28th, it rained heavily, and the troops, marching through wild forest roads, proceeded with difficulty. The joy of the country people was extreme; they brought to the soldiers their whole stock of provisions, kindled fires for them, and joined them in loud and encouraging shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" About noon on the 29th, Napoleon reached Brienne, the scene of his school days, which he found in the occupation of a strong body of the Allies, posted chiefly on the hill which commands the town, with a number of chosen men ranged on the terraces of the castle, and a Russian force stationed in the streets below. The previous experience of Blucher had been insufficient to prepare him for the active movements of the Emperor. When the arrival of the French was announced to him, he was at dinner with his staff; and before he could prepare for action, the Russian general Alsusieff had been beaten from the town by Ney, the park-terraces were in possession

BRIENNE.

of the grenadiers of General Chateau, the son-in-law of Marshal Victor, and the castle itself was nearly surrounded. Blucher and his officers had barely time to escape by a postern, whence they were compelled to lead their horses down a stair to gain the road. They were subsequently attacked in the street, and several of their number made prisoners, among whom was General Alsusieff, and one named Hardenberg, nephew of the Chancellor of Prussia. The enemy, exasperated that so important a position should have been captured with such ease, made several efforts to retake the place, but were repulsed with great slaughter at each attack; and at night drew off towards Bar-sur-Aube, setting fire to the town in order to protect their retreat. The Emperor, returning at night to Maizieres, was surprised and surrounded by a band of Cossacks, who were with some difficulty put to flight: General Gourgaud shot a Russian in the act of thrusting his lance at Napoleon's back. The Allies lost about four thousand men at Brienne. The French had fifteen thousand, the Allies upwards of twenty thousand engaged.

In the morning of the 30th, the Imperial head-quarters were removed to the castle of Brienne; and, in the course of the day, the Emperor visited the site of the academy where several of his early years had been passed. The college was a heap of blackened ruins, but the tree still stood in the neighbouring park under which he was accustomed to peruse the 'Jerusalem Delivered' of Tasso; and the willow remained, which he had planted on the bank of the stream near the spot where a youthful comrade had been drowned while bathing. The burning of the town and the injury done to the castle greatly grieved the Emperor, who expressed an intention of rebuilding the one and purchasing the other, to convert it either into an Imperial residence or a military school.

On the 31st of January, Blucher having, meanwhile, effected a junction with the Grand Army of the Sovereigns, the Allies advanced with upwards of a hundred thousand men into the plain between Bar-sur-Aube and Brienne to offer battle ere Napoleon, who was unable to muster above fifty thousand soldiers, should receive reinforcements. The Emperor, it is said, would have declined the engagement, but in consequence of the destruction of the bridge of L'Esmont he was unable to retreat. A battle accordingly took

NOGENT.

place on the 1st of February, and was maintained on each side with equal ardour—the Allies being confident in the overwhelming superiority of their force, and the French, though chiefly conscripts, being emboldened by the presence of Napoleon. The contest raged till night-fall, without any decisive advantage being gained by either party; but during the evening, a battery of the Imperial Guard which was shifting its position fell into an ambuscade, and was captured. The cannoniers saved themselves and their equipage, by forming in squadron, and cutting a way through the ranks of their opponents. On summing up his losses at night, the Emperor resolved to abandon his position and fall back behind the Aube, the bridge over which had been repaired during the two preceding days. Orders to carry this movement into instant effect were accordingly given; and at dawn, the enemy found not only the plain but the town and castle of Brienne evacuated.

The French retired to Troyes, which they entered on the 3rd of February, and subsequently to Nogent, where their head-quarters were established on the 7th. The object of Napoleon was to induce the Allies to separate their large armies, to afford him an opportunity to turn and attack them in detail, and thus prevent their united march upon the capital. Halting at Nogent, the Emperor endeavoured to ascertain the state of his troops, to enable him to judge of the hopes that remained for France. The result was such, that he suddenly arose from the investigation, and exclaimed, with more of despair than he had ever before exhibited, "Perhaps I still possess the means of saving France. What if I were to recall the Bourbons? The Allies would then be compelled to arrest their course or avow their duplicity. I might become the mediator between the people and the King, and be enabled to compel the latter to accept the national laws and swear fidelity to the existing constitution. My name and glory would be a guarantee to the French people. I have reigned long enough; my career is filled with acts of greatness, and this would not be deemed the least." He paused a few moments, and proceeded: "Can an expelled dynasty ever forgive or forget? Can the Bourbons be trusted? No! Fox's famous maxim respecting restorations was right." He shortly afterwards received intelligence of the motions of the Allies; and finding these more favourable to

CHAMPAUBERT.

his designs that he had ventured to hope, he unpacked his papers in order to revise his plan of the campaign. Maret, Duke of Bassano, arrived on the evening of the 7th with despatches. He found Napoleon occupied with maps and compasses. "I am beating Blucher on paper," he exclaimed, as the Minister entered his apartment. "He has altered his route, and is advancing by the road to Montmirail. I will set out and defeat him to-morrow, and again on the next day; and should my movements prove so successful as I expect, the state of affairs will be entirely changed, and we shall then see what can be done."

On the 8th, leaving Oudinot and General Bourmont to keep Schwartzburg in check, he led his main army towards Sezanne, which he reached on the 9th. The march thence to Champaubert lay through a deep marshy valley, where the roads were almost impassable, and it was necessary to employ a double complement of horses to drag the artillery. On the morning of the 10th, the Prussians were discovered at the village of Baye, and were soon dislodged by Marmont; and, in the afternoon, an attack was made upon Champaubert, where Alsusieff was defeated, and his columns totally dispersed with the loss of six thousand prisoners, forty pieces of cannon, a large quantity of ammunition, and all their baggage, containing a considerable booty taken from the towns and villages through which the Allies had marched. Napoleon fixed his headquarters in a cottage at Champaubert, where the general officers who had been captured in the engagement were invited to dine with him.

By this movement, the Prussian army had been divided. Sacken and D'Yorck were between the Emperor and Paris; and Blucher, with his main body, was in the rear, unconscious of the danger that threatened him. On hearing of the disaster of Champaubert, Blucher hastened forward, and Sacken and D'Yorck fell hastily back. Napoleon encountered the two last-mentioned Generals on the 11th at Montmirail, and after an engagement of two hours' duration, broke and dispersed them in all directions, and pursued their flying bands with the most remorseless slaughter. The threats of the Allies now recoiled fearfully on themselves. The infuriated peasants everywhere took arms to oppose the escape of the

VAUCHAMP.

enemy, and gave little quarter. Some of the cross-roads were choked with the bodies of Russians and Prussians, killed by those against whom punishment for patriotism had been iniquitously denounced. On the 12th, a Prussian corps of five thousand men, which had maintained better order in its flight than the rest of the army, reached Château-Thierry, where every excess that rage and despair could suggest was committed upon the inhabitants. In the midst of the sack, however, the pursuers came up, and the Allies were sabred in the streets, amid cries, and groans, and execrations. The populace joined the troops in wreaking vengeance for the cruelties which the enemy had inflicted; and the women, laughing and weeping by turns, were seen dragging along wounded Prussians to throw into the river. Many prisoners were taken by the peasantry, and brought to the French military posts, among whom were five generals of the Allies. These exertions of the people in their own cause, however, were limited to the districts actually invaded by the Allies. There was no union, no general effort to free the land from the stain imprinted by the feet of hostile foreigners.

Having disabled the corps of Sacken and D'Yorck, which were hurrying in inextricable disorder towards Soissons, pursued by Mortier, the Emperor turned in quest of Blucher, who had halted in dismay between Chalons and Champaubert. On the road, the National Guards, and many volunteers of La Vallée, were armed with the muskets of the Prussians, with which the roads were strewn, and many horses were also obtained by capture for remounting the cavalry. Early in the morning of the 14th, Marmont attacked the village of Vauchamp, where Blucher, who had received large reinforcements, was posted; and about eight o'clock the battle became general—Napoleon being present and commanding in person. The Prussian and Russian cavalry having been cut to pieces in the previous engagements, the enemy had to depend chiefly on its infantry, which manœuvred with great dexterity and skill; but after a brave contest, in which Vauchamp was several times taken and retaken, Blucher was compelled to retire. In his retreat, he was more than once attacked by French horsemen, who, having made a circuit for that purpose, had passed into his rear, and broke several of his squares. The early coming on and darkness of the night alone

NANGIS.

saved even a wreck of Blucher's army, and enabled that General to escape: as it was, his loss was immense. The roads were filled with dead and wounded; and ten thousand prisoners, ten pieces of cannon, and ten flags were taken. The signal defeat of Blucher, indeed, was undisputed.

Having despatched his prisoners and trophies to Paris, Napoleon, leaving the pursuit to Marmont and Mortier, returned to attack the Grand Army of the Allies, which, during the previous engagements with Blucher, had succeeded, notwithstanding the determined opposition of Victor and Oudinot, in passing the Seine, and was pushing forward on Paris. Fontainebleau was already occupied by Hungarians; and in the neighbourhood of Nangis, troops of Cossacks and of wandering Tartars, Kalmucs, and Baskirs, whose savage looks and deeds struck terror into the French people, had established their quarters. The roads to the capital were thronged with fugitives, hurrying with all the valuables they could hastily collect and transport from the scene of danger. Men, women, and children, tottering age and feeble infancy were thus, in the depth of a more than usually inclement winter, driven from their homes to wander through the country in search of shelter. Confusion in Paris was at its height; business and pleasure were alike suspended, and men moved about in constant terror and apprehension. The Emperor quitted the banks of the Marne, on the 15th. On the 16th, his head-quarters were at Guignes, on the Yères; and the 17th, he appeared at Nangis, and instantly gave battle to Wittgenstein and Pahlen, who commanded Schwartzenburg's vanguard. The engagement was furious and bloody, and, in the end, the enemy was routed on all points, leaving, in the hands of the French, more than six thousand prisoners. Wittgenstein saved himself by the speed of his horse, and was the first to carry to the main body of his comrades intelligence of his defeat, and of the impossibility of his fulfilling his recent vaunt to plant next day the banners of the Allies on the walls of Paris. "I have been beaten," he exclaimed; "two of my divisions are taken. In two hours you will see the French." The prediction of the frank Russian was right. Oudinot, Victor, and Gerard, poured on in rapid pursuit, and the latter speedily obtained possession of Ville-neuve-le-Comte, after defeating a corps of Bavarians; but the

MONTEREAU.

Wurtemberg troops were allowed to take possession of the bridge of Montereau, and thus to enable the fugitives to rally. Victor contented himself with taking a position for the night at Salins, instead of pressing onward to the banks of the river.

The Emperor slept during the night of the 17th at the castle of Nangis, where a messenger arrived from the terror-stricken Sovereigns, to state that orders had been given to their several plenipotentiaries to sign the preliminaries of peace; and that, consequently, they were surprised at his hostile movements. This gross attempt at duplicity requires no comment. It is sufficient to say, that Napoleon had not forgotten the declaration, that war and negotiations were to proceed at the same time, and that his rapid marches had barely saved Paris from the enemy. He accordingly refused to grant a suspension of arms; but wrote to the Emperor of Austria, to warn him against becoming the dupe of Alexander's selfishness, or of the subtle policy of England. On the morning of the 18th, he moved forward upon Montereau, which had been attacked at ten o'clock by General Château, with numbers greatly inferior to those of the defenders of the place, but animated by a spirit which compensated for all defects. Gerard soon arrived to support him, and shortly afterwards Napoleon came up at full gallop, and rushing into the thickest of the fire, led the men impetuously forward, amid cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" and took the bridge and the heights which commanded the town. Batteries were then mounted to play upon the streets and houses which afforded shelter to the enemy. Napoleon himself pointed several guns, whilst the balls of the foe hissed and whistled around him. The artillerymen were delighted with his attention to their art; but trembled for his personal safety, and besought him to withdraw. "Nay, nay, my children!" he exclaimed, good-humouredly, "fear nothing; the bullet is not yet cast that is to kill me."

While the attention of the enemy was engaged by this terrible cannonade, General Pajol made a detour, and debouching in the rear of the town, forced the Wurtembergers into the Seine and Yonne, at the confluence of those rivers. The Imperial Guard were not engaged in the action, but materially assisted in completing the rout of the Allies. The inhabitants of Montereau also did their best to avenge the insults they had received from the enemy. The battle

OFFICERS CENSURED.

altogether was one of the most brilliant in the campaign. The French, however, sustained a severe loss in the death of General Château, who had displayed great skill and consummate valour during the combat, and who was struck down by a bullet, while directing the charge by

which the bridge was captured. The National Guards of Britany also acquitted themselves with unsurpassed bravery, and drew from the Emperor a flattering eulogium. "The men of the West," he said, on reviewing them after the engagement, "were always faithful defenders of their country, and the firmest supporters of Monarchy."

After the usual distribution of praises, honours, and other rewards, to the officers and men who had distinguished themselves during the day, the Emperor, turning to General Guyot, could not refrain from reproaching him, in the presence of his troops, for having suffered the enemy to surprise several pieces of artillery at his bivouac on the preceding evening. General Montbrun was charged with having abandoned the forest of Fontainebleau to the Cossacks; and General Digeon was ordered to attend a council of war, to answer for having neglected to supply proper ammunition to the guns which had been placed on the heights of Surville. The last order was revoked, at the request of General Sorbier, who reminded the Monarch of the former distinguished services of Digeon, and offered to answer for his fidelity.

VICTOR.

Victor at the same time received strong censure for having failed, on the evening on the 17th, to seize the bridge of Montereau, which must have placed the whole Allied army at Napoleon's mercy. Permission was sent to the Marshal to retire from the service; for which it was said his age and broken health had unfitted him; and the command of his corps was conferred upon Gerard.

Victor, already greatly afflicted at the death of his son-in-law, the brave Château, was rendered inconsolable by the displeasure of his sovereign and old companion in arms. On receiving the news of his disgrace, he instantly hastened to head-quarters, explained that his operations had been retarded solely by the fatigue of his troops; and urged, that the blow which his family had received, in consequence of his unavoidable delay, was already sufficiently harsh. The Emperor was deeply affected at this allusion to young Château, and sympathized heartily with the Marshal's loss. The veteran, regaining confidence, then expressed his determination not to quit the army. "I can still shoulder a musket," he said; "I have not forgotten my old trade. Victor will place himself in the ranks of the Guards." Napoleon was instantly subdued. He had begun to lose faith in fidelity; and any demonstration of its existence was sure to vibrate strongly in his heart. "Well," he cried, extending his hand to his ancient comrade, "remain with me. I cannot restore to you your corps, which has been given to Gerard; but I appoint you to the command of two divisions of the Imperial Guard. Go to your duties, and henceforth let all unpleasantness be forgotten between us."

The Emperor slept, on the 18th, at the castle of Surville, where he also passed the following day, while his troops and the country people were incessantly engaged on the different roads in harassing the retreat of the enemy, who now fell back from all quarters towards Troyes. The cannonade of the 18th had been heard at Paris, and created the utmost consternation; but on the 19th, the inhabitants had the satisfaction to learn that the Emperor had triumphed, and to see many flags and prisoners brought in as trophies of victory. On the 20th, the main body of the French army pushed forward to Nogent, the Emperor breakfasting by the way at a house in which the Czar had rested the day before. On the 21st and 22nd, the pursuit was resumed; and the Allies, thronging the highways in utter disorder,

ARMISTICE.

trampled down and destroyed each other in their eagerness to escape from the presence of the dreaded Napoleon. The alarm spread from post to post, as if by lightning ; and the passes of the Vosges, even to the Rhine, were filled with fugitives, with waggons, and with the wounded. Upwards of a hundred thousand men were flying, like hunted deer, before a third of their number. At Mery, the French encountered Blucher, who had marched southward from Chalons to rally the Grand Army of the Allies, and place them in position to hazard a general action. He, however, after a few hours' fighting, during which his enraged soldiers set fire to the town, was driven headlong from his position, and his troops served only to increase the *melée*.

The disheartened Allies now tore the green boughs of victory from their hats and helmets, and retrograded with the utmost rapidity, and without order or discipline ; committing the most furious excesses upon the inhabitants of every place through which they passed. On the 22nd, Napoleon slept at a wheelwright's cottage, at Châtres ; and, on the 23rd, he bombarded and took Troyes, which he re-entered in triumph.

The terror of the Allied Sovereigns had now extended to their reserves ; which, from hesitation to march in advance, began to prepare for retracing their steps into the heart of Germany. Bernadotte, fearing the rifles of his betrayed countrymen, kept aloof ; Blucher had experienced nothing but defeat ; and France had exhibited little of that Bourbon enthusiasm which had been confidently promised by the Royalist agents. Under these circumstances, it was resolved that the Emperor of Austria, as the father-in-law of Napoleon, should send an answer to the letter despatched by Napoleon from Nangis, and avail himself of the opportunity to solicit an armistice, on pretence of renewing negotiations for peace, but with the real object of gaining time to concentrate the scattered forces of the Allies, to bring up reinforcements, and renew the war under more advantageous circumstances. Prince Wenceslaus of Lichtenstein was the bearer of these hollow proposals ; and Napoleon, with strange infatuation, listened to and granted the request of his enemies. He was not so complaisant, however, as to extend his favours to native foes. The white cockade had been hoisted at Troyes by the emigrant Marquis of

EXECUTION OF A BOURBONIST.

Vidranges and four other persons; one of whom was the possessor of a cross of the exploded order of St. Louis. This man, whose name was Govant, being unable to escape with his companions, fell into the hands of Napoleon, was instantly taken before a military commission, condemned to death, and executed, amid the jeers and revilings of the populace, who exhibited the most ardent attachment to the Emperor.

CHAPTER XLIX.

CONGRESS OF CHATILLON — SOISSONS — CRAONNE — LAON — RHEIMS — INCREASING DIFFICULTIES OF NAPOLEON — ARCIS-SUR-AUBE — TREACHERY OF AUGEREAU — THE ALLIES ADVANCE ON PARIS — FLIGHT OF MARIA-LOUISA — CAPITULATION OF PARIS. 1814.

EGOCIATION, though nothing had resulted therefrom, and its maintenance was little more than a name, had not been abandoned as a last resort, either by Napoleon or the Allies. After the latter had crossed the Rhine, the scene of the Congress had been removed to Chatillon; and, on various technical pretexts, the conferences had been, from time to time, adjourned and delayed, so that, from December till Napoleon placed himself at the head of the army, little progress had been made. First, the authority of Caulincourt, the representative of France, was disputed;

afterwards his instructions were demanded; his papers were subsequently seized, and detained for thirty-six hours; and, finally, the Allies declared their determination not to adhere to the bases of treaty which they had so recently set forth in their proclamations and manifestoes, though these had been published for the sole purpose of "assuring the world on what principles the war was undertaken." As soon as it was ascertained that Napoleon, in order to obtain peace, was willing to accede to the conditions imposed, others were substituted: "France," said the British Minister, "must retire within the limits of the ancient kingdom—the left bank of the Rhine, as well as all her other conquests, must be surrendered."

The Emperor was deeply indignant at this unworthy treatment. The indignity inflicted on his minister was a gross violation of the law of nations; and the new demand which had been made could only have been warranted by the entire and absolute conquest of France. "Never," said he, to the persons of his Council, who urged upon him the acceptance of any terms, "never will I consent to break the oath I took at my coronation, to maintain the integrity of the Republic. I will not leave France less in extent than I found her. It would not merely be France that would retreat, but Austria and Prussia would advance. The territory France has acquired on the Rhine does not equal what Russia, Prussia, and Austria obtained by the dismemberment of Poland alone. What answer could I give when the people shall demand the barrier of the Rhine? I reject the new basis, and will rather abide the brunt of battle. Three courses are open to me,—to fight and conquer; to fight and perish gloriously; or, if the Nation refuse to support me, I will abdicate. Sovereignty has few attractions for me. I will never purchase it by degradation." The French councillors, however, were incessant in their entreaties for peace—supplications, even tears, were resorted to in order to shake his resolution, and procure his consent to the terms proposed. At last, wearied with importunities, he wrote to Caulaincourt, authorizing him to sign whatever he thought proper. "To obtain peace," he said, "I will ask no conditions; but I cannot dictate my own humiliation." The French Plenipotentiary upon this expressed his readiness to accede to the ancient limits of France, provided the Allies immediately consented to an armistice. It was upon this

DUPLICITY OF THE ALLIES.

pretext that Schwartzenburg, after the battle of Nangis, had sought to induce Napoleon to forbear from pursuing his defeated army, falsely asserting that the armistice had been agreed to.

The victories of Montmirail, Champaubert, Nangis, and Montereau, had so greatly altered the aspect of affairs, however, that Napoleon then wrote to Caulaincourt to revoke the discretionary power previously given to that minister, and to insist, as a *sine qua non*, on the retention of Belgium. The Allies upon this demanded, as has been shewn, an armistice; and the war ceased at a moment when, to have compelled the concessions he required, the Emperor should have prosecuted it with redoubled vigour. The truce was granted on the 24th of February. The degree of sincerity with which the coalesced Sovereigns desired to arrange terms of peace with Napoleon, is lucidly demonstrated by an anecdote related by De Bourrienne, the truth of which has never been questioned. General Regnier, who disappeared suddenly at the bridge of Leipsic, had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and was subsequently exchanged. In the beginning of February, as he passed the head-quarters of the Allied Sovereigns, on his road to Paris, he called on the Russian Autocrat to pay his respects. "I enquired," said Regnier, when relating the circumstance a few days afterwards to Savary and De Bourrienne, "whether he had any message for the Emperor Napoleon." The Czar replied, "I am Napoleon's friend; but I have personally much to complain of, and the Allies wish to have nothing more to do with him. We have no intention to impose any person upon France; but are determined to recognise Napoleon no longer as Emperor of the French!" Alexander afterwards signified his desire that the people of France would choose Bernadotte as their sovereign; in order, perhaps, to afford an opportunity for the seizure by himself of Sweden. "I was by no means surprised at the assurances of Alexander during this interview," adds De Bourrienne; who coolly confesses that he was engaged at the time in a treasonable correspondence with certain foreign diplomatists, who had the means of affording him correct information on the subject: "I was well aware that the Allies had firmly resolved not to suffer Napoleon to remain master of France." It is altogether futile after this to speak of the moderation or sincerity of those who, till complete success had emboldened them

DUPPLICITY OF THE ALLIES.

to declare their real intentions, professed to seek merely the destruction of Napoleon's supremacy, and not of himself.

The French Emperor, having previously heard that the Allies had determined on his dethronement, questioned Prince Lichtenstein, at Troyes, as to the fact, when that officer, from ignorance or dissimulation, hesitated not to declare that such a project had not entered into the views of the Allies; who, he further stated, had merely extended their protection to the Bourbons, as a means of bringing the war more speedily to a close, by creating a diversion in the interior of France. Napoleon, relying probably on the family connexion he had formed with the Austrian Emperor, seems to have been satisfied with the Prince's word. At all events, he made no further complaint or remonstrance; though it was notorious throughout Europe, that the Bourbon Princes were now quartered in the camp of the Allies, and were there furnished with the means of supplying their adherents with arms and equipments, and of printing and circulating an immense number of proclamations, bearing the name of Louis XVIII.

RUPTURE OF THE ARMISTICE.

That Napoleon however, was not very sanguine as to the result of the truce he had granted, is evident from his reply to the Baron de St. Aignan, who arrived from Paris while Lichtenstein was waiting for the Emperor's answer to the letter of Francis. The Baron was one of those who considered that peace could not be purchased too dearly. "Sire," said he, "the speediest peace will be the best."—"It will be speedy enough," replied Napoleon, with a severe look, "if it be dishonourable."

The armistice itself was a mere subterfuge to gain time. Accordingly, the Allies had no sooner rallied their broken troops, and obtained reinforcements from Germany, than, under pretence that the Commissioners appointed to settle the lines of demarcation between the hostile forces could not agree, warlike operations were recommenced. Blucher once more put his troops in motion towards Paris, along the banks of the Marne; and the Allied Sovereigns entered into a new league, at Chaumont, by which each bound himself to maintain an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men,—Great Britain defraying the expenses,—until France should be reduced to her ancient limits, and the family of her ancient and harmless Sovereigns should be restored.

The news that the armistice had been broken off, reached Napoleon on the night between the 26th and 27th of February; and on the 28th, he was informed that the Prussian army was in motion, and had already compelled Mortier and Marmont to fall back on La-Ferté-sous-Jouarre. Leaving Macdonald and Oudinot with two corps to keep in check the Grand Army of the enemy, the Emperor hastened with the rest of his troops by wretched cross-roads towards Meaux, where he hoped to surprise Blucher, and give him battle before he should receive additional support. The vigilance of the Prussian scouts rendered the design of the Emperor partly abortive. Blucher, informed of his movement, lost no time in recrossing the Marne, destroying the bridge, and retreating with all haste upon Soissons. The plain between the Marne and the Ourcq was filled with his retiring squadrons, who, in consequence of the wet weather and the bad state of the roads, were in the utmost distress and terror lest they should be overtaken. The Emperor speedily threw a new bridge over the river; and, despatching orders to Mortier and Victor to

SOISSONS.—CRAONNE.

advance, and form the left of a circle, he pushed forward in person to complete an enclosure, from which it seemed impossible for Blucher to escape.

Full of hope and exultation, Napoleon now moved by forced marches to Château-Thierry, where, turning sharply to the left, he brought his army into position to act on the enemy's flank, as they should attempt to reach Soissons, while Marmont and Mortier drove them into the snare. Blucher already deemed himself lost, and contemplated the necessity of surrendering his army beneath the ramparts of the town towards which his flight had been directed. Soissons was defended by a garrison of fourteen hundred Poles, a small number, but sufficiently strong to have resisted any attempt of the bewildered Prussians to take the place by storm, while the French army was on their rear and flanks. At the moment preparations were making for yielding his arms, Blucher was agreeably surprised to learn that the commandant of the fortress, obeying the first formal summons which had been sent to the town by Bulow and Wintzingerode, had opened the gates of Soissons, and afforded them a refuge. French writers have almost universally attributed this unaccountable proceeding to cowardice or treachery. Napoleon appears to have been utterly confounded by it, and to have considered it as worse than a defeat in the field. He, however, assaulted the town without delay; but on being informed that Blucher had retired to concentrate his forces between Craonne and Laon, he abandoned further operations there, and advanced along the Aisne to Bery-au-Bac, with the intention of bringing on an immediate and decisive conflict.

On the evening of the 6th of March, the French advanced-guard posted itself at Craonne in sight of the enemy, who was established on the heights, and on the morning of the 7th, a furious engagement commenced. In this battle, Ney and Victor led the infantry; Grouchy and Nansouty the Guard; and Drouot directed the artillery. The battle was furious and well sustained on each side, from eleven in the forenoon till four in the afternoon, when the French reserve being put in motion, the Allies began to retreat, in such good order, however, that they left no other trophies on the field than their dead and wounded. Napoleon pursued as far as the inn of L'Ange-

LAON.

Gardien at Baye, where his head-quarters were fixed for the night; and where despatches were received from Caulaincourt, who was still at Châtillon, containing the *ultimatum* of the Allies—that France should at once retire within her ancient boundaries as a preliminary to further negotiation. The Emperor, knowing what would be required in the further negotiations alluded to, rejected the terms with disdain. “If I am doomed to flagellation,” he exclaimed, “let it at least be compulsorily inflicted.” This was the only answer he deigned to give, and with this M. de Rumigny returned to the Congress on the morning of the 8th, while Napoleon resumed his march against Blucher, who had retired towards Laon.

On the night of the 9th, Gourgaud was sent with a body of chosen troops to turn the left of the Prussian position, while Ney, advancing along the high road, should clear the defile by which the French were required to march. These movements were perfectly successful. The rear-guard of the Allies was surprised, and, after a brief but sanguinary struggle, was driven back in disorder upon the town of Laon. In the meantime, Marmont came up from Soissons, and he, Ney, Mortier, and the corps of Imperial Guards, got into position for a decisive engagement on the morrow. Blucher, at the same time, received strong reinforcements, among which was the army commanded by Bernadotte, which, from being placed constantly in the rear, and rarely called into action, seems not to have enjoyed the confidence of the Allies,—a natural consequence of the conduct of its chief; since even those who employ and reward traitors, must necessarily distrust their intentions. In addition to which, the Allies could not fail to reflect that the Swedish Crown Prince, to whom the throne of France had been promised, had some reason to feel angry and discontented in witnessing the attentions that were lavished upon the Bourbon Princes in the camp of the Allies. Wintzingerode, Bulow, Sacken, Langeron, Kleist, D’Yorck, and Bernadotte, were all now assembled round Blucher; and the Allies, upwards of a hundred thousand strong, awaited with confidence the onset of Napoleon. It was, perhaps, the first time that his approach, as an enemy, had not smitten their hearts with fear and trembling.

The necessary orders having been given for battle, Napoleon arose about four o’clock on the morning of the 10th, when, as he was

LAON.

drawing on his boots, two dismounted dragoons were hastily brought before him, with intelligence that Marmont had been surprised during the night, and driven from his position in front of the heights of Laon

in discomfiture. The Emperor instantly sent instructions to his generals to suspend the pre-arranged attack; but the enemy, flushed with success and emboldened by its overwhelming host, which was nearly three times as strong as that of its opponent, assumed the offensive, and after an obstinately contested engagement sustained throughout the day, the French, on the morning of the 11th, began to retreat, leaving their wounded and about thirty guns in the hands of the foe.

RHEIMS.

The retrograde march of the Emperor was directed on Soissons, which had been evacuated by the Allies immediately after the battle of Craonne. Here the army halted during the 12th, while the fortifications of the place were hastily repaired; but ere the morning of the 13th, news of additional disasters was brought to head-quarters, requiring fresh plans, fresh combinations, and fresh efforts to repair them. St. Priest, a Frenchman, who bore a commission as General in the service of Russia, had led a horde of fifteen thousand Cossacks upon Rheims, where, having attacked the division of General Corbineau, after causing much destruction among his countrymen, as well the unarmed as the military, he succeeded in capturing and sacking the place. Napoleon, upon this intelligence, at once put his troops in motion, in order to prevent the junction of Blucher with the Grand Army of the Allies, which the retention of Rheims by an enemy would have rendered a matter of little difficulty. On the night of the 13th, the town was assaulted, and after a struggle of two or three hours' duration, the French again became masters of the position—St. Priest, like Moreau, having defrauded the public executioner by a death on the field, where his crimes had been consummated. Marmont had rallied in time to take part in this attack, and contributed somewhat to its success: his service, however, did not prevent the Emperor from bitterly reproaching him for his want of skill in allowing his corps to be surprised and routed before Laon. This rebuke, notwithstanding the subsequent kindness of Napoleon, rankled in the breast of the Marshal, and in due time produced its fruit.

The Imperial head-quarters remained at Rheims for three days, and the army thus obtained an interval of much needed repose to enable them to sustain new fatigues and privations. "Throughout this crisis of his history," says Mr. Lockhart, "it is impossible to survey the rapid energy of Napoleon—his alert transitions from enemy to enemy; his fearless assaults on vastly superior numbers; his unwearied resolution and exhaustless invention—without the highest admiration which can attend on a master of warfare. . . To complete our notion of his energies—he had through this, the most extraordinary of his campaigns, continued to conduct, from his perpetually changing head-quarters, the civil business of his empire.

HAMBURGH.

He occupied himself largely with such matters during his stay at Rheims; but it was there that the last despatches from the Home Department at Paris were destined to reach him; and before he could return answers, there came couriers upon couriers, with tidings which would have unmanned any other mind, and which filled even his with perplexity."

On the northern frontier of France, between Tournay, Lille, and Courtray, General Maison kept the enemy in check; Carnot resisted all the efforts of the English to take Antwerp; and General Bizannet defeated Sir Thomas Graham, with considerable slaughter and the loss of many prisoners, at Bergen-op-Zoom. Davoust still held Hamburgh, despite the numbers employed in besieging the place, and the decided hostility of the inhabitants; who, the first in Germany to raise the standard of opposition to Napoleon, now experienced the most terrible calamities of war. The city during its memorable defence, was reduced to little better than a heap of ruins; horses, dogs, the hides of slaughtered animals, rats, and offal of the most disgusting kind, were used as food, both by soldiers and citizens;—it has been asserted that even the charnel-house gave up its sheeted tenants to appease the cravings of human hunger. Davoust, faring in all respects as fared his men, resisted, with heroic constancy and devotion, the many tempting offers and fierce threats that were alternately held out by the enemy to induce him to surrender his trust. The Germans still remember the Prince of Eckmuhl as the *terrible* Davoust, and lower their voices when they speak of the daring company which he formed, and placed under the orders of Captain de Chambure, which, by its night exploits, earned the distinction conferred upon it of "The Infernal." This dauntless band, consisting only of one hundred chosen men, moving sometimes by land and sometimes by water, was in the habit of attacking the enemy in the rear or even the very centre of their camp, slaughtering their centinels, spiking their guns, setting fire to their magazines and stores, beating up the quarters of their generals, and returning into Hamburg over the bodies of all who ventured to oppose its passage, not unfrequently laden with the most valuable booty. Had France contained many Davousts and Chambures to second the Emperor's exertions, that country would have been speedily freed

from the presence of invaders; and the double capture and spoliation of Paris, and the second and third expulsion of the Bourbons, would have been unnecessary.

Meanwhile, Augereau, being an admirer of Bernadotte, and not well contented with the rewards he had obtained for his services, while others possessed greater estates and higher titles than he, had determined on availing himself of the first opportunity to desert his Sovereign, and test the liberality and gratitude of a new master. He, consequently, remained almost inactive in the neighbourhood of Switzerland, wasting his time and ammunition, and frittering away the strength of his corps in a series of petty operations against Generals Bubna and Bianchi, instead of creating a diversion in the rear of the coalesced Grand Army; and, finally, he retreated on Lyons in order to open the gates of that city to the Allies as soon as admittance should be demanded. Napoleon, without suspecting the honesty of the Marshal, publicly taxed him with want of spirit and activity—an affront which Augereau was not likely to forget or forgive.

On the south-western frontier, the prospects of the Emperor were even more thickly overcast than in any other direction. The Duke of Wellington, having forced the Pays de Gaves, the passes of the Pyrenees, had advanced to the post of St. Jean de Luz, where, by pouring in cargoes of long prohibited British and colonial merchandise, he was not only enabled to procure reinforcements from England and an abundant supply of provisions, but greatly to conciliate the natives, and to put an end to the fatal Continental System. The battle of Orthez speedily followed, in which Soult was defeated, and driven in disorder upon Tarbes, where he halted merely to rally the wreck of his troops, before retreating to Toulouse. The road to Bourdeaux being thus left open, the English Army, escorting the Duke d'Angoulême, advanced upon that city, the gates of which, at the instigation of the mayor, one Linch, who three months previously had declared that "Napoleon was made expressly for the French, and the French for him," were not only opened, but the citizens poured forth to welcome the invading army, and to tender their homage to a Prince, who, as he glanced from the foreign bayonets around him to the fawning parasites at his feet, could

scarcely have failed to regard the population about to be subjected again to the rule of his family, as a race devoid of loyalty, patriotism, and principle. The white cockade was generally assumed at Bourdeaux on the arrival of the English; the Bourbon standard was there set up; and the archbishop and clergy hastened to testify their joy by chaunting a voluntary *Te Deum* for the double restoration of legitimacy and monachism.

Intelligence of these and other important events was brought in hourly; and Napoleon saw that nothing but the most prompt and vigorous action could possibly stem the torrent which was pouring around, and threatening to overwhelm him. The last news he received, before putting his troops once more in motion, was, that Blucher, having profited by his absence, had repassed the Marne; and that Schwartzenburg, having attacked Oudinot and Macdonald at Bar-sur-Aube, had compelled those Marshals to fall back, first on Troyes, and subsequently still nearer to Paris, which was consequently in the most imminent danger. A daring resolution was now taken by the Emperor—to throw himself in the rear of the Allies; a manœuvre which held out the prospect of enabling him to destroy their rear-guard, make important captures, cut off their reserves, and derange their whole plan of hostilities. There were several inducements to this course. The Sovereigns throughout the campaign had acted with the utmost deference to the tactics of Napoleon, and, by their general dread of encountering him, had paid the highest honours to the might of his name. It was scarcely probable, therefore, that they would venture to push forward upon Paris, while he was upon their rear, in command of their resources, and in a position to rally the garrisons of Lorraine, and to excite the people of France to take arms *en masse*. The inhabitants of the provinces, indeed, were becoming desperate, from the brutal excesses everywhere committed by the Allies. Murder, violation, fire, and pillage, formed the sport of the enemy. Desolation tracked every movement of the Germans, Russians, and Swedes; and was so widely and generally spread, that herds of wolves and wild boars reappeared in what had recently been the populous haunts of civilization; and the vineyards and gardens of France were rapidly degenerating into primeval wilderness. The horror and fear of the country-people, at seeing their cottages occupied

MOVEMENTS OF NAPOLEON.

by savages, all ties of domestic affection wantonly outraged, and their roads streaming with the blood of their friends and kindred, had given way to a wild and burning desire for revenge; and the becoming spirit of a great nation was at last beginning to be effectually roused, notwithstanding all that had been done to tame or quell it, by those who should have been the first to kindle it and give it scope.

Napoleon had no sooner arranged his new plans, than he prepared to put them into execution. The army was put in motion on the morning of the 17th of March, towards Troyes, which was now supposed to be in the rear of the Grand Army of the Allies, who had been reported to have reached Nogent. Orders were despatched to Ney to take the same road; and a letter was forwarded to Joseph Bonaparte, who remained as President of the Council of Regency at Paris, to remove the Empress and the King of Rome from the Tuileries, on the approach of any pressing danger. Marmont and Mortier were left behind to defend, foot by foot, the road to the capital; and, if necessary, to co-operate with the National Guards under Moncey, in protecting the city itself. On the 19th, the Emperor's head-quarters were at Châtres, where his advanced-guard fell in with a portion of the enemy's troops, and captured a considerable quantity of baggage and several prisoners. From the latter, it was ascertained that the Allies, on hearing of the capture of Rheims, had halted at Provins, and eventually retreated to Troyes, with the design of recrossing the Aube. Napoleon, therefore, was still between his capital and the enemy, instead of being in the rear of the latter; hence it was necessary for him to march still further eastward, in order to effect his purpose of operating on their line of retreat.

The Allied Sovereigns were in the utmost consternation at the movements of the Emperor. During the night of the 19th of March, a council of war was held, for determining on future operations. The Czar proposed, that the terms of peace demanded by Napoleon should be forthwith assented to; and Schwartzburg, with the concurrence of a majority of those present, recommended a continuation of the retreat. So great was the terror generally prevailing, that Alexander himself is reported to have said to an aide-de-camp, that "he feared his anxiety would turn half his hair grey." Lord Castle-

ARCIS-SUR-AUBE.

reagh, whose diplomatic services had closed for the present, by the breaking up of the Congress of Chatillon, decided the wavering and pusillanimous councils of the Monarchs. This bold statesman, conceiving that a retreat from Troyes would not, in all probability, terminate southward of the Rhine, took on himself the responsibility of stating, that the moment the Allies commenced a retrograde movement, the subsidies of England would cease to be paid. This was conclusive. British gold alone could have sustained the immense armies on foot, for a month; and it had been dealt out with such liberality as to make the war a source of absolute profit to the Allies. On the withdrawal of this support, there would have been an almost immediate end of the patriotic Coalition. The Council, well knowing the consequences of attempting to thwart the wishes of England at this crisis, finally resolved to put the army in motion next morning along the banks of the Aube, in order to effect a junction with Blucher, before making the last effort on Paris.

In pursuance of his design, to remove the scene of operations to the rear of the enemy, Napoleon, with an army of not more than twenty-five thousand men, resumed his march on the morning of the 20th; and, at an early hour, reached the heights of Arcis-sur-Aube. On the plain beyond the town, several squadrons of the enemy's cavalry were observed; and a detachment being sent to reconnoitre was vigorously resisted, and being gradually supported by fresh troops a general engagement was unexpectedly brought on. The Emperor had at first deemed the troops which he saw a mere scattered corps. It proved, however, to be the Grand Army of the Allies, nearly a hundred thousand strong, on its way to Chalons, to join Blucher and Bernadotte. The fight, or rather series of skirmishes, continued throughout the day, during which Napoleon was several times exposed to the greatest danger. At one time, when a line of his cavalry was repulsed and thrown into disorder, he rushed amid their ranks, called upon them to remember Marengo, Jena, Austerlitz, and Eylau; and, drawing his sword, led a brilliant and successful charge against the advancing foe. At another moment, a shell fell at his feet: he awaited the explosion, and speedily disappeared amid a dense column of dust and smoke. For a few seconds he was believed to have perished; but suddenly emerging from the fiery cloud, he

NAPOLKON RETREATS.

threw himself on another horse, pricked onward again to where the balls fell thickest, and seemed to court a soldier's grave. Death, however, shunned the man whom Europe was armed to destroy. The presence, the exhortations, and the example of Napoleon, enabled his handful of troops to maintain their position till night-fall; but Arcis, having been set on fire by the shells of the Allies, was no longer tenable; and retreat was seen to be the only means of saving the French Army. During the night, therefore, an additional bridge was thrown over the Aube; and early in the morning of the 21st, a retrograde march was commenced, by cross-roads, towards St. Dizier, where the Emperor hoped still to be able to effect a diversion in favour of the capital, by cutting off the communications of the Allies, and instigating a general rising in their rear. The enemy had felt at Arcis the deadly weight of Napoleon's arm, partially paralysed as it was, too severely to think of pursuing him with such haste as should bring him to bay. They followed him for awhile; but observing the good order maintained by his soldiers, and their cool and steady demeanour, the pursuit was slackened by degrees, and soon ceased altogether.

TREACHERY OF AUGEREAU.

On the 22nd, the Emperor crossed the Marne at Fringincour; and slept, on the 23rd, at St. Dizier. Here he received news which was calculated to baffle all his plans, and to render more hopeless his prospects of saving France. Augereau had sustained a defeat from the troops of Bianchi and Bubna at Maçon on the 11th, and another at St. Georges on the 18th, after which he had hastily retreated with his corps, amounting to nearly sixty thousand men, to Valence, leaving Lyons unprotected to the Allies. Napoleon, consequently, could no longer reckon on the co-operation of the Lyonnese army, nor expect to receive succours from the Italian force of Eugene. It is now known that Augereau had entered into an understanding some time before with the enemy, to manœuvre his troops so that victory should remain with the invaders, and as soon as a fair opportunity occurred, that he should entirely abandon the post with which he had been entrusted. A few days afterwards, the "Fructidor General," as the Duke of Castiglione was nick-named, published at Valence a proclamation, in which Louis XVIII. was represented as "the object of every Frenchman's affection," and Napoleon as "an odious despot, of whom France should rejoice to be rid—a mean coward, who had feared to die as became a soldier." This base treachery did not transpire till Napoleon was no longer Sovereign of France; but the knowledge of the loss of Lyons, and the arrival of Caulaincourt with information that the Allies had refused to listen to proposals of peace with Napoleon, began to operate prejudicially upon the principal officers of the army, who daily grew more and more disposed to seek for personal security, by abandoning him whom all the powers of Europe had concurred in denouncing as the sole obstacle to a happy termination of the war. "Whither are we going? What is to become of us? If he fall, we shall all fall with him," became familiar questions with those who but a month before had deemed that there was neither honour nor safety for soldiers except under his banner.

On the 24th, the Emperor removed his head-quarters to Doulevant, where he also passed the 25th, apparently uncertain what course to pursue, and without any fixed plan of action. On the 26th, he returned to St. Dizier, to support his rear-guard, which had been attacked by a corps, supposed to form part of the army of Schwartz-

INTRIGUES OF TALLEYRAND

enburg, but which was soon ascertained to be a detachment of Russians commanded by Wintzingerode. The presence of Napoleon re-inspired his soldiers, and obtained for them a victory. Wintzingerode sought safety in flight, directing his troops on the two roads of Vitry and Bar-le-Duc.

Meanwhile, disasters crowded thick upon each other wherever Napoleon was not present in person. Marmont and Mortier, who had been left to watch the motions of Blücher, were attacked at Fère Champenoise by the Allied Grand Army, and after a severe contest, which want of numbers rendered unavailing, they had been compelled to retire to Sezanne, suffering heavy losses at almost every step from their hot pursuers.

Hitherto the Allies, fearing that the genius and enterprise of the Emperor would induce him to resort to a general rising of the population in their rear, had hesitated to advance upon the capital. It remained for Talleyrand, therefore, who, according to Scott, "knew better than any one how to apply the lever to unfasten the deep foundations of Napoleon's power," to encourage and determine them. This crafty intriguer had already plied his seductive arts, with considerable effect, in Paris. His correspondence with the enemy assured him that the Bourbons were to be restored to the throne of France. He accordingly paid his assiduous court to the Royalists, in order to be permitted to retain the wealth and influence which he had acquired under the Empire. Such of the old Republican party as had not been biassed by the patriotism of Carnot, were persuaded by him, that the recall of the Bourbons was the most favourable chance for the establishment of a liberal and constitutional government. His exertions were extended, indeed, through all sects and grades of society. "To the bold," we are informed, "he offered an enterprise requiring courage; to the timid, he shewed the road to security; to the ambitious, the prospect of gaining power; and the guilty, he assured of indemnity and safety." After having thus committed himself, the irresolution of the Allies was a subject of deep anxiety to him and his coadjutors, among whom were the Abbé de Pradt, MM. Beurnonville, De Bourrienne, and Chateaubriand, whose only hope now lay in the triumph of the foreigners. Talleyrand became so feverish at the protracted delay of his new friends, that, in order to quicken

COUNCIL OF REGENCY.

their motions, he despatched to the head-quarters of the Sovereigns, the following remarkable epistle: "You venture nothing, when you may safely venture all. Venture once more." Reassured by this, and by a deputation from the Bourbonist Committee in the capital, which declared that the people only awaited the presence of the invaders to testify their loyalty to Louis XVIII., the Allies commenced a rapid and direct march upon Paris. On the 27th, their head-quarters were at Collomiers; on the 28th, with Marmont and Mortier still retreating before them, they passed the Marne at Tripot, and pressed forward towards Meaux; and, on the evening of the 29th, they bivouacked on the banks of the Seine, within sight of the Imperial city, which had been the object of their envy, hatred, and terror, for nearly a quarter of a century;—that city which had boasted of being "first in arms and science, the mistress and example of the civilized world, the depository of art, and the arbitress of taste."

Paris was now a scene of utter confusion. Straggling bands of wounded soldiers, and long trains of alarmed country-people, had been pouring into the city for several days, surrounded by women, children, the aged, and the infirm, and accompanied with waggons, carts, cattle, and such of their household goods as they could hastily remove. On the 27th, Joseph Bonaparte held a review in the court of the Tuileries, when all the troops which could be mustered were paraded with their artillery, and baggage and ammunition trains, before the people, in order to allay the growing panic. On the 28th, a meeting of the Council of Regency was held, at which Maria-Louisa presided. Prince Joseph, acting upon the previous instructions of his brother, urged the immediate departure of the Empress and the King of Rome for Blois; Cambacérès and Clarke tendered the same counsel; and this finally prevailed over the bolder advice of other members of the council and the judgment of the Empress herself, who is said to have intimated a desire to present herself and her son to the citizens, and, by confiding in their loyalty and patriotism, endeavour to arouse the whole population to unite in defending the capital to the last extremity. It is useless to speculate on the effect of such an appeal upon an excitable people like that of France. The experiment was not tried; even the obvious pre-

FLIGHT OF THE EMPRESS.

caution of removing the legal sittings of the senate from Paris was neglected; and the French empire fell with its capital.

At the Tuileries, the night of the 28th was passed in preparing for the morrow's departure. Hortense, the daughter of Josephine, inconsolable at hearing that flight had been determined on, went instantly to the palace, and with tears implored the Empress to remain. At length, finding her efforts ineffectual, she exclaimed, as with a prophetic spirit, "If you once quit these halls, you will return no more!" At six in the morning of the 29th, the Imperial cortège, attended by a majority of the civil authorities, and guarded by seven hundred men, set out for Rambouillet. The King of Rome, although but three years old, and not unused to travelling from St. Cloud, Compeigne, and Fontainebleau, refused, it is said by M. Pons de l'Hérault and others, to quit his apartment when summoned for the journey. His obstinacy was such, indeed, that the attendants were compelled to use violence with the young Prince, who threw himself on the ground, wept bitterly, and declared that he would remain; "My father," he several times cried, "said that I was not to go."

Joseph, as Lieutenant-General of the Empire, remained in Paris, and, after the departure of the Empress, published a proclamation, calling on the citizens to take arms. "The Council of Regency," said this stirring address, "has provided for the safety of the Empress and the King of Rome. I remain with you. Let us arm to defend Paris, its monuments, its riches, our wives, our children—all that is dear to us. Let this vast capital become a camp for a brief space, and let the enemy be abased beneath the walls which he hopes to overleap in triumph. The Emperor is marching to our succour. Second his exertions by a vigorous resistance, and the honour of France will be preserved."

In the course of the day, numerous proclamations of the Allies and the Bourbons were distributed throughout Paris, decrying Napoleon as a tyrant and oppressor, and exhorting the people to renounce his despotism, and replace it by a salutary and legitimate government, like that already recognised at Bourdeaux, which would unite all parties and nations in a peaceful bond of friendship. The wealthier classes of citizens were naturally disposed to listen favourably to any

DEFENCE OF PARIS.

suggestions which promised to save their property from pillage, and their families from the ruthless fury of the barbarian hordes assembled round their walls. The multitude, however, who had less to lose, and who better remembered the ancient horrors of Bourbon rule and aristocratic oppression, were eager for resistance; and gathered in crowds around the public offices to demand arms and officers, expressing their determination to convert Paris into a second Saragossa, and to perish beneath the ruins of their city rather than tamely submit to foreign-imposed domination; but treason and alarm among the chiefs of the administration paralysed everything. Arms, ammunition, co-operation, and courage, were all wanting. More satisfactory proof could not have been required, than this memorable period furnished, that France owed her greatness and glory solely to the judicious conduct, the bold heart, and the teeming brain of Napoleon.

During the night of the 29th, Marmont and Mortier, with about ten thousand National Guards, under the veteran Moncey, two or three thousand soldiers belonging to the various dépôts in Paris, the pupils of the Polytechnic school, of the school of Alfort, and of the Imperial Guard — chiefly youths from twelve to eighteen years of age — a number of invalid veterans, and a few patriotic civilians, among whom the distinguished Pons de l'Hérault, Emanuel Dupaty, Charlet, Aubert, Mauguin, and Horace Vernet, are worthy of honourable remembrance, bivouacked around the city and defended its approaches. Between three and four o'clock, on the morning of the 30th, the drums beat to arms. The slender force on which Paris had then to rely for protection was soon arrayed. The troops of the line were on every point stationed in front; the battalions of the National Guard formed a second line; and the Polytechnic and other students, under the direction of the invalids, served the artillery. The French occupied the range of heights from the forest of Vincennes and the village of Charenton on the Marne, to the bridge of Neuilly beyond St. Denis on the Seine. The whole strength of the defenders was not above five-and-twenty thousand men, while the enemy mustered about one hundred and fifty thousand.

The battle commenced, between seven and eight o'clock, by a Russian attack on the wood of Romainville; but here the assailants were speedily repulsed by a heavy cannonade; and Marmont, advancing,

DEFENCE OF PARIS.

CAPITULATION.

with the cool intrepidity of veterans — cavalry, infantry, and artillery, exhibited the utmost bravery; and, ere the close of the engagement, fourteen thousand slain and wounded of the enemy strewed the fields, gardens, and groves in the neighbourhood of Paris.

About noon, Marmont, believing that further resistance was hopeless, sent to Prince Joseph for authority to demand a suspension of hostilities, in order to treat for capitulation. Joseph at first refused; but shortly afterwards, seeing the immense body of troops collected at the foot of Montmartre, and the enemy's shot and shells beginning to fall thick in the streets of Paris, he sent the required permission to treat, and forthwith proceeded with his staff to join the Empress on the banks of the Loire. At two o'clock, a flag of truce was sent to the Allies, and favourably received; and at five, articles of capitulation were signed at the barrier of St. Denis. The night passed quietly; but it was a sleepless and bitter one to nine-tenths of the Parisians; who thought not more of the departure of the national glory, and returning despotism, than of the doubtful fate of him whose presence they fondly believed would still have been sufficient to save them from humiliation.

Agreeably to the terms of surrender, Marmont and Mortier, early on the morning of the 31st, marched with all the troops of the line then quartered in Paris or the vicinity, towards the Loire; and immediately afterwards a number of Royalists assembled in groups in the public squares, on the Boulevards, and in the gardens of the Tuileries, where they distributed large numbers of Bourbon proclamations and white bows, and endeavoured to raise the once familiar cry of "Vive le Roi!" Their exhortations, however, though listened to without interruption, as yet elicited no response. "The silence," says Sosthenes de Rochefoucauld, the principal royalist orator on the occasion, "was most dismal." Every effort was made to create excitement. Ladies, driven in open carriages through the streets, sought, by exercising the smiles and blandishments of beauty, by distributing lilies, and tearing their white scarfs and handkerchiefs to form cockades, to arouse a feeling of chivalric gallantry in the populace; but all was unavailing, till about noon, when the troops of the Allies first appeared in the streets; then faint and feeble cries of "Vive le Roi! Vive l'Empereur Alexandre! Vive le Roi de

ALLIES ENTER PARIS.

Prusse!" began to be heard from the crowd, which, fearing that what had been done was irremediable, began to be anxious to conciliate the protection of the conquerors. A few of the National Guards now plucked the *tri-color* from their caps, and assumed the white ribbon; and a transfer of loyalty having thus commenced, there seemed, especially among the agents of government and the *gens d'armes*, a disposition to try a race for favour. To testify their excess of zeal, a few of the newly converted, outstripping the old royalists, hastened to the Place Vendôme, and fastening a halter round the neck of Napoleon's statue, which surmounted the column of Austerlitz, attempted to drag it from its elevation. The march of the Allies occupied several hours, and formed a scene such as had never before been witnessed in Paris. The Czar and the King of Prussia were surrounded and followed by bearded Cossacks, by Circassian chiefs in complete mail, by Baskirs with their bows and arrows, by fur-clad Tartars and Siberians, and by turbaned slaves from the burning east, as well as by scarcely more civilized Swedes, Prussians, Hungarians, Bohemians, Bavarians, and Saxons. "All ages as well as countries," says Mr. Lockhart, "seemed to have sent their representatives, to stalk as victors amidst the nation which, but yesterday, had claimed glory above the dreams of antiquity, and the undisputed mastery of the European world." The Emperor of Russia fixed his headquarters, according to previous arrangement, at the residence of Talleyrand; where he was soon surrounded by all who wished to profit from his good offices, and by diplomatists from all the powers in arms against Napoleon. Paris, at this moment, exhibited a strange spectacle of mingled humiliation and triumph, grief and rejoicing; treachery, loyalty, and pusillanimity; hope, fear, and despair. A new revolution had taken place, in which no part was reserved for the people, but that of submission; and this to the imperious dictates of a foreign vanquisher—the Sovereign of a nation of marketable slaves.

In the meantime, Napoleon having pushed forward, on the 27th of March, to Vitry, had there learned that Blucher and Schwartzburg, having effected their dreaded junction, were in full march upon Paris. He gave immediate orders for returning to St. Dizier, and thence by Doulevant and Troyes to descend the Seine, and if possible to reach

ADVANCE OF NAPOLEON.

the capital ere the fatal blow should be struck. At Doulevant, in the afternoon of the 28th, the Emperor was met by an emissary of his Postmaster-General, M. de la Valette, who brought a small billet, written in cipher,—the first official communication that had been received from Paris for ten days. The contents of this note were as follows:—"The partisans of the foreigner, encouraged by what has occurred at Bourdeaux, and seconded by secret intrigues, are making head. The presence of the Emperor is indispensable, if he wishes to prevent his capital from being delivered to the enemy. Not a moment is to be lost." At Doulencourt, on the following day, it was announced, that an attack upon Paris was hourly expected. The Emperor was hastening, as fast as his troops could move, to the relief of his best beloved city; but as it was impossible for the army to reach the scene of action for a day or two, he despatched an aide-de-camp to spread intelligence of his approach, and desire the citizens to join the soldiers in protracting the defence of the capital. The troops accompanying Napoleon marched fifteen leagues that day, and early on the following morning resumed their march.

A little beyond Troyes, the Emperor threw himself into a post-chaise, and, with a small escort, travelled with the utmost speed towards Paris. In changing horses, intelligence was received, first, that the Empress and the King of Rome had departed for Blois; next, that the enemy was at the gates of the capital; and, lastly, that the attack had commenced. From Villeneuve l'Archeveque to Fontainebleau he galloped on horseback, and thence proceeded in a carriage to Fromenteau; where, at ten o'clock at night, he was met by the cavalry of General Belliard, and learned that he had arrived too late—the capitulation had been signed five hours, and many of the troops which had fought during the morning had already evacuated their positions, and were retiring to join the Emperor. Napoleon was greatly agitated. "What means this?" he demanded of Belliard. "Why here with the cavalry? Where is the enemy? Where are my wife—my boy? Where Marmont—Mortier?" The General related what had occurred. The Emperor could scarcely be convinced of the reality of his tale. He was but a few miles from Paris, and determined to proceed thither, to see if even yet measures might not be adopted to save the city. "Come," he cried, "we must to Paris."

RETURN TO FONTAINEBLEAU.

All goes wrong in my absence. They do nothing but blunder. They should have defended the walls to the utmost." He would not be persuaded to desist from his purpose of proceeding till he met General Curial, at the head of the first column of infantry, who gave the same account of affairs as Belliard, and added, "If you venture to Paris, you will assuredly rush upon death or captivity." The Emperor now halted. Caulaincourt had been already despatched to the head-quarters of the Allies, with authority to accept whatever terms might be offered. About four o'clock in the morning, the Minister sent to his master, who was waiting at an inn on the banks of the Essonne, to inform him that the Allies were to enter Paris that morning, and that at present nothing could be safely risked to avert such a catastrophe: Napoleon upon this stepped into his carriage, and returned to Fontainebleau, which he re-entered at six in the morning of the 31st of March.

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CHAPTER L.

PARIS—FONTAINEBLEAU—THE ALLIES REFUSE TO TREAT WITH NAPOLEON
—TREACHERY OF MARMONT—GENERAL DEFECTION OF THE MARSHALS—
ABDICATION—DEPARTURE FOR ELBA. 1814.

RESOLVED before-hand on the course he intended to pursue, but jealous of the reputation for magnanimity as well as the military fame of Napoleon, the Czar was no sooner settled in the hotel of Talleyrand, than he signified a desire to learn the sentiments of the French people as to the future government of their country; intimating, however, at the same time, that "he would have nothing further to do with the Emperor." Three courses, he said, were open:—to establish a regency on behalf of the King of Rome; to elect Bernadotte to the throne; or to recall the

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Bourbons. Alexander himself, according to his promise, advocated the cause of Bernadotte; but this was well understood to be merely a ruse — Nesselrode, the Russian Minister, having previously declared, that "Louis XVIII. would resume his sceptre;" and Talleyrand, and those with whom he acted, at once rejected the adventurer who had borne arms against his country, not certainly from patriotism on their own part, but because they knew that, supine as the people appeared, they would never submit to the proposed domination. "The only possible alternative," said Talleyrand, "is Bonaparte or the Bourbons. If we are to have a soldier, we will retain our present Sovereign, who is the first warrior in the world. Louis XVIII. and Napoleon are principles — all else is an intrigue." The Abbé de Pradt, whom egotism always prompted to take part in what was likely to render him conspicuous, however contradictory or devoid of principle this diseased craving for notoriety might exhibit him, hesitated not to answer in the name of France:—"We are all Royalists. The whole people demand the restoration of our legitimate Monarch." The question was thus decided. MM. Ferrand, Choiseul, Chateaubriand, and a few others, shouted "Vive le Roi" in the saloon of the Prince of Beneventum; and the Moscovite, unused to hear the voice of a nation expressed through any other medium than that of the holders of the heritable knout, was immediately convinced that the "Great Man, whose friendship was a favour conferred by the gods," had ceased to reign in the hearts of his subjects as well as in the councils of the Allies. "I will not again treat with Napoleon, or any member of his family," exclaimed the Autocrat; and, in less than two hours afterwards, the walls of Paris were placarded with papers, announcing that determination as a theme of national congratulation, and bearing the following very significant affix:—"Michaud, Printer to the King."

On the morning of the 1st of April, the Conservative Senate, convened by Talleyrand, met to appoint a Provisional Government; a proceeding which bore a less questionable character than it otherwise would have done, in consequence of the flight of Maria-Louisa and the Council of Regency. The list of members to be chosen was prepared by Talleyrand, who presided at the sitting, and consisted of himself, General Beurnonville, Count Jaucourt, the Duke d'Alberg,

DECREE OF FORFEITURE.

and the Abbé Montesquiou. The Senate confirmed these appointments, and a new ministry was forthwith installed :—the Abbé Louis taking the Department of Finance ; General Dupont, who had made the unfortunate capitulation of his corps at Baylen, in Spain, took the War Ministry ; Malouet, the Admiralty ; Desolles, the command of the National Guard ; De Bourrienne, the office of Postmaster-General ; and the Abbé de Pradt, the Chancellorship of the Imperial Legion of Honour !

On the 2nd of April, the Senate published a decree, in which the following statements were unblushingly insisted upon :— That the Emperor had violated the Constitution, by raising arbitrary and illegal taxes ; that he had dissolved the Legislative body without necessity, assuming to be himself the representative of the people ; that he had published unconstitutional decrees, declaring the war maintained against the Allies a national war, whereas it concerned only his individual ambition ; that he had violated the Constitution, by establishing state prisons ; that he had abolished the responsibility of Ministers, destroyed the independence of the judicial authorities, suppressed the liberty of the press, and converted that powerful engine into an instrument to slander foreign governments and promulgate false maxims of policy ; that instead of reigning, according to his oath, for the honour, happiness, and glory of the Nation, he had distressed the country, abused its resources both of men and money, abandoned the sick and wounded of his army, without dressing, medicine, or sustenance ; and occasioned the ruin of towns, the depopulation of the country, and produced famine and pestilence. In consequence of these several misdemeanours, Napoleon was declared to have forfeited for himself and his family the Imperial throne ; the people and the army of France were released from their oaths of fidelity ; and the Provisional Government was decreed to be the only legally constituted existing authority. On the same day, the Municipal Council of the Seine declared for the Bourbons, and overtures were made to the various marshals and generals who still surrounded Napoleon, to induce them to desert their old master ; and, by sanctioning the choice of the Allies, secure the enjoyment of their honours, pensions, and places.

The Emperor, meanwhile, remained at Fontainebleau, where many

DIFFICULTIES OF NAPOLEON.

of his principal officers speedily congregated to exert such influence as they conceived to be necessary for their own interest upon the progress of affairs. Moncey, Le Febvre, Oudinot, Berthier, Ney, and Macdonald, with the minister Maret, were still in attendance on their chief; but some of them now continued in his suite rather to watch than to aid him. Napoleon, from time to time, communicated to them all that he could learn concerning the proceedings of the Allies; but he no longer had faithful councillors ready to risk all for the service of their Sovereign—whose cause they had been taught to consider apart from that of France and the national independence. When Caulaincourt arrived on the night of the 2nd of April, with the definite answer of the Allies, that they would not again treat with Napoleon for himself, the marshals seem at once to have determined on demonstrating the truth of Montesquieu's political maxim, that "by heaping benefits on men you deprive yourself of their adherence in times of danger; as their first thoughts will be to preserve what they have acquired." They united in requesting that, for the peace of the country and his own safety, he would, formally relinquish the crown, and by that personal sacrifice give repose to the world. The Emperor was undetermined. He still had troops scattered throughout the country which he knew to be devoted to him. Soult, in the south, had fifty thousand men; Suchet fifteen thousand; Prince Eugene, in Italy, was at the head of upwards of thirty thousand; Augereau, whose treason was still unknown, had with him fifteen or sixteen thousand; General Maison, in the north, had about twenty thousand; numerous regiments remained in garrison along the Rhine, at Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, and other places; and quartered in the vicinity of Fontainebleau were nearly fifty thousand under Napoleon's own eye. Collecting these, it was not impossible to make a noble stand against all the forces his enemies could bring into the field. Although seven or eight hundred thousand men were arrayed against him, the disparity had been as great in the campaigns of Italy, and even in that which had just closed; yet on nearly every point of action where Napoleon had been present, his eagles had sped triumphantly. These considerations for a time had due weight.

On the morning of the 3rd, the Emperor visited the outposts of

APPEAL TO THE ARMY.

his army, and encouraged the troops with hopes that the occupation of Paris would be but temporary. In the afternoon, he held a review in the court of the palace, and haranguing the soldiers, informed them of the "treasonable proceedings in the capital, where emigrants, whom he had done wrong to pardon, had mounted the white cockade and joined the foe." He told them what sacrifices he had offered to purchase peace. That he had consented not only to abandon the conquests of the Empire, but those of the Republic, and to retire within the limits of ancient France; adding that this had been deemed insufficient. With the newly acquired territory of the country, it was to be deprived of its meed of fair fame, of the very colours under which its renown had been achieved. The lilies of the debauched Louis XV. and of the imbecile Louis XVI., were to supersede the glorious *tri-color* of the Great Nation. An universal shout arose from the ranks, and interrupted the Emperor in his address. "To Paris! Paris!" was the enthusiastic cry; and Napoleon responded to it, by giving instant orders to prepare for a march on the morrow.

Most of the marshals were by this time in correspondence with the so-called Provisional Government, the members of which were merely the tools of the Allies; and the resolution to renew the war was regarded by them as likely to put to unnecessary hazard the stakes for which they were playing. They consequently, having consulted together for a moment, followed Napoleon to his cabinet, where, after renewing their advice that he should abdicate, they plainly declared their determination to follow him no further in what they all looked upon as a hopeless contest. The Emperor took the night for consideration; and on the 4th, after a long conference, which the soldiers believed to have been held for arranging military operations, and the close of which was eagerly looked for as the signal to advance upon the capital, it was made known that the Emperor had signed the following act of abdication:—

"The Allied Powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon is the sole obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to relinquish France, and even life, for the good of the country, which is inseparable from the rights of his

CONDITIONAL ABDICATION.

son, those of the regency of the Empress, and the maintenance of the laws of the Empire.

“Done at our palace of Fontainebleau, the 4th of April, 1814.

“NAPOLEON.”

Caulaincourt, Ney, and Macdonald were appointed the bearers of this act to the Allies. The Emperor wished to have added Marmont, but that officer was said to be at Essonne with his corps, whence it was not thought advisable to remove him. He had, however, in fact removed himself; having, as soon as it was rumoured that Napoleon contemplated a movement upon Paris, entered into a private agreement with the enemy to frustrate the Emperor's purpose, by marching his troops within the lines of the Allies. Until this defection, not only the self-constituted Provisional Government, but the Sovereigns who countenanced it, were in great trepidation. Their projects in favour of the Bourbons had met with no support from the people, who, indeed, seemed to grow daily more indisposed to the “Restoration;” and Talleyrand and his colleagues were alarmed beyond measure when it was known that Napoleon in abdicating had stipulated for a regency. “I was awakened at night,” says De Bourrienne, “by an express which summoned me to the Hôtel de Talleyrand. We [the Provisional Ministers] were under feelings of consternation which it would be difficult to describe. Indeed had a regency been established, voluntary exile alone could have saved us.” Even the callous heart and iron nerves of Talleyrand appear to have been shaken by terror, and he eagerly questioned every man connected with the army with whom he came in contact, as to the ulterior intentions of the soldiery.

While this feverish anxiety continued, and until Marmont had completed his contract, by actually putting his troops in the power of the Allies, the marshals, who thought that nothing ought to be required from Napoleon further than his personal abdication, received no answer to their mission. The Czar required a few hours to consult the King of Prussia, as he pretended, before finally deciding. This interval was dexterously made use of to induce Marmont to order the instant advance of his troops to Versailles. About five o'clock in the morning of the 5th of April, the soldiers were accordingly put in motion, — as they, and all but two or three of the principal officers

DEFECTION OF MARMONT.

believed,—to make a flank attack on the position of the enemy. After marching some distance, however, and perceiving that their motions were watched, without being interrupted, by a strong Bavarian force, they began to suspect the truth, and broke into open mutiny, exclaiming loudly against those by whom they had been betrayed. Several small bodies, among whom were a number of Polish lancers, quitted the ranks, and not only refused to go further with their comrades, but actually returned to Fontainebleau, to inform the Emperor of what had occurred. The rest, seeing that they were surrounded by a far superior force, submitted to the exigency of the moment, and became virtually prisoners of war. "Marmont," says De Bourrienne, "saved all: he was the hero of the day. The Provisional Government waited upon him in a body to compliment him."

The result is soon told. The Allies, when satisfied that Marmont's treachery had been consummated, no longer hesitated to give their answer, which was, that nothing would be listened to from Napoleon, but unconditional abdication for himself and his family. It is strange that Ney and Macdonald, who professed to be still the friends and advocates of Napoleon, and to whom the unblushing duplicity of diplomacy was new, were not ashamed of their errand. They returned with Caulaincourt to Fontainebleau, to counsel submission to the last humiliation.

The Emperor, when informed of Marmont's defection, and that Fontainebleau now lay open to the Allies, who were gradually drawing their troops closer around the position, was greatly agitated; but he did not give vent to his feelings further than by exclaiming,—
"Ungrateful man! He will be more unhappy than I." In the course of the day, however, an address to the troops was published, in which the recent proceedings in the capital were freely commented upon. "The Duke of Ragusa," said the proclamation, "has gone over to the Allies. The Senate has presumed to dispose of the French Government, forgetting that it owes to the Emperor the power which it has abused. The Emperor saved one half of its members from the storms of the Revolution, and drew the other half from obscurity, and protected it against the hatred of the people. . . . A sign was a command to the Senate, which was always ready

to do more than it was required. The Senators have spoken of libels published against foreign powers; but they have not stated that those libels were prepared in their own assembly. While fortune smiled on their Sovereign, these men were faithful. If, as has been said, the Emperor despised them, they have now convinced the world, that it was not without reason."

When the Imperial Commissioners arrived at head-quarters, and delivered an account of their proceedings, Napoleon was at first desirous to break off all negotiation, and appeal once more to the troops. The generals, however, were desirous of closing the question, and urged that one hostile army was posted between Essonne and Paris, another on the right-bank of the Seine; several corps were in possession of the roads to Chartres and Orleans, and others were dispersed between the Yonne and the Loire; so that resistance was hopeless. The Emperor was little moved by these representations of difficulties. "Roads," he said, "that are closed against couriers will soon open before fifty thousand men." He was then reminded, that the war must henceforth assume the character of a civil contest, and be prolonged chiefly by partisan bands. This was a point on which he was known to be weak. His early horror of the excesses of the Revolution had never been obliterated; and he had not even considered himself justified in exciting domestic commotion in the dominions of his enemies. After brief consideration, he agreed to renounce all prospect of defending France: "But," he added, "Italy affords a retreat worthy of us. Will you follow me across the Alps?" A profound silence ensued: and Napoleon saw that his old comrades no longer considered their interests identified with his. "If, at that moment," says Baron Fain, "he had quitted the saloon and entered the hall, where the inferior generals were waiting, he would have found a host of young men eager to follow him; and had he advanced a step further, he would have been greeted at the foot of the great staircase by the fervent acclamations of all his troops, whose enthusiasm would have reanimated his heart. But Napoleon was governed by the habits of his reign; and believed that it was impossible for him to succeed without the great officers, who had assisted him in former achievements." At length, the Emperor exclaimed, with great solemnity: "You seek for repose; take it then: but you know not

ABDICATION.

how many troubles and dangers await you on your beds of down. A few years of that peace, which you are about to purchase so dearly, will cut off more of you than would the most sanguinary war."

Napoleon then took his pen, and hastily drew the following act of abdication :—

"The Allied Powers having proclaimed that the Emperor is the sole obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his children the thrones of France and Italy; and that there is no sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interests of France.

"NAPOLEON."

With this document the Commissioners returned to Paris, and the Allies resumed the negotiations — now without the intervention of

RETURN OF THE BOURBONS.

Talleyrand and his Provisional Government, who had only been permitted to exert a shew of authority while their influence was conceived to be useful, as counterpoising that of the Emperor. The treaty, as finally agreed upon, stipulated that Napoleon should retain his Imperial title, and have the island of Elba assigned to him in full sovereignty as a residence. A revenue of six millions of francs, chargeable on the great book of France, was also settled on him; the Empress Josephine, and the other members of the Emperor's family, were to have pensions amounting altogether to two millions and a half; and on Maria-Louisa and the King of Rome were conferred the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla. Napoleon wished to have been admitted as a party to the arrangement of the future government of France; and on his request to this effect being refused, he sent to demand back the act of abdication from Caulaincourt; who, however, had already deposited it with the Sovereigns, as a preliminary step to negotiations.

On the 11th of April, the treaty was signed by the Allies; and next day the Count d'Artois made his public entry, as Lieutenant-General of France for Louis XVIII., into Paris. The National Guard, escorting the Provisional Government, went out to meet him; but even his best friends are said to have been somewhat chagrined to see him guarded by Cossacks. There were a few cheers, and an occasional cry of "No more conscription: no more consolidated taxes!" "But the enthusiasm," says De Bourrienne, "was confined to the cavalcade which accompanied the Prince, or appeared exclusively among the upper classes. The people looked on with ordinary curiosity and wonder." Such was the restoration of the Bourbons. It might have been regarded as ominous of the fate of the dynasty; and ought to have been treasured as a valuable lesson by those who, in forcibly changing the Sovereign of a great nation, had no power to obliterate the remembrances and antipathies of the people, or to impart reason and benignity to the Prince whom they had entrusted with power.

Napoleon was now undergoing the most acute mental distress. "Subdued by defection, and not by hostile arms," says Las Cases, "he felt all that could rouse the indignation of a lofty mind, or pierce a kind heart. His friends forsook him; his servants betrayed him:

DESEPTION OF THE MARSHALS.

one had surrendered his army ; another his treasury. The men whom he had reared, maintained, and loaded with favours, industriously wrought for his overthrow ; and his wife and child were prevented from joining and solacing him. This weight of affliction appears to have suggested a resolution to free himself from life. An autograph letter, written to the Empress, has been preserved, in which he says, that ' she must prepare herself for the worst — even the death of the Emperor.' ”

On the night of the 12th, according to Fain's ' Manuscript of 1814,' extraordinary agitation arose in the palace. The servants, filled with alarm, ran hurriedly from chamber to chamber. Physicians were summoned, and a profusion of medicines administered to counteract the effect of poison which the Emperor was ascertained to have taken. After violent aguish paroxysms, succeeded by a death-like stupor, the alarming symptoms disappeared, when Napoleon seemed resigned to his fate, and exclaimed, — “ God has ordained that I should live.” This account, it must be added, notwithstanding the authority on which it has been given, and the apparent belief of its correctness by Las Cases, is contradicted by Maret, Caulaincourt, and others who were present, and who affirm that the sudden indisposition of the Emperor was but the natural result of the anxiety and want of repose, which he had for a length of time experienced. It is certain, nevertheless, that, on the morning of the 13th, Napoleon called for and signed the treaty which he had previously refused to sanction ; and, at the same time, he informed his attendants that he had ceased to reign, enjoining them to submit to the new government, as henceforth the only rallying point for the French people.

From that period till the 20th, the Emperor was chiefly occupied in preparations for his departure to Elba, concerning the people, productions, and capabilities of which he seemed eager to obtain information. His followers, under various pretexts, gradually stole away, and gave in their adherence to the government. Ney, Macdonald, Victor, Clarke, Oudinot, and lastly, the “ loyal ” Berthier, went to pay their respects to the victorious Sovereigns, and to take once more the sullied hand of Bernadotte, who was again lodged in the capital of his native country. It is creditable to the populace of Paris, that this unworthy man found his situation among the

MARIA-LOUISA.

enemies of France a disagreeable one. Not only had his hopes of succeeding to the Imperial throne been crushed, but he was daily greeted by the crowd with loud cries of "Down with the traitor—the perjurer!" His place of residence was so besieged and became so exceedingly unpleasant, if not dangerous, that after a few days, he quitted Paris and returned to Sweden. "He was greatly surprised," says his friend and confidant, De Bourrienne, "that the French people could yield so readily to receive back the Bourbons; and I on my part felt equally astonished that, with his experience, Bernadotte should have been simple enough to imagine that in changes of government the inclinations of the people are consulted." This brief sentence is highly characteristic both of the discarded secretary and the recreant general.

In the meantime, the Empress Maria-Louisa had gone from Blois to Orleans, and thence returned to Rambouillet, where she received a visit from her father, from whom she in vain entreated permission to rejoin her husband. Whatever may have been her affection for Napoleon, she was indignant at the treatment which he, her son, and herself had experienced; and when it was proposed to introduce to her the Czar, whom she believed to be the cause of all her misfortunes, she positively refused to see him. "Will he make me a prisoner before your eyes?" she asked with bitterness. "If he enter here, it will be by force; and I shall retire to my chamber, whither I suppose he will not dare to follow me." The daughter of the Cæsars, and the consort of Napoleon, however, was now nothing more than an Archduchess of Austria; and Francis, exerting his paternal authority and promising that her separation from her husband should be but temporary, constrained her to receive her unwelcome visitor, though he could gain for him nothing but a coldness approaching to scorn. "I have but one wish," she said, when asked what could be done for her personal gratification; "it is, the liberty to return to the bosom of my family." A few days afterwards, she and her son were sent under a guard of honour to Vienna. Napoleon's mother and Cardinal Fesch had already set out for Rome; and the Princes Joseph, Louis, and Jerome, were on their way to Switzerland.

The Commissioners appointed by England, Russia, Austria, and

FAREWELL.

Prussia, to conduct the Emperor to Elba, arrived at Fontainebleau on the 16th of April; but the arrangements for departure were not completed till the 19th, on the evening of which day, the Mameluke Roustan and the confidential valet Constant, in imitation of their superiors, abandoned their old master. The Grand Marshal Bertrand, Generals Drouot, Cambrone, and a few other persons, remained faithful to the deposed monarch; and four hundred of the Imperial Guard obtained permission to accompany him into exile. It was affecting to witness the strife that occurred among these devoted veterans for the honour of selection.

At noon on the 20th, the carriages of the Emperor and the Commissioners were drawn up in the court of the *Cheval-Blanc* at the foot of the great stair-case, which Napoleon and his attendants shortly afterwards descended. The Imperial Guards were ranged in lines on each side, and in front stood the Duke of Bassano (Maret), who, in all his reverses, had not thought of quitting Napoleon; Generals Belliard, Foulcr, and Kosakowski; Colonels de Bussy, Anatole Montesquieu, Gourgaud, and Voutsowitch; the Count de Turenne; Barons Fain, Megrigny, La Place, and Lelorgne d'Ideville; Lieutenant-Colonel Athalin, and the Chevalier Jouanne. These, adding Caulaincourt and General Flahault, who were then absent on missions, were all that remained of the most brilliant court in Europe;—of that court where Emperors and Kings had deemed themselves honoured when admitted as suitors. The Emperor shook hands cordially with all who were near him, and expressed a desire to address his Guard, whose eyes at his approach were filled with tears. In a moment the most profound silence reigned, and Napoleon, in a firm, clear voice, spoke as follows:—

“Generals, officers, sub-officers, and soldiers of my Old Guard, I bid you farewell! During twenty years I have been content with you, having always found you in the path to glory. The Allied Powers have armed all Europe against me; part of the army has betrayed its duty, and France itself has chosen other destinies. With you, and the brave men who remained faithful to me, I might have maintained a civil war for three years; but that would have rendered France miserable, which was contrary to my wishes. Be faithful to the new Sovereign which France has chosen. Never abandon our

THE OLD GUARD.

beloved country—too long unhappy! Do not lament my fate: I shall always be happy while I know that you are so. I could have died—nothing would have been easier—but I will not cease to pursue the road to honour. I live to record the deeds we have done together. I cannot embrace you all; but I will embrace your

Adieu, my children!

General. Come, General!" Here he folded General Petit in his arms. "Bring hither the eagle!" He embraced the ensign of his lost power, and continued, "Beloved eagle! may these kisses be treasured in the hearts of the brave! Adieu, my children! My brave companions, surround me once more. My prayers shall accompany you always. Preserve my remembrance!"

Tears fell fast from the eyes of the old soldiers, and their sobs rose frequent and loud. The Emperor himself was overcome, and hastened to his carriage, in which Bertrand had already taken his place. The signal was immediately given, and the cortège departed

AUGEREAU.

from Fontainebleau. The journey to the coast occupied eight days. During the first part of it, nothing was heard but shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!"—a bad compliment for the Bourbons—and imprecations on the Allies and their Commissioners. The latter pretended to fear that the reception of their charge at Lyons would be unfavourable, and adopted what precautions they could against outrage, entering the town by night, and as privately as possible. It has been suggested, that these premature preparations indicated a knowledge that means had been resorted to in order to render them necessary. However this may be, a multitude was assembled in the streets, and instead of curses, sympathetic acclamations arose on all sides. An elderly female in deep mourning, rushing to the door of the Imperial carriage, cried, "Sire! May the blessings of Heaven attend you! Endeavour to make yourself happy. They tear you from us; but our hearts are with you wheresoever you go." The Austrian Commissioner was entirely disconcerted at this manifestation of attachment. "Let us begone!" he shouted, "I have no patience with this mad woman. The people have not common sense."

A short distance from Valence, Angereau appeared on the road. Napoleon, who knew not of the Marshal's treachery, alighted from his carriage to speak with his old comrade. He took off his hat: the General remained covered. "Are you going to Court?" asked the former. "At present," answered Angereau, "I am on my way to Lyons."—"Your corps has behaved badly," said Napoleon. "Of what have you to complain?" replied the Marshal: "your insatiable ambition, to which you sacrificed everything, has brought us to our present condition. I care no more for the Bourbons than for you, and have no account to render you." Upon this, he unceremoniously turned his back on his former Sovereign, who returned to his carriage. "How different," says De Bourrienne, "would have been an encounter with the Duke of Castiglione in the Tuileries! There, who more obsequious than the little Angereau? As it was, the conduct of that officer exhibited only low-bred insolence." One of the Commissioners of the Allies, astonished that Napoleon should have deigned to notice the traitor, informed his Majesty that the General had entered into an understanding with the invaders several weeks before. An hour afterwards, some detachments of the army of Lyons were met, who

INSULT TO NAPOLEON.

rendered to the Emperor all the honours they were accustomed to yield while he was still on the throne: "Sire," exclaimed more than one of the old soldiers, "Marshal Augereau has sold your troops!"

As the cavalcade advanced, cries of "Vive le Roi!" became frequent; and the populace of a few towns, instigated by Royalists, who reminded them of the terrors of the conscription, the weight of taxation, the restrictions on trade, and the sufferings inflicted on the country by the continuance of war, which they attributed to "the tyrant Napoleon," came forth to insult, if not to assassinate him. His Cossack guards, it may be presumed, would have offered little resistance had this decisive outrage been attempted; but the Commissioners took prudent precautions to avoid an appeal to their generosity or honour.

False rumours were spread on the road; and the Emperor, changing his dress, but without disgracing himself, as was required, with the white ribbon, rode on horseback, in advance of his escort, occasionally answering questions, and laughing good-humouredly at observations concerning himself. All appeared to be alarmed, except him whose safety was concerned; and he is admitted to have "betrayed no outward symptoms of agitation; but to have charmed every one by the ease and affability of his conversation, and the rich stores of memory and imagination which he displayed." At Aix, he is reported to have been betrayed for a moment into petulance, by the vociferations of the mob. "The inhabitants of this part of France," he said, "are always the same — mere braggarts and desperadoes. At the commencement of the Revolution, they committed frightful massacres. It is now eighteen years since I first came among them, with two or three thousand men, to deliver some Royalists, whom they had threatened to hang. Their crime was the wearing of white cockades. I rescued them, not without difficulty, from the vengeance of these infuriated monsters; and to-day they are ready to resort to the same excesses against all who refuse to mount the badge which was then proscribed."

On the 26th, Napoleon slept at the house of M. Charles, a Deputy of the Legislative body, near Luc, where he was joined by his sister, Pauline, who expressed her determination to accompany him to Elba. On the 27th, the procession reached Frejus, whence, at seven in the

JOSEPHINE.

evening of the 28th he embarked, under a salute of twenty-one guns, in the British frigate, the *Undaunted*, for the place of his first exile. A French vessel had been prepared for his reception, but he refused to sail under the Bourbon flag.

While the proceedings which have been related were filling men's minds with astonishment, the Empress Josephine had not been an indifferent observer of the reverses of her former husband. She had not seen him since 1812, when he went to take leave of her previously to his departure for Russia; but she had been incessantly eager for news of his proceedings, and trembled at whatever seemed to indicate his approaching fall. When the Allies drew near Paris, she had retired for a time to Navarre; but, on receiving assurances of protection from the Sovereigns, she returned to Malmaison. Alexander, desirous probably of impressing the Austrian Monarch with an opinion that his daughter's alliance with Napoleon was scarcely legitimate, frequently visited the repudiated Empress, shewing her great attention, and endeavouring to soothe her affliction. The intelligence, however, that her "Cid," her "Achilles," was to be dethroned afflicted her beyond solace. She rapidly sunk under accumulated griefs, and died on the 29th of May, 1814. She was buried in the village church of Ruel, the bells of which have been formerly alluded to as having frequently awakened so much melancholy pleasure in the mind of Napoleon. Her children subsequently erected a handsome tomb to her memory, bearing the simple inscription,—

"EUGENE AND HORTENSE TO JOSEPHINE."

CHAPTER LI.

VOYAGE TO ELBA — RESIDENCE THERE — ADMINISTRATION OF THE BOURBONS IN FRANCE — RETURN OF NAPOLEON — TRIUMPHAL MARCH FROM CANNES—FLIGHT OF LOUIS XVIII.—THE EMPEROR RE-ENTERS PARIS.
1814—1815.

LEAVING the coast of France, the armament which convoyed Napoleon crowded sail for Porto-Ferrajo, the small capital of the new empire of him who had recently held the world in awe. The voyage was sufficiently pleasant; and the Emperor conversed with great frankness and good-humour with Sir Neil Campbell, the English Commissioner by whom he was accompanied, and Captain Usher, who commanded the *Undaunted*. His conduct, perfectly free from restraint, the easy gaiety of his observations, and the good humour with which he listened to jests, which were

ELBA.

not untingered with English prejudice against himself, made him a general favourite among the officers; and the sailors, who at first supposed that they had become the temporary guardians of a semi-savage, soon agreed on a fore-castle decision, that "Bony was a good fellow after all." The boatswain alone was obstinate in his disbelief of Napoleon's merits; and, while his messmates sounded the praises of their old enemy, extolled his generosity, and sympathized with his misfortunes, this sturdy seaman pronounced all that related to such subjects "humbug." He was, however, finally subdued, when, on quitting the vessel, the Emperor presented the ship's crew with a purse containing two hundred Napoleons; and, on returning thanks for the gratuity, he "wished his honour long life, and better luck next time!"

The flotilla anchored off Elba on the 3rd of May, the same day that Louis XVIII. made his public, but unwelcome, entry into Paris. On the 4th, having previously landed incognito, Napoleon went on shore

in form, as Sovereign of the island, under a royal salute from his English transport ship, and the discharge of a hundred guns from the batteries of Porto-Ferraio. He was received on the beach by nearly the whole population, headed by the Governor, the Prefect, the

IMPROVEMENTS.

Municipality, and the Clergy, who welcomed him with enthusiastic shouts, and every demonstration of joy. The Austrian and British Commissioners, Baron Kohler and Sir Neil Campbell, now expressed their intention to remain at Elba; the Russian and Prussian officers had taken leave at Fréjus.

After the receptions and first formalities of his arrival had been duly discharged, Napoleon busied himself with exploring his slender domain, with the general aspect of which he seemed pleased; although, after gazing upon its whole extent from the hill which overlooks the chief town, he observed, with a smile, that his "territory was somewhat small." He was displeased with the servile manners of the lower class of the inhabitants; who, on meeting him, were accustomed to kneel and prostrate themselves on the earth—a debasement which he attributed to their want of education, and the humiliations imposed on them by the monks.

In a few days he had visited every part of the island; its extensive iron mines, vineyards, olive grounds, woods, marshes, harbours, and fortifications, and had planned alterations and improvements of the most extensive kind. New roads began to appear where none had previously existed. The island of Rianosa, which had been left uninhabited, on account of the frequent descents of Barbary Corsairs, was occupied, and fortifications commenced thereon. Canals and aqueducts were speedily constructed. A new house was built for the Princess Pauline, and stables for a hundred and fifty horses. A lazaretto was also established, with stations for the tunny fishery; and constructions to facilitate the operations of the salt works at Porto-Longone were erected. A national flag was displayed, which had a red bend dexter, charged with three bees in a white field. The capital of the island was dignified with a new and appropriate name. Instead of Porto-Ferraio, it was called Cosmopoli—a name, the sound of which, though not the signification, resembled its ancient appellation.

On the 26th of May, Cambrone arrived with the volunteers of the Old Guard; and shortly afterwards, Madame Lætitia, the Emperor's mother, and Pauline came, to fix their abode with the exile. At the end of the same month, Baron Kohler, the Austrian Commissioner, took leave and returned to Vienna; and the

POLITICS.

only person left to watch and report upon the Emperor's actions, was Sir Neil Campbell, whose questionable character at a court which had not been recognised by his own Government, soon appears to have become unpleasant both to himself and the object of his vigilance. The French in general regarded him with a jealous eye; and as he had no official duties to perform, nor any ostensible reason to assign for intruding himself upon the Exile of Elba, upon whom, nevertheless, he frequently thrust his society, it may be fairly concluded that his instructions imposed on him the office of a spy; and, occasionally, hints were given him that he was an unwelcome guest at the residence of Napoleon.

The presence of the Emperor occasioned the resort of a large number of travellers from all parts of Europe to the hitherto undistinguished island. These, especially Englishmen of rank, were readily admitted to friendly intercourse with the banished Monarch. In his conversation upon these occasions, Napoleon usually spoke of himself as one politically dead, and professed the utmost resignation to his fate. Whenever the state and prospects of France, however, were brought under discussion, his spirit was rekindled; and the extent of his information and the profundity of his observations, shewed that his interest in politics was still as keen as ever, and his information concerning passing events by no means superficial. He said that Louis XVIII. totally mistook the character of the French people, if he supposed they would tamely submit to his rule, unless he adopted a similar line of policy to that pursued under the Empire. He blamed the King for placing the government in the hands of returned emigrants, who could not possibly be acquainted with the social condition of France; and whose sole recommendation to office was the fidelity with which they had clung to the skirts of exiled royalty from the commencement of the Revolution. "If Louis is wise," he once said, "he will content himself with occupying my bed, and merely changing the sheets. He must, however, treat the army well, and refrain from looking back on the past, otherwise his reign will be a brief one." Once or twice, in allusion to the Anglo-mania exhibited by the new French Administration, he spoke of Louis as "the King of England's Viceroy," and of his creatures, who were by no means anxious to conceal their conviction, that they

had been restored to the country by conquest, as little better than a British colony in the midst of France.

On other topics he conversed calmly and dispassionately, as one who had nothing to gain or to lose by the construction which might be put upon the opinions and sentiments he expressed. He took upon himself the responsibility of many measures which had been condemned, and the burden of which his flatterers had sought to shift to other shoulders; and concerning several allegations of atrocity which had been made against him by his enemies, he gave manly and rational explanations. In a conversation with Lord Ebrington towards the end of the year, Napoleon stated that, although he had caused the apprehension of the Duke d'Enghien, whom he believed to be at the head of a conspiracy to assassinate him, he should have granted that Prince, whom he knew to be "a young man of courage and worth," an interview, according to his own request, but for Talleyrand, who dissuaded him, saying, "Do not commit yourself with a Bourbon; you know not to what it may lead. The wine is drawn, it must be drunk." The Duke, he said, was not executed, as had been represented, by torch-light, but at about eight o'clock in the morning—the usual hour. The report of the execution, and the sentence upon which it was founded, were immediately afterwards published by authority, and sent to every town in France. Concerning the conspiracy of Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges Cadoudal, the Emperor said that a dialogue, held between the principals on the Boulevards of Paris, and overheard and reported to the Government, had been sufficient to justify the execution of all concerned. It was settled that Georges should assassinate Napoleon, and he and his two great accomplices were to have shared the consulate among them. Moreau, when arrested, continued to protest his innocence, until reminded of the tenor of this conversation, when he fainted.

"I have read," said Napoleon, "most of the pamphlets published in France since my abdication. In them I am called a traitor—a coward: but it is truth only that can wound. The French people know well that I am neither poltroon nor traitor. . . I should never have consented to make peace by relinquishing Belgium, which the nation has been taught to consider as an integral part of the Empire,

VISITORS.

and will never quietly submit to be stripped of. . . I believe you thought in England that I was the devil; but now that you have seen France and seen me, you will probably allow that you have, in some respects, been deceived." Speaking of Murat, while deploring the want of mental steadiness and energy of that officer, he gave him full credit for his undaunted bravery in the field, and his worth as a leader of cavalry; summing his character briefly and expressively by the phrase, "Il est un magnifique Lazzarone."

Besides large companies of travellers, crowds of merchants, artisans, and others were continually resorting to Elba; and the harbour of Porto-Ferraio was filled with vessels from all nations, bringing provisions and luxuries, as to a general mart. The place is said, indeed, to have merited its new name of Cosmopoli, by the variety of its population. "It was," says Scott, "like a great barrack filled with military, gens-d'armes, refugees of all descriptions, expectants, dependants, domestics, and adventurers." Nobles and ladies were also there in abundance, with statesmen, artists, warriors, and wealthy citizens, attracted by sympathy, by the hope of profit, or by mere curiosity, to behold the "Conqueror and Captive of the Earth." Never was Elba so busy or so prosperous as during the abode among its sea-beaten rocks of "the Emperor;" never did its ships traverse seas infested with Moorish pirates with so much impunity as while they were protected by the golden bees of Napoleon.

As the summer advanced, the Emperor began to experience a want to which he had long been a stranger—that of means to carry forward the various improvements which he had planned and commenced. The money he had brought from France was exhausted; his Elbese revenue was not more than sufficient for the ordinary government and protection of the island; and no part of the annuity settled on him by the treaty of Fontainebleau had been paid. He was compelled, therefore, to diminish the allowances made to his retinue; to reduce the wages of the native miners; to sell part of the provisions laid up for his Guard; as also a train of brass artillery, and a large house which had been used for a barrack. Finally, he felt it necessary to call for prompt payment of all arrears of contribution due from the inhabitants; who, however, were excused upon their representation, that a want of sale for their wine and other

DISQUIETUDE.

produce had already reduced them to considerable straits. Soldiers were then quartered among them on easy terms, in lieu of their making payments to the treasury in cash. These obstacles proved insurmountable; and the Emperor, abandoning the alterations which he had begun, withdrew to the privacy of his palace, to brood over what even his enemies have admitted to have been wrongs inflicted on his proud and energetic spirit.

Sir Walter Scott has severely reprobated "the unfair and unworthy conduct of the French Ministry" respecting the non-fulfilment of the conditions upon which Louis XVIII. was established on his throne. "The annual provision," he says, "was as the price of the Emperor's resignation, and the French Ministers could not refuse payment without gross injustice to Napoleon, and, at the same time, a decided insult to the Allied Powers. Nevertheless, far from this pension being paid with regularity, there is no evidence that Napoleon ever received a single remittance on account of it." Sir Neil Campbell, in October, expressed an opinion that, if this state of things continued, Napoleon would not hesitate "to pass over to Piombino with his troops, or commit some other extravagance;" and Lord Castlereagh strongly remonstrated with the French Government on the subject; but he was answered that the annuity was not due until a year had elapsed; although, being a pension for support, reason and justice required that it should have been paid in advance. "The subject was mentioned again and again by Sir Neil Campbell; but it does not appear that the French Administration desisted from a course which, whether arising from a spirit of mean revenge or from avarice, or from being itself embarrassed, was at once dishonourable and impolitic."

In addition to poverty, Napoleon now began to have other causes of anxiety. He was threatened by the Algerine pirates, against whom he solicited the interference of England. He believed that Brulart, a person who, while residing at London as an emigrant Chouan, had written a letter threatening to put the Emperor to death with his own hand, had been appointed governor of the neighbouring island of Corsica, for the purpose of procuring the completion of his old threat; and, finally, he was informed, (it has been said by Prince Eugene Beauharnais, who being at Vienna and in constant

PROJECT OF THE ALLIES.

communication with his father-in-law, the King of Bavaria, a Member of the Congress, must have had opportunities to obtain correct information on the subject,) that the Allied Powers were discussing a project to dispense with the treaty of Fontainebleau, and to remove him from Elba to St. Helena or St. Lucie. "It is not impossible," says Sir Walter Scott, "that these fears were not altogether feigned; for although there is not an iota of evidence to shew that there was reason for believing the Allies entertained such an unworthy thought, yet the report was spread very generally through France, Italy, and the Mediterranean." It should be added, that there is the best evidence to prove that the English Cabinet was dissatisfied with the place of Napoleon's banishment. In a despatch to Lord Bathurst, concerning the treaty of Fontainebleau, dated 15th April, 1814, Lord Castlereagh says, "I should have wished to substitute another position in lieu of Elba, for the seat of Napoleon's retirement; but none having the quality of security, on which he insisted, seemed disposable to which equal objections did not occur; and I did not feel that I could encourage the alternative which M. de Caulaincourt assured me Bonaparte repeatedly mentioned, namely an asylum in England." It is also certain that, during the year 1814, the British Government entered into negotiations with the East India Company for the cession to the crown of the Island of St. Helena, which it is unreasonable to suppose would have been sought to be purchased without an adequate object. Although, therefore, it may be difficult to conceive that a British statesman, the representative of the most liberal nation in Europe, would have sullied his name and nation by a deliberate act of perfidy, yet it must be admitted, that Napoleon had sufficient grounds for believing in the existence of a design to kidnap and transport him; a belief which there can be little doubt had great influence in prompting his resolution to return to France. Napoleon, with what justice cannot be ascertained, charged the Duke of Wellington, who had seen the island on his voyage to and from India, with having suggested the place of his final captivity. This accusation he reiterated in a codicil to his last will.

Upon his withdrawal from the constant gaze of the public, it became difficult for those appointed to watch Napoleon to obtain the necessary information for their reports. "The situation of

LOUIS XVIII.

Sir Neil Campbell," says Sir Walter Scott, who wrote with the papers of that officer before him, "was now very embarrassing. He was not only excluded from the presence of the Emperor, but obstacles were thrown in the way of his visiting Madame Mère and the Princess Pauline, who had fixed their abode on the island." It was, therefore, only from interviews with Napoleon himself that he could hope to gain intelligence; and, to procure these, he was compelled to make short excursions to the neighbouring coast of Italy, in order that he might have an excuse for desiring an audience on going away and returning. Sir Neil began to suspect that all was not right. He observed that discharges and furloughs were granted to a number of the Old Guard, whose places were supplied by volunteers from France and Italy. Mysterious personages, whose business was unknown, were continually arriving at and quitting the Island—even Greek mariners and secularized monks were in request, and received more countenance at Porto-Ferrajo than the English "resident." It was eventually rumoured, that three deputations had been sent from France to Napoleon, and that a design had certainly been formed to transfer the Imperial Court once more to the Continent. Sir Neil Campbell was perplexed; but he had neither authority nor power to act; and before the British Government could receive information of what was said to be meditated, the catastrophe had arrived.

In the meantime, the administration of the Bourbons was such as to facilitate, if it did not prompt, the subsequent proceedings of the Emperor. The reign of Louis XVIII. had scarcely commenced, ere the "red corps" of privileged household troops, which had been abolished by the last King previously to the Revolution, was re-established. A ministry, composed chiefly of returned emigrants, was substituted for that appointed by the Provisional Government. The throne was constantly surrounded by crowds of courtiers soliciting rewards for a loyalty which the body of the people could not fail to regard as treason. The Legion of Honour, the register of which had hitherto been filled with the most celebrated names in Europe, was degraded by the introduction of the most despicable adherents of the Bourbons, and in such numbers, that the cross of the Order soon ceased to be a distinction. "The smallest sprig of the most

ROYAL CHARTER.

petty branch of ancient gentility was metamorphosed into my Lord Marquis, M. Count, or Colonel at the least. The emigrants had neither learned nor unlearned anything, but retained all their former arrogance, prejudices, and predilections. Pretending to know everything, they utterly disregarded representations made to them concerning the wishes and necessities of France, calling those who tendered them advice intriguers, alarmists, Bonapartists, grumblers."

The friends of the Bourbons looked on the people, indeed, in the same light as they had regarded them throughout the Revolution—as enemies, over whom having finally triumphed, they were compelled to keep in subjection by force rather than affection. In order that no doubt might be suffered to exist on this important point, Louis refused to confirm the Constitutional Act of the Senate by which he had been called to the throne, because certain conditions deemed necessary for the security of the nation had been annexed to it. He professed to have acquired the crown by hereditary right, and to have reigned since the decapitation of his brother in 1793,—thus unhesitatingly setting at nought the promise which had been made in his name by the Count d'Artois, on entering Paris, that the Constitution should be recognised.

In order, however, to save appearances, a Royal Charter was granted in lieu of the Constitution, which, as an act of sovereign pleasure instead of national compact, might be withdrawn when danger should no longer threaten. The new legislature consisted of a Chamber of Peers and a Chamber of Deputies, as substitutes for the Conservative and Legislative Senate—a change which would scarcely have drawn forth a remark, had it not afforded an opportunity for the resumption of the estates appropriated by Napoleon to support the suppressed bodies, and which Louis hastened to divide among the returned emigrants. The Catholic religion was declared to be that of the State, and, as far as it was possible, the revenues and obsolete ceremonies and observances of the papal ritual were restored. Stage players were again declared excommunicate, and Christian burial refused to their relics.

Among other indications of the temper and spirit which the Royal Family had brought back with them, were the pompous removal of the bones of Louis XVI. and his Queen to St. Denis; an injudicious

BOURBON MISRULE.

exhibition of hatred against the actors in the Revolution, of strong remembrance of its excesses, and of reverence for what the multitude in their wrath had swept away. Almost every act went to prove that the Bourbons and their immediate partisans regarded the French in general as little better than subdued rebels; and the emigrants, the Vendéans and Chouans,—men who had been constantly engaged in dark conspiracies against the Chiefs of the Republic and the Empire, and in the service of foreign enemies,—as the only willing and faithful subjects of the King.

It was soon whispered among those whose position enabled them to penetrate the intrigues of the Court, that as there had been no legitimate government in the country since 1793, it was in contemplation to annul the illegal grants and sales of church lands—a step which the clergy were not slow to accredit, by refusing to grant absolution to such as were in possession of estates which had formerly been devoted to ecclesiastical institutions, and by their fulminating denunciations and excommunications against all who refused restitution or compensation. The divine right to tithes was next agitated; and, shortly afterwards, claims were openly set up to treat the interval which had elapsed since the session of the first constituent assembly, as the period of a baneful dream, the effects of which required but an effort wholly to shake off. To such lengths was the imprudence of the Royalists carried, that M. Ferrand, the Postmaster-General, ventured to bring forward in the Chamber of Deputies a motion for the restoration of all such estates of the emigrants as remained unsold, and to provide for liquidating the claims of others from the public purse. This attempt called forth a popular advocate, M. Durbach, who indignantly repelled the arguments of the Minister. “Already,” he exclaimed, “the kingdom resounds from end to end with the words of M. Ferrand, as with the muttering which precedes the thunder-clap. Their effect has been so rapid and so extensive as to suspend business; and the proprietors of what was once national property can no longer sell nor mortgage their estates. They find themselves suddenly reduced to poverty in the midst of wealth; being told, from the foot of the throne, that their possessions no longer belong to them, and that the law recognises in the emigrants an inalienable right to the property of their ancestors.” The lands were

BOURBON MISRULE.

consequently badly cultivated, speculation and improvements ceased, and multitudes of persons employed in agriculture, in building, and in various works connected with the proprietary of land, were forthwith discharged to swell the number of those who had cause to hate the rule of the Bourbons.

The former officers of the army, meanwhile, were displaced to make room for old men past the age of service, or young ones who had never known more of it than they had learned in the places of refuge perseveringly kept by their unwarlike master. Superannuated strategists, whose notions of war were acquired in the days when a single battle was sufficient for a twelvemonth's campaign, and when generals regulated their operations by the barometer, with young noblemen, of whom the fop described by Hotspur was by no means an exaggerated type, were placed over the veterans of Napoleon, whose lives had been passed in the camp, and the rank and file among whom could have taught their Royalist commanders the military arts, of which the latter were ignorant. The pensions of decayed soldiers were withheld, and all places of profit were bestowed on the creatures of the Restoration. The freedom of the press had been guaranteed by the Charter: this was speedily abrogated for a censorship, as strict as had ever existed under Napoleon, though without the same reasonable plea for preventing the diffusion of political information, which must be allowed to have operated in favour of the Imperial administration. The consolidated taxes — the promised abolition of which had been one of the strongest allurements of Bourbonism — were re-established in all their oppressive rigour, notwithstanding the return of peace; and though the conscription, being no longer necessary, was not revived, the people found that their condition, instead of being improved, was materially injured by the change, which so many had hailed with enthusiasm as the dawning of plenty and ease.

The popular discontent began first to manifest itself in songs and political *jeux d'esprits*, in which neither the person nor the habits of Louis XVIII. were spared. A caricature, which was extensively circulated, represented an eagle flying from the Tuileries, and a herd of unwieldy swine entering the gates. The King, in allusion to his reputed gluttony and grossness, was commonly called Louis *Cochon*,

REMONSTRANCES.

or Louis *des hultres*, instead of Louis *dix-huit*. When pleasantry was exhausted, graver methods of remonstrance were resorted to. The mayor of Durnac, having been insulted by the feudal seigneur of the parish, petitioned the Chamber of Deputies for redress, and took occasion to complain of the whole body of emigrants as evincing a desire to take precedence of all constituted civil authorities, and to treat France as their private property, by right of conquest. This failing, the good old Carnot came forward with a serious warning to the reigning family on the errors they were daily committing. In a memorial, drawn up by this able statesman, and published in December, 1814, the emigrant nobility are pourtrayed in strong colours, as little better than idiots, who, in the vain attempt to govern France, were hurrying her to ruin. The death of Louis XVI. was said, in this pamphlet, to have been precipitated not more by the violence of his persecutors than by the pusillanimity of his nobles, who, having provoked the resentment of the people, had sought their personal safety in disgraceful flight, leaving the King unsupported to fight their battle. The growing assumption of the clergy was complained of, and their conduct in fomenting animosities and preaching intolerant doctrines deprecated. Louis himself did not escape censure. He was charged with ingratitude to the nation in annulling the Constitution, in claiming to be King by the Grace of God, and in preferring Chouans, Vendéans, Englishmen, and even Cossacks, to those who for years had been faithful to the interests of France. The Ministry instituted a prosecution against this work; but as the *Cour d'Instruction* ignored the bill of indictment, the philippic acquired tenfold popularity and influence.

The troops had all along been regarded with distrust as inflexible Imperialists; and the measures adopted with them had tended to alienate rather than conciliate them. The marshals were in a few instances won by flattery, by high rewards and honours; but the subaltern officers and the common soldiers saw the avenues to promotion closed against them with no friendly eye; and when they looked upon the colours which floated over them, and heard the tunes to which they were required to march, they remembered that everything had been changed since the days of Lodi, of Arcola, Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, and the Moskwa. The glory of France had risen

UNION OF PARTIES.

and set with Napoleon. The Bourbons had been thrust upon them by foreigners, and the reign of Louis had only commenced when Paris had surrendered to banded conquerors. Their murmurs rose louder and more frequent as their ranks were augmented by the return of the numerous prisoners — upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand, it is said — who had been detained from the scene of recent conflict; and who, as they came to see the distracted state of the country and the prostration of its energies, exclaimed, with bitter feelings, “These things could not have occurred had we been present. Had not the Emperor been betrayed at home, no foreign enemy could have triumphed over him.”

The people now began generally to make unfavourable comparisons between Napoleon and the “legitimate dynasty.” Occasional paragraphs found their way into the papers—watched as they were—as to what was doing in Elba; and the activity of the Exile was eagerly contrasted with the supine imbecility of the King. The conclusion of discussions on the subject could not fail to be, that Napoleon excelled as greatly in the arts of peace as of war, and that nothing but his directing genius was needed to render France even yet the envy of the world.

All parties in the State, excepting that which still retained its invidious name of Emigrant, were dissatisfied. The Constitutionals, the Republicans, and the Imperialists, united in speaking of change as not only desirable but imperatively required; and a brief space sufficed to prove that Napoleon alone would be likely to steer successfully through the tempest that must inevitably ensue. It is believed that overtures were made to the Emperor early in the autumn of 1814; and that ere the winter set in he had favourably replied to the solicitations of those who implored him to resume his crown, and save the country once more from anarchy. Be that as it may, however, there is no doubt that an extensive intrigue was set on foot with the object of preparing the public mind for some great explosion in favour of the Exile of Elba. His health was publicly drank under the names of Corporal Violet and Jean de l'Epée; a violet was worn as the symbol of fraternity by the commingled parties who now consented to sink all other distinctive appellations in that of Patriots; and an active correspondence was

GENERAL DISCONTENT.

established among those who felt that the Bourbons were unfit to govern France.

An approaching crisis was foreseen by a few Royalists, and they endeavoured, but in vain, to warn Louis and his Ministers of their precarious situation. The Count de Blacas, being at the head of affairs, knew everything instinctively, and looked upon all who tendered him counsel as impertinent meddlers. So far was this self-sufficiency carried, that it is said letters of comparatively remote date, containing accurate information of the schemes in agitation, were found in the bureau of the Premier unopened after that functionary had fled from Paris. Such was Bourbon misrule in 1814. It would have been treason towards themselves for a people, who had witnessed the energy and partaken the glory of Napoleon's reign, to have tamely submitted to such degrading subjection. Thus it appears that there was no other conspiracy on foot for the restoration of the Emperor, than that naturally produced by disgust and despair on the one hand, and of hope on the other. "An universal sentiment of discontent," said Napoleon, at an after period, "pervaded France, and I was her resource. The evil and its remedy were understood. This was the whole secret of the electric movement by which my return was hailed. I was regarded as the Liberator of the Nation."

Napoleon, in his island prison, anxiously watched the portentous signs of the times. The newspapers were read by him with avidity; and every new comer to his little Court was earnestly questioned as to the state and general feeling of the French people. He spoke frequently of the rumoured project to kidnap himself; condemned the unwise policy of the Bourbons in refusing to recognise the sovereignty of Murat, who, for his valuable services to the Allies, had received assurance of the throne of Naples; and expressed extreme bitterness at the humiliation of his beloved France. While supposed to have been engaged in writing the history of his former wars, there is little doubt that he was engaged in making preparations for new ones; since, when the moment for action arrived, everything was in readiness, as if by enchantment, for his departure. Drouot and Bertrand are said to have been the Emperor's sole confidants on the occasion; the officers and guards who were to accompany him knew nothing of what was contemplated till the day of their embarkation.

PLAN OF OPERATION.

The plan and object which Napoleon had laid down previously to quitting Elba, have been detailed — with what degree of accuracy, however, it is impossible to say — as follows: — Some of the marshals and generals most devoted to his interest, were to be at once despatched to the frontier to defend the entrances to France. Davoust was to hold Paris, as he had held Hamburg: Murat was to march upon Milan, arming Italy in his progress: the corps of Suchet, Brune, Grouchy, and Massena, were to cross the Alps, restore Piedmont to the Empire, advance and proclaim the independence of Italy under a single Chief, and, uniting, to march through the Julian Alps upon Vienna. Poland and Hungary were to be re-awakened, by a call to freedom; and Germany was to be conciliated by the abolition of feudal tenures and of vassalage. "The realization of this vast conception, which comprised the essence of all he had ever aspired to accomplish, would have been," says one of his foes, "a solemn, though a strange spectacle. The design embraced the consummation of all the great enterprises he had meditated, from the first of his fields to the last moment of his Imperial power. The object alone was changed from universal empire to universal liberty. The line of

EMBARKATION.

operations extended to five hundred leagues from Ostend, by the Swiss and Italian Alps, to Vienna." The precipitation and selfish ambition of Murat,—if, indeed, Murat was privy to the expedition of his old chief, which is exceedingly doubtful,—ruined the whole project. That hair-brained Prince prematurely provoked the resentment of Austria; and his subjects, with their customary cowardice, fled at the very sound of hostile cannon, ere the principal enterprise had well been set on foot. This only as to Murat is certain, that, immediately before quitting Elba, the Emperor wrote kindly to him, stating that, as he was about to resume possession of his throne, he considered all their past differences at an end, and offering to sign a guarantee for his throne as far as France was concerned; at the same time, recommending him to maintain a good understanding with Austria, or should that power seek to invade France, to content himself with holding its army in check.

On Sunday, the 26th of February, 1815, at one in the afternoon, the Emperor reviewed his Guards on the terrace, in front of the castle of Porto-Ferrajo, and then first informed them of his intended departure for France that same day. The most lively enthusiasm and impatience to embark were instantly displayed on all sides; and cries of "Vive l'Empereur! Paris ou la mort!" filled the air. The mother and sister of Napoleon beheld and encouraged the enthusiasm of the soldiers and the populace from the windows of the palace. Immediately afterwards a proclamation was published, announcing to the islanders, that as their Sovereign had resolved on separating from them, to resume, under Providence, the career of his glory, he entrusted the command of the fortifications to the governor, General Lapi, the civil administration to a junta of six citizens, and the defence of the country to the bravery and devotion of the inhabitants, with whose conduct he expressed his perfect contentment.

By four in the afternoon, four hundred men of the Old Guard were embarked in the *Inconstant* brig; and two hundred light infantry, a hundred Polish light horsemen, and a battalion of *flanqueurs*, were distributed among five smaller vessels, which lay in readiness for their reception in the harbour. The Emperor, accompanied by Bertrand and Drouot, went on board the *Inconstant*, at eight in the evening; a discharge of cannon then gave the signal for weighing anchor, and,

LANDING AT CANNES.



in a short time, all sail was crowded for France. The wind, at first favourable, suddenly changed, and the flotilla was driven back, so that at daylight on the 27th, Porto-Ferrajo was still in view, and some of the officers advised a return. Napoleon, rejecting this advice, insisted on keeping at sea, and busied himself in dictating proclamations to the French people and to the army, of which a number of his followers were employed to multiply copies for distribution upon his landing. It was not till about three in the morning of the 1st of March, that the French coast was descried, when, on entering the Gulf of Juan, the troops dismounted the cockade of Elba, which they threw into the sea, and reassumed the *tri-color*, amid shouts of "Vive l'Empereur! Vive la France!"

The disembarkation was effected, without opposition, at the small port of Cannes, near Frejus. Napoleon did not land till towards

ANTIBES.

evening, and he then despatched a company of twenty grenadiers to summon Antibes; they, however, were instantly arrested by the governor of that place, who appears to have been by no means prepared for, or to have understood such a daring invasion. It was proposed by some of the officers to attack the town, and release the soldiers; but the Emperor objected to the waste of time and resources which this would have involved. "The capture of Antibes would be," he said, "but a small step towards the reduction of France, while, in the time it must necessarily occupy, obstacles will be multiplied around us, and a general alarm spread through the country. If half my followers were taken prisoners, I would march with the remainder; and if I were deprived of them all, I would advance alone." Vautier, the war-commissioner, was, nevertheless, sent to Antibes to endeavour to release the grenadiers, by parleying with the garrison; but the Emperor seems to have had little hopes of success, as he strictly cautioned the officer on his departure, "To take care that he also was not made prisoner."

The troops bivouacked that night on the beach, while the Emperor walked forward alone to question the peasantry, and such wayfarers as he could meet with, as to the feelings and disposition of the French people. Among others, he encountered a postilion, who had formerly been in the service of the Empress Josephine, and who assured him that every one regretted his absence, and would be ready when his arrival was known to rally round him. Between one and two o'clock in the morning the moon rose, the reveillée was sounded, the bivouac broke up, and the little army commenced its march upon Grasse; where it was expected to find a good road, which had been commenced under the Empire, but under the Restoration had not been completed. Napoleon was therefore compelled to proceed through defiles, filled with snow, and impracticable for artillery; and was constrained to leave his carriage and two pieces of cannon in the hands of the municipality of Grasse; — a circumstance, which being communicated through the telegraphs, was announced in the bulletins of Paris as a capture by the Bourbonists.

The country-people now began to throng around him to offer their services, present petitions for the renewal of their pensions, for promotion, and for the redress of grievances, as though he

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

had merely come from Paris on a tour through the departments. He continued, however, to press forward with the utmost rapidity. "Victory," he said, "depends on my speed. To me France is in Grenoble, and that place is a hundred leagues distant." On the night of the 2nd, the Emperor slept at Cerenon, having marched twenty leagues since his landing. On the 3rd, his head-quarters were at Barême; on the 4th, after passing through Digne, he halted for the night at Maligeai, where he caused the proclamations written on board the *Inconstant* to be printed and dispersed. These documents were conceived in the spirit of his ancient addresses, and produced a sensation of which it would be in vain to attempt the description. Every one felt that they echoed the feelings of his own heart; and that they were harbingers of deliverance and returning glory to the country.

"Frenchmen!" said the proclamation to the people, "the defection of the Duke of Castiglione delivered Lyons without defence to our enemies. The army entrusted to his command was, by the number of its battalions, the bravery and patriotism of the troops of which it was composed, in a condition to defeat the Austrian corps opposed to it; and to attack the rear of the left flank of the army which threatened Paris. The victories of Champaubert, Montmirail, Château-Thierry, Vauchamp, Mormans, Montereau, Craonne, Rheims, Arcis-sur-Aube, and St. Dizier, the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine, Champagne, Alsace, Franche-Compté, and Burgundy, and the position which I had taken in the rear of the hostile army, by separating it from its magazines, parks of reserve, convoys, and equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the flower of the enemy seemed lost without resource:—it had but the prospect of a tomb in those vast plains which it had so remorselessly ravaged, when the Duke of Ragusa treasonably surrendered the capital, and disorganized the army. This unexpected misconduct of these two generals [Augereau and Marmont], who betrayed at once their country, their Prince, and their benefactor, changed the fate of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such that, at the close of the action which took place before Paris, he was without ammunition, in consequence of being separated from his parks of reserve.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

"In these new and distressing circumstances, my heart was torn, but my mind remained immovable. I consulted only the interest of the country: I exiled myself to a rock in the midst of the sea. My life was yours, and was preserved to be useful to you... Raised to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without you is illegitimate. During twenty-five years, France has acquired new interests, new institutions, a new glory—which can only be guaranteed by a national government, and by a dynasty founded under the new circumstances which have arisen. The Prince thrust upon you, by the arms which have ravaged our territory, has sought to restore the principles of feudal law; to secure the honour and the pretensions of a small fraction of the people's enemies only, who, during twenty-five years, have been condemned in every national assembly. Your domestic tranquillity, and your proper position among surrounding nations, would thus have been lost for ever.

"Frenchmen! In my exile I have heard your complaints and your vows. You reclaimed the government of your choice, which alone is legitimate: you accused my long slumber; you reproached me with sacrificing to my repose the great interests of the country. I have crossed the sea amid perils of every kind, and have arrived amongst you to demand the restoration of my rights, which are also yours. Of what has been done, written, or said by individuals since the capture of Paris, I shall always be ignorant—it will have no influence on the memory which I cherish of the important services they formerly rendered; for events have been of such a nature as to have needed a superhuman direction.

"Frenchmen! There is no nation, however small, which has not the right to withdraw from the dishonour of obeying a Prince imposed by an enemy in the moment of victory. When Charles VII. re-entered Paris and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry V., he won his sceptre by the valour of his followers, and held it not by permission of a Prince Regent of England."

The proclamation to the army was still more animated and exciting. "Soldiers!" it said, "we have not been vanquished. Two men, sprung from our ranks, betrayed our laurels, their country, their Prince, their benefactor. Those whom we have seen for twenty-five years traversing all Europe to raise enemies against us, who have

ADDRESS TO THE ARMY.

passed their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, and in venting execrations on our beautiful France;—shall they who have been unable to sustain our looks, pretend to command or enchain our eagles? Shall we suffer them to inherit the fruits of our glorious toils; to rob us of our honours, our fortunes, and to calumniate our glory? If their reign were to continue all would be lost; even the memory of our immortal achievements! With what fury do they misrepresent our actions! They seek to tarnish what the world admires; and if there still remain defenders of our glory, they are to be found among the very enemies whom we have defeated on the field of battle.

“Soldiers! In my exile, I have heard your voice. I have returned in spite of all obstacles and dangers. Your General, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and raised on your shields, is restored to you. Come and join him. Cast down those colours which the Nation has proscribed, and which, during twenty-five years, served as a rallying point to all the enemies of France. Mount again the *tri-color*: you wore it in the days of our greatness! It is our duty to forget that we have been the masters of nations; but we ought to suffer no foreign interference in our affairs. Who can pretend to be our masters? Who has power to become so? Resume those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmuhl, at Esaling, at Wagram, at Smolensk, at the Moskwa, at Lutzen, at Wurtchen, at Montmirail! Think you that the handful of French, at present so arrogant, will have courage to meet our looks? Let them return whence they came; and there, if they will, they may reign as they pretend to have reigned for nineteen years.

“Your fortunes, your honours, your glory—the fortunes, honours, and glory of your children, have no greater foes than the Princes imposed on you by foreigners. They are the enemies of our glory; since the recital of the heroic deeds by which the French name has been rendered illustrious, performed in order to escape from tyrannic misrule, is their condemnation. The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, and of the Grand Army, are humiliated. Their honourable scars are disgraced. Their successes would be crimes, the brave would be rebels,

GENERAL ENTHUSIASM.

if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the legitimate sovereigns were always in the midst of the foreign armies. Honours, recompenses, and favours are reserved for those who have served against the country and against us.

"Soldiers! Come and range yourselves under the banners of your Chief. His existence is identified with yours; his rights are yours and those of the people; his interest, his honour, his glory, are your interest, honour, and glory. Victory shall march at the charging step; the eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple till it alights on the towers of Nôtre Dame. Then you will be able to shew your scars with honour; then may you boast of what you have done: you will be the liberators of the country. In your old age, surrounded and honoured by your fellow-citizens, they will listen with respect, while you recount your high deeds; while you exclaim, with pride, 'And I also was one of that Grand Army, which twice entered within the walls of Vienna, within those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Lisbon, of Moscow; and which delivered Paris from the stain imprinted on it by treason and the presence of the enemy.' Honour to those brave soldiers—the glory of their country! and eternal infamy to the French criminals, in whatever rank they were born, who for twenty-five years fought beside foreigners, tearing open the bosom of their country!"

The effect of these documents was instantaneous. "They announced to new France," says M. Laurent, "that its glorious interpreter had returned, and that the democracy had refound its representative and its hero." The enthusiasm of the army and of the people was at once rekindled, and they speedily came forth to welcome and support him who had been torn from them only by violence.

On the 5th of March, the Emperor reached Gap; where he was received with the same demonstrations of joy as at Maligeai. Everywhere, indeed, the population hailed their exiled champion as one restored from the dead to ransom the nation from slavery, and raise it from despair to the full accomplishment of its hopes and wishes. Next morning, the troops resumed their march towards Paris, followed on the road for miles with loud acclamations. At St. Bonnet, the inhabitants proposed to sound the tocsin, and raise a levy *en masse*, in order to reinforce the feeble escort of their Sovereign, which they

THE TROOPS.

believed to be insufficient to conduct him safely to Paris, through the midst of so many troops and garrisons as must be passed on the route, and which were now hourly receiving accessions, especially of such soldiers and officers as the Bourbons imagined they could rely upon. The Emperor, however, declined the service tendered him. "Your sentiments," he said, "convince me that I have not been deceived: they are to me a certain guarantee of the inclinations of my soldiers. Those whom I meet will range themselves by my side; the more numerous they may be the more will my success be assured. Rest tranquil, therefore, in your homes."

On the 6th, Napoleon slept at Corps; and on the following morning, at a short distance from the town, he met the first troops of the line he had seen since his landing. It was a battalion of the 5th regiment, which had been detached, by General Marchand, to arrest the passage of the invaders. The hostile Colonel had refused to parley with Cambrone, who commanded the Imperial advanced-guard of forty grenadiers, and a halt was made till Napoleon came up. The Emperor immediately dismounted, and advanced alone, followed at some distance by about a hundred grenadiers, with their arms reversed. He threw open his old familiar grey great-coat, to display on his breast the star of the Legion of Honour; and exclaimed, "What, my friends, have you forgotten me? I am your Emperor! If there is a soldier among you who would kill his general, his Emperor, let him do it now. I am here!" The Colonel, a staunch Royalist, is said at these words to have ordered the men to fire; but his voice was drowned in an universal burst of "Vive l'Empereur!" which was echoed by the Old Guards behind, and re-echoed by the peasantry on the neighbouring hills, till it formed a volume of continuous sound, like the roar of a mighty cataract. In a few moments, the soldiers of Elba and those of the 5th were mingled together, embracing as comrades long separated by misfortune, and now brought together in joy. Amidst the confusion, the Royalist officer had disappeared; and, although followed by a few Polish lancers, he was enabled by the speed of his horse to escape. When the transports of the troops were somewhat moderated, the Emperor, taking by the whisker a veteran whose arm was covered with *chevrons*, asked "if he could have had the heart to kill the Little Corporal." The old man's eyes filled with tears.

ENTHUSIASM.

"Judge," he said, ringing the ramrod in the barrel of his musket, to shew that the piece was uncharged, "whether I could have done thee much harm. All the rest are the same." The word was then given to form, and Napoleon, with his old and new followers, resumed their triumphal march, accompanied by a crowd, which increased every moment, thronging the roads and treading on the heels of the military, urging them to hasten their progress, and assuring them of the success of their enterprise.

In one of the valleys through which the little army passed, an affecting spectacle was presented. Several *communes*, with their mayors and curates, were assembled to welcome the Emperor. From the midst of the vast concourse, a tall, fine-looking young man, advanced to throw himself at Napoleon's feet, with tears glistening in his eyes, and supporting in his arms an old man of ninety years of age. It was a grenadier of the Guard, who had disappeared immediately after Napoleon landed, and whose absence had excited suspicion of his fidelity. The old man was his father, of whom he had gone in quest, in order to present him to the Emperor. A picture of this scene was subsequently ordered to be painted for the Tuileries.

LABÉDOYÈRE.

Arrived at Vizille, the enthusiasm of the populace exceeded all bounds. "It was here," exclaimed the orators of the moment, "that the Revolution was born. Here our fathers first reclaimed the privileges of freemen. It is still here that French liberty shall be revived, and that France shall recover her honour and independence." Napoleon, while passing the *Château de Dauphins*, where, in 1788, the first patriotic assembly was held, could not restrain the emotions which the remembrance, joined with the passing scene, and the critical situation in which he himself was placed, called forth. "Yes," he exclaimed with solemnity, "that, indeed, is the outlet of the French Revolution." He went slowly onward through the dense crowd, rapt in deep meditation. A new revolution had arisen; the democracy had reasserted its rights, and placed the shield of freedom on the arm of him who had been too long the hope and the refuge of absolutism.

Suddenly an officer of the 7th regiment of the line, having made his way through the moving mass, informed the Emperor that his colonel had sent him forward to announce the approach of a reinforcement. The usual calmness of Napoleon for a moment forsook him. His previously pale cheek became flushed, and a smile of gaiety played on his lips and in his eyes. His doubts were banished, and he hastened forward to salute the new volunteers. They consisted of the regiment of the brave Labédoyère—a young, handsome, and gallant nobleman, who had been sent by Louis XVIII. to oppose the march of his ancient chief. He had quitted Grenoble, which was but a few miles distant, at three in the afternoon; and at a few hundred paces from the city he had commanded a halt and the drums to cease beating, when an eagle, which had been carefully preserved, was produced and exhibited to the men. Labédoyère then exclaimed: "Behold the glorious ensign which guided you in our immortal campaigns! He who so often conducted us to victory, is advancing to avenge and reverse our humiliation. It is time to resume his flag, which should never have ceased to be ours. Let those who love me follow me. Vive l'Empereur!" In an instant, the cry was universal. Every man tore from his hat and trampled in the dust the white cockade, mounting in its stead the *tri-color*; a supply of which, having been concealed in a drum, was forthwith

GRENOBLE.

distributed, amid the shouts of the soldiers and of the country-people, who gathered round to witness the exhilarating spectacle. The Bourbonist marshal, De Camp des Villiers, arrived at this moment, and began to expostulate with Labédoyère, but seeing the spirit of the men, he was glad to be permitted to retire without injury. The regiment had scarcely been again put in motion, ere Napoleon appeared on the road at the head of his devoted followers. The two columns simultaneously rushed forward and intermingled, embracing each with affection, and shouting, "Vive la Garde! Vive le Septième! Vive l'Empereur!" Labédoyère, pressing through the crowd, made his way to the Emperor, who took him in his arms, and exclaimed, "Colonel, you have replaced me on my throne!"

The inhabitants of Grenoble now began to pour forth to pay their respects to their returned Sovereign; and General Marchand, who commanded the garrison of the city, had some difficulty to induce the soldiers to raise the drawbridge and close the gates. But though the influence of discipline prevailed for a moment, it had no power to restrain the men from expressing their feelings in loud cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" when, in the dusk of evening, it was ascertained that Napoleon was beneath the walls. The commandant was enraged at the strange conduct of his troops. He gave orders to man the walls, and fire upon Napoleon and "the rebels;" and he was so far obeyed that the garrison went through the preparatory evolutions, and the multitude without the city, believing the artillery intended hostilities, sought for safety behind the houses in the vicinity. The Emperor, undismayed, advanced alone to the drawbridge, and stood for some time without the least sign of discomposure in front of the batteries. Labédoyère then ascended a rising ground, and addressed the cannoniers. "Soldiers," he said, "we have brought back to you the hero whom you were accustomed to follow to victory. It is for you to receive him, and to repeat with us the ancient rallying cry of the conquerors of Europe. Vive l'Empereur!" The acclamations of the gunners at once removed all doubt as to their intentions; but they could not be prevailed on to lower the bridge or open the gates, without orders from their officers. It was eventually found necessary to force an entrance at the gate of Bonne by means of a couple of howitzers, when, as if by enchantment, the spell was dissolved, and

GRENOBLE.

the garrison, rushing from their ranks, surrounded the Emperor and bore him on their shoulders to the principal inn of the place, accompanied by the tumultuous applause of the entire population.

It was found necessary at Grenoble to reprint the proclamations which had been written during the voyage from Elba, as the people were eager in their enquiries as to the intentions of the Emperor, and had been filled with alarm at reports circulated by the Royalists that he came supported by foreign soldiers—Neapolitans, Austrians, and even Turks. He halted in the city for two days, during which he received formal visits from the Municipality, the Members of the University, and the Clergy; and passed in review the troops, amounting now to three or four thousand, and the National Guard. At this review, he said to the artillerymen: "It was among you that I was first engaged in warfare. I esteem you all as ancient

THE BOURBONS.

comrades. I have followed you on the field of battle, and have always been satisfied with you; but I hope that we shall have no need of your cannon."

On the 9th of March, the Emperor resumed his journey towards Lyons, at the gates of which he arrived on the 10th without opposition. Until they received news of Napoleon's arrival at this place, the Bourbons appear to have been undecided as to the course they should pursue. Their first step on hearing of his landing had been to send for Marmont, to consult with him as to the disposition of the troops; their next, to despatch Marshal Macdonald, the Count d'Artois, and the Duke of Orleans, to Lyons, to take the command of the force there; and, at the same time, to send the Duke d'Angoulême to Marseilles, to organize the Provençals, and cut off Napoleon's retreat. In order to ensure the fidelity of the soldiers in Paris and the neighbourhood, gratuities of money were profusely distributed among them; but their general cry over the drink which this procured was, "Louis XVIII. may be a good enough sort of fellow; but huzza for the Little Corporal!" Next, orders were given to the Minister of Police, De Bourrienne, to make a number of arrests, among others of Davoust and Fouché; but the ex-secretary appears to have been too much bewildered to accomplish this or any other purpose except that of speedy flight. Soult was superseded in his post as Minister of War by Clarke. A camp was ordered to be formed at Melun, and every Royalist officer was ordered thither to make a stand against the approaching enemy. It was soon seen, however, that the Bourbons had no place in the affections of the French army or of the people. The Count d'Artois exerted all his eloquence, and made large promises both to the soldiery and the inhabitants of Lyons, in order to retain them in their allegiance to the King; but he was answered from all sides with deafening shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" He endeavoured to cajole the veterans. To one, covered with scars and decorated with medals, he said, "A brave old soldier like you, will surely cry 'Vive le Roi!'"—"Nay," replied the sturdy warrior, "no one here will fight against his father. Vive l'Empereur!" The Count, with the Duke of Orleans, and Macdonald, upon this, fled from the city, accompanied by a single dragoon of the Guard of

DECREES OF LYONS.

Gentlemen, which had been embodied for their personal protection. To this dragoon, the Emperor subsequently sent the cross of the Legion of Honour for his loyalty, while his comrades, when they came to tender their services to the now triumphant Prince, were dismissed with contempt. "Your conduct towards the Count d'Artois," said Napoleon, "sufficiently proves how you would act by me were fortune to forsake me."

Napoleon halted for four days at Lyons, whence he issued several decrees for annulling all the official acts of the Bourbons. By these the discarded judges and magistrates were restored to their posts. The emigrant officers of the army were discharged. The orders of the Holy Ghost, of St. Louis, and St. Michael were suppressed; the tricoloured flag and cockade were substituted for the white; and it was directed that the eagle should be resumed by the army. The Swiss Guard and the Royal household troops were ordered to be disbanded. The effects of the Royal Family, and of the returned emigrants, were declared to be sequestered. Feudal claims and the titles of the ancient nobility were suppressed, and the purchasers of national domains were confirmed in their possessions. The Legion of Honour was restored to the dignity it had possessed prior to the treaty of Fontainebleau, while its revenues were increased with the addition of the funds appropriated by the King to the royalist orders. The two Chambers established by the Royal charter were dissolved, and the electoral Colleges throughout the empire were directed to meet and elect representatives for the purpose of holding an extraordinary assembly, after the manner of the ancient Franks, to be called the *Champ-de-Mai*, for the purpose of revising the Imperial Constitutions. At the same time Cambacérès was appointed Minister of Justice, Fouché of Police, and Davoust of War. The publication of these decrees gave general satisfaction. The people saw in them, and in the proclamations which had preceded them, that the Emperor's political views had been enlarged by adversity, and that he now looked for support from the mass rather than the mere privileged orders, many members of which had not hesitated to betray both him and their country. "He had returned," it was fondly said, "cured of his restless ambition, to govern, not as a military dictator, but as the first citizen of a nation which he had resolved to make the freest

NAPOLEON OUTLAWED.

of the free. That his restoration would consecrate the principles of liberty and equality, and that his unrivalled talents, instead of being engaged in foreign war, would henceforth be devoted to securing the domestic welfare of peaceful France."

It was not until these decrees had reached Paris, and been extensively circulated through the agency of the Imperialists, that the Bourbons would consent to any revelation of facts concerning the progress of the Emperor by the newspapers. A Royal ordonnance, indeed, had been promulgated, on the 6th, in which a price was set upon the head of Napoleon, and he was denounced as an *outlaw*, and his abettors as *rebels*; but next day, in order to dissipate all alarm, the *Moniteur* announced that the royal cause was everywhere supported by faithful garrisons and a loyal population, and that the invader was already stripped of most of his followers, and wandering in despair among the hills, where in two or three days he was certain to be made prisoner. Now, however, the return of the Count d'Artois, and the impossibility of longer excluding authentic intelligence, induced the Court to abandon its system of deception, and to prepare, with all the strength at its disposal, to resist the progress of the "miserable adventurer and his band." The Chambers of Peers and Deputies were hastily called together, and Louis and the Princes of his family repaired, on the 16th of March, to the first sitting, to renew their oath of adherence to the Charter, and to make promises of administrative reform. The National Guards and troops of the line were reviewed, and exhorted to be firm and loyal; but it was too late to delude the people, who treated the Royal pageants as subjects for jest and mockery.

A few days before this, application had been made to Ney to serve against his old commander. He had been, for some time, living in perfect quiet at his country-seat, several miles from Paris—taking no part in the intrigues or politics of the period; and when he received orders, from the Minister at War, to join his corps, then stationed at Besançon, he had not even heard of the Emperor's disembarkation in France. He hastened to Paris, to obtain particular information; and there, in an interview with Louis XVIII., is said to have exhibited excessive loyalty and devotion to the Royal cause; and even to have promised to bring back Napoleon to the Tuileries in an iron cage.

NEY.

The Marshal appears to have had no knowledge of the general disaffection of the army, of the Imperial proclamations, or of the disposition of the French people. On taking the command of the troops at Besançon, however, he was at once informed that the soldiers would not fight for the Bourbons; and when he addressed them, he heard nothing but repeated cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" Still, resolute to perform the duty he had undertaken, Ney advanced to meet the invader; but when, at Lons-le-Saulnier, on the 13th of March, he received a letter from Napoleon, summoning him to the side of his old comrade, and reminding him of the brilliant campaigns they had fought together under the tricoloured flag, the Prince of the Moskwa appears to have wavered, and to have required the council of Generals Lecourbe and Bourmont as to his future proceedings. These officers, without hesitation, dissuaded him from attempting to stem a torrent which had already become too powerful for resistance, and he was speedily convinced from other quarters that the cause in which he had embarked was hopeless. The Prefect of L'Ain arrived at his head-quarters in the evening, to inform him that his vanguard, posted at Bourg, had declared for the Emperor; and that the inhabitants of Chalons-sur-Saone had seized his park of artillery. This news seems to have decided Ney. "It is impossible for me," he exclaimed, "to stop the water of the ocean with the palm of my hand!" and next morning an order of the day was published, of which the following were the first sentences. "Soldiers! The cause of the Bourbons is lost for ever. The legitimate dynasty, which has been adopted by the French Nation, is about to reascend the throne. To the Emperor Napoleon, our Sovereign, it alone belongs to reign over our beautiful country." The troops received the order with rapture, and instantly mounted the *tri-color*; but a few of the officers, who had received their commissions since the abdication, quitted their posts and fled to Paris. The Marshal himself does not appear to have been without compunction for the breach of his word to King Louis. He wrote to the Emperor, stating that his recent conduct had been entirely guided by what he believed to be the interests of the country, and soliciting permission to retire from the service. Napoleon answered him by desiring his immediate presence at head-quarters, where he might be assured of

NEY.

such a reception as he had met with on the day after the victory of the Moskwa.

The Emperor quitted Lyons on the 13th, and slept that night at Mâcon. On the 14th, he was at Châlons, the inhabitants of which town he complimented upon the brave resistance they had made against the enemy during the last war. To the Mayor of St. Jean-de-Losne, where the population had displayed a similar patriotic spirit, he sent the cross of the Legion of Honour. On the 15th, the Imperial head-quarters were at Autun; on the 16th, at Avalon; and on the 17th, at Auxerre, where he was joined by the 14th regiment of the line; which, having served in Spain without obtaining rewards proportioned to its services, was now recompensed by a liberal distribution of honours. It was here that Ney, also, came to unite his fortunes once more with those of his old commander. The Marshal was unable to look back, with pleasure, upon what he himself regarded as little better than desertion at Fontainebleau; and his

FONTAINEBLEAU.

first request to Napoleon was, that, if he no longer possessed the confidence of the Emperor, he might be permitted to resume his ancient post among the grenadiers. But Napoleon had forgotten all, save the brilliant courage of his former companion in arms ; and extending to him his hand, he hailed him again as "the bravest of the brave."

The Emperor remained at Auxerre till the morning of the 19th, when he continued his route towards Fontainebleau, where he arrived at four in the morning of the 20th. He had now considerably outstripped his army ; and, with the exception of a few Polish lancers, was without guards or attendants ; but the disposition of the people and of the soldiery rendered all precaution needless. At Montereau, the 6th regiment of light dragoons, without waiting for orders, attacked and drove back the corps of Royal Guards, stationed at the bridge over the Seine, and thus secured the uninterrupted passage of that river. This incident is said to have occasioned the sudden departure of Louis XVIII. and his family from the Tuileries, which was nearly simultaneous with the arrival of the Emperor at Fontainebleau : and, with regard to the disposition of the people—it was said by Napoleon himself at St. Helena, and eye-witnesses of the facts have since confirmed the assertion — that had he consented to the numerous offers made by the peasantry and others on his march, the returned Monarch would have been accompanied to Paris by an escort of at least two millions. The Bourbons, on the 20th, fled with the utmost haste towards Ghent, in Flanders ; and Napoleon, who, on the 20th of April, 1814, just eleven months previously, had quitted Fontainebleau a captive, now left it once more as a triumphant Monarch, returning to take possession of his capital, followed by the acclamations of the whole people.

The road to Paris lay through Melun ; where Macdonald, at the head of the last Bourbon force, awaited the approach of his old Chief. The troops were drawn up in three lines, on an eminence, a short distance from the forest, the glades and alleys of which were full in view. The soldiers had been under arms since day-break, listening patiently to the Bourbonist tunes of 'Vive Henri Quatre,' 'La Belle Gabrielle,' and 'O Richard, O mon Roi.' About noon, a galloping of horse was heard ; and presently afterwards a single open

PARIS.

carriage, followed by a few Polish horsemen, with their lances reversed, emerged, at full speed, from among the trees. The cortège halted for a moment; and one, who was instantly recognised, from his small cocked-hat and grey surtout, alighted from the vehicle, while his attendants dismounted, and rushed forward on foot. A sudden shout of "Vive l'Empereur!" burst from the serried ranks; the soldiers' feelings could no longer be restrained; the white cockade was thrown to the ground; and those who had been hardy enough, up to this moment, to suppose that the influence of Louis could overpower the spell attached to the name and presence of Napoleon, fled in panic. Macdonald, with more calculating consistency than Ney, maintained his adherence to the cause he had newly espoused, but could not be prevailed upon to cross the frontiers with Louis, or assume the character of an enemy of France.

On the evening of the 20th, Napoleon once more entered Paris, escorted by the army of Melun, playing the Imperial march, and greeted everywhere with acclamations by the assembled thousands who filled the streets and public places. He reached the Tuileries about nine o'clock; and was so pressed by the crowd of officers and citizens who came to welcome him, that he was compelled to exclaim, "Gentlemen, you stifle me." A number of his officers then raised him in their arms, and thus bore him in triumph up the great staircase of the palace into the state apartments. The first to salute the Emperor in his new abode was Montalivet, who had served him with zeal and talent during his prosperity, and had remained faithful in adversity. The *tri-color* already waved over the Tuileries, having been placed there, in the morning, by the brave Excelmans. Dinner had been prepared, and was immediately afterwards served; and, in the course of the evening, Queen Hortense, and a great number of the ancient dignitaries of the Empire, attended to congratulate the Sovereign on his return, and to tender him their services. The sacred battalion bivouacked in the Place du Carrousel, and, conjointly with the National Guard, performed duty at the palace. There was little sleep that night in Paris. Events had pursued each other so rapidly, that there appeared no end to novelty in relating them. Every one was overpowered as with a miracle, and none could be satiated with details concerning an adventure which has no parallel in history.

PARIS.

Sir Walter Scott, speaking of this proud moment in the life of the Emperor, has said:—"Never in his most triumphant field of battle had the terrible ascendancy of Napoleon's genius appeared half so predominant as during his march or rather his journey from Cannes to Paris. He reappeared in grandeur, like the returning wave, which, the further it has retreated, is rolled back on the shore with the more terrific and overwhelming violence. His looks seemed to possess the pretended power of northern magicians, and blunted swords and spears."

On the morning of the 21st, all the troops then in Paris were reviewed by the Emperor; and while they were yet passing before him, Cambrone made his appearance at the head of those grenadiers of Elba, who had been unable to reach the capital on the preceding

BATTALION OF ELBA.

evening. Cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" rent the air; and Napoleon, turning to the approaching veterans, exclaimed, "Behold the officers of the battalion who accompanied me in my misfortunes. They are dear to my heart! Every time that I look on them, I am reminded of the different regiments of the army; for among them are men selected from each, whose honourable scars, received in our memorable battles, recall those great days so cherished by memory. In their love, soldiers, I have that of the whole army. They bring you back the eagles which will serve for your future rallying point. Swear that they shall always be found wherever the interest of the country calls them;—that traitors, and those who would invade our territory, shall henceforth be unable to look upon them." The soldiers, with one voice, replied, "We swear!" and as they filed off before their chief, the bands struck up the patriotic air, "Veillons au salut de l'Empire!"

CHAPTER LII.

THE HUNDRED DAYS.

DEMOCRACY—CONGRESS OF VIENNA—THE BOURBONS—MURAT—NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE—MILITARY PREPARATIONS—CHAMP-DE-MAI—ADVANCE OF THE ALLIED ARMIES—THE EMPEROR QUITS PARIS—LIGNY—QUATRE-BRAS—WATERLOO—RETURN TO PARIS—SECOND ABDICATION—PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—NAPOLEON RETIRES TO THE COAST. 1815.

RANCE, it was now generally admitted, owed the recovery of her Emperor, and the second expulsion of the Bourbons, to the great body of the people. Napoleon himself was not slow to acknowledge this; and one of his first acts of government was to call around him the old leaders of the Democracy. Fouché had been previously appointed Minister of Police; Carnot was now installed in the Home Office; and Benjamin Constant was nominated Member of the Council of State. Still the Emperor

appears to have had a jealous fear of the designs of the Constitutionalists; and the concessions he made to their wishes were rather extorted from his necessities than conferred of free will, or with any faith in the stable friendship of those to whom he found himself compelled to trust.

A conversation which he had, shortly after his return to the Tuileries, with Benjamin Constant, has been recorded. "The Emperor," says that distinguished writer, "did not attempt to deceive me either as to his views or the state of affairs. He did not present himself as one corrected by the lessons of adversity; nor did he desire to take the merit of returning to liberal measures from inclination. He reasoned coolly as to his own interest, and, with an impartiality too nearly allied to indifference, stated what he deemed preferable and what was possible. 'The nation,' he said, 'has rested for twelve years free from all political agitation, and for a year it has been undisturbed by war: this double repose has begotten a necessity for action. It desires, or fancies it desires, a tribune and assemblies; it has not always desired them. It cast itself at my feet when I came to the government; you, who endeavoured to create an opposition, must remember the circumstances. Where was your support, your power?—No where. I took even less authority than I was invited to take. But now all is changed. A weak government, opposed to the interests of the nation, has given rise to a habit of cavilling at authority. The taste for constitutions, debates, harangues, seems to have returned; but it is the minority only who desire them. The people, or if you please to call it so, the mob, desire me alone. You have not seen the multitude crowding after me, rushing from the tops of the mountains seeking, calling on, saluting me. On my return from Cannes, I did not conquer, I administered. I am not, as has been said, merely the Emperor of the soldiers, but of the peasants and the whole of plebeian France. There is sympathy between me and the people; hence, notwithstanding all that has passed, you see them return to me. It is not so with the privileged classes. The nobility have served me; have rushed in crowds into my ante-chambers; there are no offices they have not accepted or solicited; but there was no analogy between us. The steed, though well trained, curvetted and fretted. With the people it is altogether different. The popular

DEMOCRACY.

fibre responds to mine. I sprung from the ranks of the people; my voice has influence over them, because between them and me there is identity of nature: they look to me as their support, their defender against the nobles. . . If I were to make a sign, or merely to avert my eyes, the nobles would be massacred in all the departments. I will not, however, be the King of a *Jacquerie*. If there are means of governing with a constitution, be it so. I desired the empire of the world; and to obtain that, unlimited power was necessary. To govern France only, a constitution may be better. I desired the empire of the world—who, in my situation, would not? The world invited me to govern it. Sovereigns and subjects vied with each other in hastening beneath my sceptre. I have rarely found opposition in France; but from some obscure unarmed Frenchmen, I have met with more of it, than from all the kings at present so determined no longer to have a plebeian for their equal. Consider, then, what seems to you to be possible. Give me your ideas. Free elections, public discussions, responsible ministers, liberty—all this I desire—the liberty of the press in particular, which to stifle was absurd; on that point I am satisfied. I am the man of the people; if the people sincerely wish for liberty, I owe it to them. I have recognised their sovereignty. I am bound to listen to their desires, and even to their caprices. I never desired to oppress them; I had great designs; but fate has decided them. I am no longer a conqueror, nor can I again become so. I know what is, and what is not, possible. I have now but one charge; to relieve France, and give her a government suited to her. I am not inimical to liberty; I set it aside when it obstructed my path; but I have been educated in its principles and comprehend it. The work of fifteen years is destroyed, and cannot be recommenced: it would require twenty years, and the sacrifice of two millions of men. Besides, I am desirous of peace, and shall obtain it only by dint of victories. I will not hold out false hopes to you. It has been said, that there are negotiations in train. There are none. I foresee a difficult contest, a long war, to maintain which the nation must support me; but in return she will require liberty, and she shall have it. The situation is new. All I desire is information of the truth. I grow old;—one is no longer at forty-five the same as at

thirty. The repose of a constitutional Monarch may be suited to me : it will assuredly be most suitable for my son.' ”

It was not the people generally that feared the Emperor, or concerning whose intentions he was anxious ; it was their leaders, the men of that faction which had prepared the report of the Legislative Senate previously to the campaign of Paris. With the multitude, the only question was whether Napoleon or a Bourbon should occupy the throne of France ; and this they had unanimously decided : but the political speculators were desirous of establishing at once such a scheme of perfect government, as, could it have been ever realized, must have required years of peace. “ Liberty and independence,” says Hazlitt, “ are nearly another name for disunion and party spirit. Three hundred men, willing to be slaves, put implicit faith in and follow their leader, and carry all before them ; three hundred men, determined to think and act for themselves, to give way in nothing, and to sacrifice no jot of their opinion as to what is right, while they are disputing and refining, are split into as many different factions as there are persons, and are set upon and bound hand and foot by their adversaries, who will allow them no freedom of opinion at all.” So it fared with France.

Napoleon appears to have struggled hard to satisfy all parties, and to prevent the growth of dissensions injurious to the service of the country, which before anything required to be put in an imposing attitude of defence. He gave perfect freedom to the press, abolished slavery and the slave trade, and issued a decree for promoting popular education throughout his dominions ; but the dismissal of the Legislative body had never been forgotten ; and there seemed a determination among a number of those whom the Emperor, at an earlier period, was accustomed to call “ Ideologists,” to be avenged on him for their past disgraces. They forgot that their existence and his were identical ; and that the moment his government should fall, there would be an end to their own theory of Utopian freedom.

In the meantime, intelligence of the return of Napoleon had reached Vienna, where, on the 13th of March, the plenipotentiaries assembled in congress, published a declaration, announcing that “ by his *escape* from Elba and invasion of France, Bonaparte had forfeited the protection of the law, and manifested to the universe, that neither

peace nor truce could be made with him. He was therefore stigmatized as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world—an outlaw, liable to public vengeance." This declaration was followed, on the 25th of March, by a treaty, in which Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia bound themselves to maintain an army of one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers each until Bonaparte should be disabled from creating disturbance, or renewing his attempts to gain possession of the supreme power in France. The other states of the Continent, including Louis XVIII., who was to be excused from sending his contingent, were invited to join the Coalition; and it was finally stipulated, that if England should not furnish her full quota of men, she should compensate for the deficiency in money; by paying at the rate of thirty pounds per annum for every cavalry soldier, and twenty for every foot soldier under the required number. Thus it soon became certain that France would be involved in a new war for the maintenance of her right to have a Sovereign of her own election. It was in vain that Napoleon endeavoured to obtain a hearing at the Congress, and urged that he no longer entertained any schemes of conquest or aggrandizement, having merely re-ascended his throne at the call of the French people. His communications received no other reply than the hostile declarations of every power in Europe; and all that remained for him was to make the best preparations he could against the threatened attack.

The Bourbons had made a futile attempt to create a civil war on their own account. The Duke d'Angoulême placed himself at the head of a considerable body of Royalist troops raised in Provence and at Marseilles; but he was speedily surrounded by General Gilly at Lapalud, and made prisoner. Napoleon would probably have been justified, after the declarations of outlawry against himself, in retaining this Prince as a hostage; but Gilly having assured the Duke that he would be permitted to retire from France, the Emperor preferred foregoing any advantage to be derived from the capture, rather than sully his name by a breach of military honour. D'Angoulême was, therefore, dismissed in safety to assist in bringing back the horrors of war into the bosom of his country. The Duke of Bourbon had, at the same time, gone to La Vendée; but that district being already occupied by soldiers attached to the Emperor, he was compelled to

MURAT.

fly to Nantes, whence he escaped by sea. The Duchess d'Angoulême threw herself into Bourdeaux, where Lynch, the mayor, and a few of the citizens promised to support her; but she soon discovered that she had no influence over the military, who avowed their determination to fight for Napoleon alone; and at the approach of General Clausel, she summoned and addressed her guards and the few civic volunteers, who were faithful to her, and after informing them that they were deserted by the troops of the line, and that it would, consequently, be impossible to defend the city, she dismissed her followers, and went on board an English sloop-of-war. Napoleon, when told of the zeal, confidence, and courage manifested by this Princess under the trying circumstances in which she was placed, exclaimed, "She is the only man of her family!" By the end of the month, the tricoloured flag floated over every fortress in France.

It was on the last day of March, that Murat issued his fatal proclamation, exhorting all Italians to arm for the independence of their country. He was at this time in Tuscany at the head of an army of fifty thousand men; and there is little doubt that his intention was not more to obtain an accession of territory for himself, than to create a diversion in favour of Napoleon. The Austrians, however, were, on this occasion, too rapid to afford any chance of success to this hasty movement; and after two or three battles, in each of which the Neapolitans displayed the utmost cowardice, Murat was compelled to return to his capital with but four attendants, and in disguise. He subsequently sailed for France, and once more offered his services to Napoleon; but, as the soldiers were disgusted with that Prince's conduct in 1814, he remained unemployed at Toulon; and, after Waterloo, had to seek a new asylum, when chance threw him on the Neapolitan shores, where he was shot by order of the legitimate King, Ferdinand. Murat's expedition considerably injured the cause of Napoleon. The Allies, believing that the former had been instigated by his brother-in-law, could place no reliance on the protestations of the latter, that he had no desire for the renewal of war or conquest; and all the ancient animosity of Austria against the Conqueror of Italy was revived. Until then it had been hoped that the Emperor Francis might be detached from the coalition, and induced, at least, to remain neutral. The unprovoked attack upon

MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

his territories had the effect, therefore, of destroying every prospect of peace, except through victory.

In the midst of distractions of every kind, Napoleon proceeded with his accustomed energy to reorganize the army, and prepare the promised Constitution of the Empire. The number of troops had been greatly diminished by the Bourbons. They could muster, indeed, only ninety thousand effective men: a force scarcely more than sufficient to guard the fortresses and the principal sea-ports. It would have been dangerous to resort to the conscription as a means of raising recruits. The Emperor, therefore, endeavoured to revive the old recollections and spirit of the soldiers, and thus to create a spontaneous enthusiasm for the service. The old numbers of the several regiments were restored to them. Lists were directed to be made out of soldiers fit to officer the various corps. The veterans of the Grand Army were exhorted to rally round their ancient colours. Such retired and pensioned soldiers as were fit for service, were commissioned for garrison duty, and employed in drilling and directing new levies. Of the veterans, there responded to the call of the War Minister about a hundred and thirty thousand men, who cheerfully quitted their more peaceful labours to engage in the defence of the country. Eighty thousand were selected from among the National Guards; and thirty thousand marines were created from the sailors formerly belonging to the different squadrons of the navy. There were abundance of sabres in the arsenals, but muskets were wanting—the Imperial factories were employed night and day to supply the deficiency. The clothing was bad—money was advanced to the cloth-manufacturers to enable them to supply new materials without delay. Cavalry and artillery horses were readily procured by the contractors, and money to any amount was supplied by the French and Dutch capitalists; independently of which, the several departments and many wealthy individuals made voluntary donations of large sums to meet the emergencies of the State. Napoleon himself is said at this period to have devoted sixteen hours a day to the multifarious business which demanded his attention.

On the 22nd of April, the additional act to the Constitutions of the Empire was promulgated. This was done partly to satisfy those who were most eager to see the result of the proclamations which had been

CONSTITUTIONAL ACT.

issued on Napoleon's landing, and of the decrees of Lyons, and partly to prevent the inconvenience of long discussions in the *Champ-de-Mai*. The act provided:— That the Legislative power should be exercised by the Emperor and two Chambers—one to consist of an unlimited number of hereditary peers, to be named by the Emperor; the other of six hundred and twenty-nine salaried representatives of the people. The taxes, to be proposed by the representatives, were to be voted from year to year. No troops were to be levied without the sanction of a law. Ministers were declared responsible for the acts of the government: and the judges were to be irremovable. This act was immediately sent to the various cities and towns throughout the empire; and, although the re-establishment of the hereditary peerage gave much dissatisfaction, it received the assent of nearly a million and a half—a considerable majority of the qualified electors of the empire; while the dissentient votes amounted to little more than four thousand. The Royalists then, and long afterwards, ridiculed the act as being scarcely more liberal than the Charter granted, in 1814, by Louis XVIII.; but there was this essential difference between the documents, that Louis conferred on the people a certain amount of freedom as of royal favour; and Napoleon acknowledged the right of the people to accept that, or demand a new compact.

While the extensive preparations, already spoken of for renewing the war, were in progress, several patriotic associations were formed throughout the country. By these, many thousands of young men were incited to enrol themselves as volunteers for the defence of the territory. In Paris, numerous companies of these federates, as they were called, were organized; and, on the 14th of May, those of the Faubourgs St. Marceau and St. Antoine went in a body to the Tuileries, to demand an interview with the Emperor. Their bands played the Carmagnole, the Song of Departure, and the Marseillais Hymn; and the motley assemblage reminded many of the older citizens of the capital of the gatherings of the mob in the days of the revolution. Napoleon himself appears to have had some apprehension of disturbance, as the Guards were kept under arms, and the cannon loaded and turned on the Place du Carrousel during the day. Nothing occurred, however, to disgrace the character of the

FEDERATES.

labourers, artisans, and tradespeople, of whom the procession consisted. On arriving at the palace, one of them, in the name of his comrades, addressed the Emperor: — "Sire," he said, "we received the Bourbons with indifference, because we love not to have sovereigns imposed on us by an enemy. We received you with enthusiasm, because you are the man of the Nation; and because from you we expect a glorious independence. We come to tender our arms for the defence of the capital. We have fought under you; give us arms; we swear to fight only in our country's cause and in yours. When, through your genius and our own courage, we have conquered, we shall resume our toils with joy, and shall be better able to appreciate the blessings of peace; that, after twenty-five years of sacrifices, we may obtain a Constitution, Liberty, and the Monarch of our choice." Napoleon, in reply, said:—"Federated Soldiers! I returned to France alone, because I knew the affections of the people and their attachment to the national honour. You have justified my confidence, and I accept your offer. I will give you arms, and will appoint for your guidance officers covered with honourable scars, and accustomed to behold our enemies fly before them. If men of the highest classes of society have disgraced the French name, the love of country and the feeling of national honour have been preserved entire among the citizens, the country people, and the soldiers of the army. Vive la Nation!" The Federates departed, peacefully, as they came; thus disappointing the hopes of those who wished to see the great cause in which they had embarked sullied by outrage.

Shortly afterwards, namely, on the 1st of June, the deputies of departments, and those of the army and navy, met to assist at the Champ-de-Mai. This was a grand and imposing spectacle. In front of the military school a throne had been erected for the Emperor, from each side of which ran semicircular tiers of benches, capable of holding from fifteen to twenty thousand persons. In the centre was an altar, surrounded by seats for officiating priests and choristers. Napoleon, accompanied by his brothers, Joseph, Jerome, and Lucien, who had returned to render him what assistance they could at this crisis of his fate, repaired to the field in procession, and took his seat on the throne, amidst the roar of cannon and the acclamations of an immense multitude of spectators. The marshals and nobles of the

CHAMP-DE-MAI.

empire, the great officers of state, and many of the finest regiments of the French army were present; and numerous bands of music enlivened the scene.

The ceremony commenced with a solemn mass celebrated by the Archbishop of Tours and Cardinal Bayanne, assisted by four other bishops. M. Dubois d'Angers pronounced an eloquent address to the Emperor on behalf of the electoral deputies; the votes for the "Additional Act," were announced by the Arch-Chancellor; and the Constitution was signed by Napoleon amid thunders of artillery and reiterated cries of "Vive la Nation! Vive l'Empereur!" The Monarch then rose, and addressed the multitude: "Emperor, consul,



soldier," he exclaimed, "I hold all from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, on the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the sole and constant object of my thoughts and actions. . . Frenchmen, my wish is that of the people; my rights are theirs; my honour, my glory, my happiness, can be no other than the honour, glory, and happiness of France!" The Archbishop of Bourges then administered the oath of adherence to the Constitution, first to the Emperor, and subsequently to the assembled throng. *Te Deum* was afterwards chaunted, and eagles were distributed to the

LEGISLATURE.

National Guards, to the troops of the line, and the marine corps — Carnot representing the first, Davoust the second, and Decrés the third. The oath of allegiance was administered severally to each of these classes; after which the whole, amounting to about fifty thousand men, filed off before the throne, to the sound of martial music, the clangour of arms, and prolonged cries of “Vive l'Empereur!”

On the 4th, the Session of the Legislature opened, and the factious spirit of the representatives was instantly displayed. Their first act was to appoint Lanjuinais president — the man who, in the preceding year, had drawn up the act of forfeiture against the Emperor. Napoleon, however, contrary to expectation, confirmed the nomination; and thus removed one stumbling-block, which his enemies thought to have laid in his path. On the 7th, a manly and well-timed speech was made from the throne; in which the Sovereign, after stating that he had surrendered all pretensions to absolute power, demanded the assistance of the two Chambers, to enable him to meet and avert the dangers by which the country was threatened. The peers, comprising the great statesmen and distinguished men of France, responded with becoming confidence and energy to the patriotic appeal; but the Deputies, to most of whom the duties on which they were required to enter were new, voted an address, of which the absurdity could only be surpassed by its malignity, announcing that they intended to consider the Constitutional Act, and to point out its defects and imperfections; concluding their harangue with a declaration, that the French people, no longer entertaining thoughts of aggrandizement, would not be drawn, even by the will of a victorious Prince, beyond the boundaries of self-defence — their only objects being to guard their territory, and to maintain their liberty, honour, and dignity.

The Emperor, in his reply to this address, placed the matter in its true light. “The struggle in which we are engaged,” he said, “is serious. The seductions of prosperity are not the dangers which menace us at present: we are about to struggle for existence as an independent nation. The justice of our cause, the public spirit of the people, and the courage of the army are strong grounds to hope for success; but should we encounter reverses, it is then that I hope to

MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

see your energy displayed. The Constitution is our rallying point; it ought to be our pole-star in the tempest. Every public discussion, tending directly or indirectly to diminish the confidence which should be placed in its arrangements, would be a misfortune for the State. We should then find ourselves in the midst of shoals and quicksands, without pilot or compass. The crisis in which we are involved is arduous. Let us not imitate the example of the Lower Empire, which, when pressed on all sides by the barbarians, rendered itself the scoff of posterity, by engaging in abstract discussions at the moment when the battering-ram was at the gates of the city. Aid me to save the country. As first representative of the people, I have contracted obligations, which I now renew, to employ, in more tranquil times, all the prerogatives of the Crown and the experience I have acquired, to ameliorate our institutions."

England had by this time effected a loan of thirty millions; and the distribution of this among the Allies, had enabled them to send forward their troops towards the French frontiers with the utmost activity. The Congress had been removed from Vienna to Frankfort, to be near the seat of war. One hundred and fifty thousand Austrians were advancing upon the route of Switzerland. Another army of the same nation, equally strong, menaced the Upper Rhine. Two hundred thousand Russians were marching on Alsace. One hundred and fifty thousand Prussians, with about eighty thousand British, Dutch, Belgian, and Hanoverians, occupied Flanders. And when, to the force thus enumerated, the various contingents of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, Brunswick, and the petty states of Germany, are added, the total number of men mustered for the dethronement of Napoleon, and the re-establishment of King Louis, was found to amount to one million and eleven thousand.

To meet this gigantic array, the Emperor, with all his exertions—thwarted as he had been by the timid and disaffected—had been able to raise the French army to only five hundred and fifty-nine thousand men—of whom there had been levied in two months about four hundred and fourteen thousand. But even of this force not more than two hundred and seventeen thousand soldiers of the regular army were fully armed, clothed, and disciplined; the remainder formed an extraordinary force, or were unfit at once to enter upon

MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

service. The whole was divided into seven grand corps, exclusive of several divisions of observation scattered along the frontier. The first corps, commanded by Ney, was posted in the neighbourhood of Fille; the second, under the orders of Count Reille, was cantoned round Valenciennes; the third, led by Vandamme, was at Mazieres; the fourth, under Gerard, was stationed near Metz, of which fortress Massena was appointed governor; the fifth corps, under Rapp, was in Alsace; the sixth, under Lobau, at Laon; and the seventh, under Suchet, at Chambery. Lecourbe, Brune, Decaen, and Clausel commanded the several corps of observation; and Grouchy, Pajol, Excelmans, Milhaud, and Kellerman directed the operations of the cavalry. Davoust remained at Paris as Minister of War; Soult was appointed Major-general of the army; and to General Haxo was entrusted the defence of Paris, which on the most accessible point had been strongly fortified.

The first idea of the Emperor had been to wait the approach of the coalesced armies to the capital, which they could not have reached before the middle of August, when his levies and preparations would have been completed, and his troops better organized and more effectively disciplined; but the impatience of the people, and the overwhelming masses which the Allies were bringing forward, induced him to abandon this project, and resolve to anticipate his enemies, and endeavour to attack and defeat them in detail as they should reach the frontier. This plan presented several advantages. Belgium was desirous of being reunited to the Empire, and was only withheld from declaring its adherence to Napoleon by the presence of the foe; and there was a strong probability that, in case of defeat, the English Parliamentary Opposition would have compelled the Government to make peace, when the Coalition must at once have been dissolved from want of funds. The last plan was finally adopted; and the Emperor quitted Paris to place himself once more at the head of the Grand Army, on the Belgian frontier, on the morning of the 12th of June.

On the 13th, he reached Avesnes, where he halted to ascertain the number and disposition of the troops, and to issue orders to the different corps. The total strength of the army about to be put in operation was one hundred and twenty-two thousand four hundred

OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN.

men, and three hundred and fifty pieces of artillery. In the evening of the 14th, the Emperor published the following proclamation:—
“Soldiers! This is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the destinies of Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous. We confided in the oaths and protestations of Princes whom we left upon their thrones. Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they aim at the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Let us march to meet them. Are they and we no longer the same men?

“Soldiers! At Jena, when fighting against these Prussians, now so arrogant, you were but as one against two, and at Montmirail as one to three. Let those among you who have been in the hands of the English recite the story of their prison-ships, and the miseries they there endured. The Saxons, Belgians, and Hanoverians, soldiers of the Rhenish Confederation, groan at the thought of being compelled to fight against us in the cause of Princes who are the enemies of justice and of the rights of nations. They know that this Coalition has arbitrarily disposed of twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, a million of Saxons, and six millions of Belgians; and that if permitted it will devour all the secondary States of Germany.

“A moment of prosperity, however, has blinded them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter France, they will find their graves. Soldiers! We have forced marches to make, battles to wage, perils to encounter; but with constancy the victory will be ours. The rights, the honour of the country will be regained. For every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment has arrived either to conquer or perish!”

The movements of the French troops hitherto had been excellent. The various divisions of the army had marched with cheerful alacrity from the several departments, and fallen into line at the appointed spot, with a precision which shewed the skill of the officers and the ready obedience and admirable discipline of the men. Although they were now within a league of the Belgic frontier, the Allies appear to have had no knowledge or suspicion of their concentration. The Prussian advanced-guard, therefore, remained quietly in its cantonments at Charleroi; Blucher himself at Namur,

DESERTION OF BOURMONT.

and the Duke of Wellington at Brussels. The Prussian army numbered about one hundred and twenty thousand men, and was supported by three hundred guns; the Anglo-Belgian consisted of about ninety thousand, of whom about thirty-two thousand were Belgians, and Hanoverians, whose zeal, if not their fidelity, was extremely questionable.

During the night of the 14th, while the Emperor was giving orders for opening the campaign on the morrow, Gerard arrived hastily at head-quarters, with tidings that General Bourmont and Colonels Clouet and Villoutrey, of the fourth army corps, had deserted to the enemy. Napoleon had been accustomed to treason, and was enabled, therefore, to preserve his tranquillity; though the news was the more disastrous, inasmuch as the Allies had been previously ignorant both of the plans and movements of the French Chief, and might, but for this mischance, have been attacked before they were prepared. Ney had been the patron of the traitor Bourmont. The Emperor merely turned to the Marshal, who was beside him, and said, "You hear, Sir! What say you to your protégé, in whom I should have placed no confidence but from regard to you?" "Sire," replied the 'Bravest of the brave,' "pardon me. I had such devout faith in his fidelity, that I would have answered for him with my life."—"Ah, well!" said Napoleon rising, and resting his hand on the shoulder of Ney, "those who are blues will always remain blues, and those who are whites will be whites." This defection rendered some changes necessary in the Emperor's plan of attack, which were accordingly made on the instant.

About three o'clock in the morning of the 15th, the French army commenced its march in three columns. The Prussian advanced-guard, under Ziéthen, was speedily driven in; and the bridges of Marchiennes, Charleroi, and Châtelet, over the Sambre, having been taken, the troops, at six o'clock, passed into the territory of the enemy. There were brief struggles both at Marchiennes and Châtelet; but the most important was at Charleroi, where Ziéthen maintained his ground till three or four in the afternoon, when, being driven back on all points, he retreated to rejoin the main body of his army. The Prussian loss in these engagements was about two thousand men and five pieces of cannon. One of the objects of Napoleon had been

FLEURUS.

accomplished. The enemy had been compelled to yield his position, and by retiring to Fleurus left a gap in the line of the Allies of between three and four leagues. In the meantime, Ney had received orders to advance with forty thousand men by the chaussée of Brussels to Quatre-Bras, a point of considerable importance from its intersecting the branching roads between Brussels and Charleroi, and Nivelles and Namur. The object of the Emperor was to separate entirely the British and Prussian armies; and there is no doubt, that had Ney promptly executed the manœuvre entrusted to him, the success of the plan would thus far have been complete; but the Marshal, hearing a cannonade in the direction of Fleurus, detached nearly half his troops to that quarter, and was compelled to halt at Frasnes, for want of a sufficient force to dislodge the Nassau regiments, which held that position as part of the army of Wellington.

The English Commander had remained wholly ignorant of the French advance, until six o'clock in the evening of the 15th; and even then the news he received was not sufficiently authentic to warrant him in putting his troops at once in motion, as a false movement might have entailed ruin upon his army. He merely directed, therefore, that every man should hold himself in instant readiness to march; and, in order to avoid exciting alarm among the inhabitants, he, the Duke of Brunswick, and many British officers, attended a ball, given that evening at the residence of the Duchess of Richmond. About eleven at night, accounts were received of the operations of Napoleon upon the Sambre, upon which orders were immediately given for the soldiers to march upon Quatre-Bras. The drums then beat to arms, the bugles sounded, and festivities gave place to stern preparations for deadly conflict. —

“ There was mounting in hot haste: the steed,
The mustering squadron, and the clattering car,
Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,
And swiftly forming in the ranks of war.”

Before sunrise the whole British army was in motion. The Duke himself, on quitting the ball, rode to Quatre-Bras; and, having given instructions for the stand to be there made, hastened across the country to Bry; and, in a conference with Blücher, who had deter-

QUATRE-BRAS.

mined on giving battle in his present position, concerted a plan of future operations for the two armies.

The attack upon the English, by Ney, at Quatre-Bras, was made at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th. The force under the command of Wellington, who had returned from Bry before the commencement of the battle, was, at first, about nineteen thousand men; and that of the French consisted of a similar number: the British, however, during the action, received reinforcements, amounting to eleven or twelve thousand soldiers, while Ney was unsupported, except by those whom he led to the field in the onset. The French began successfully. The Belgian and Nassau troops were driven from all their positions; and the British infantry suffered severely from repeated attacks of lancers and heavy dragoons, before they could form into squares. The seventy-ninth and forty-second Highlanders were almost destroyed by these assaults. The latter regiment, indeed, of eight hundred men, which formed its complement in the morning of the 16th of June, mustered on its return to England but ninety-six privates and four officers unhurt. The French fought gallantly throughout the day; but they were evidently no match in steady endurance, imperturbable valour, and discipline, to the foes they had encountered. They had been accustomed to decide a battle by some bold manœuvre, which carried panic through the ranks of their opponents—the English soldiers could only be moved from their posts by the orders of their commanders, or the weapons which stretched them lifeless on the earth. By the Belgians and Dutch, little more assistance than was required for absolute self-defence was rendered during the day; so that, notwithstanding the apparent superiority of the British, the number actively engaged was not greater on the one side than on the other. Had Ney brought up his whole strength, there is little doubt that he would have overwhelmed the enemy; but, as it was, the Duke of Wellington remained in possession of Quatre-Bras at nightfall, and was afterwards enabled, on learning that Blucher had been defeated at Ligny, to retreat without molestation towards Brussels. The loss of the British and their Allies in this engagement was about five thousand men, including the Duke of Brunswick; who, it may be added, had contributed but little to redeem “his sacred obligation to avenge his

LIGNY.

father's death." The French loss has been generally estimated as about equal to that of the enemy.

In the meantime, the Emperor having, at daybreak on the 16th, reconnoitred the positions of Blucher, at Sombreuf, Ligny, St. Amand, and Bry, arrayed his troops for a battle. It was not, however, till three o'clock, that all was in readiness for the assault, when the several corps advanced upon the different points assigned them, and a furious engagement commenced. Ligny was four times taken and retaken; and possession of St. Amand was gallantly contested; but the latter was finally captured by General Gerard, who fell mortally wounded in the moment of victory. Every effort was now directed upon Ligny, between which and St. Amand, Blucher was endeavouring to concentrate his forces, in order to assume the offensive. The Imperial Guard, supported by the heavy cavalry and several field-pieces, when the Prussians appeared to hesitate in their operations, succeeded in ascending the heights of Ligny; and, piercing the enemy's line, drove them thence in great disorder, and successively frustrated all their efforts to rally till they had reached Tilly, on the line of the river Dyle. In this battle the French and Prussians were stimulated by deadly personal hatred against each other. The former remembered the massacres, violations, pillage, and wanton outrage committed by Blucher and his followers during the preceding year's campaign; and the latter, that their country had been long subjected to the yoke of Napoleon, who had scorned to give them a national constitution in exchange for their voluntary allegiance. Few asked or received quarter on either side; so that at the close of the day the loss was immense. The Prussians in killed, wounded, and prisoners lost, it is said, between twenty and twenty-five thousand men, besides many who disbanded and fled at random, ravaging the banks of the Meuse in their passage. They left also in the hands of the French, forty pieces of cannon and eight stand of colours. The total loss of the French was but six thousand nine hundred and fifty men, which was partly attributable to the advantageous ground occupied by them, and partly to want of judgment in the Prussian General, who drew his soldiers together in such masses upon the acclivities of St. Amand, Ligny, and Bry, that the bullets which missed their foremost lines invariably struck down the reserves. In the retreat, Blucher himself

RETREAT OF THE ALLIES.

narrowly escaped. His horse was killed by a cannon shot, and he thrown to the ground, where his own cavalry and the French cuirassiers passed over him. He owed his safety to the darkness of the night alone.

At dawn on the 17th, Grouchy and his corps of thirty-four thousand men, were despatched in pursuit of the enemy, who had fled in two columns by way of Tilly and Gembloux, with orders to direct their course on Wavres. His instructions were to follow with rapidity and energy, so as to prevent the Prussians from rallying, and to keep himself always between the causeway leading from Charleroi to Brussels and the enemy, that he might maintain his communications undisturbed with the French main army, and be able to rejoin it when required. About seven in the morning, Napoleon went over the field of the previous day's conflict, and caused every assistance to be given to the wounded. The dead bodies of the Prussians strewing the field, were as four or five to one of the French. This done, the Emperor galloped forward with the cavalry of Count Lobau towards Quatre-Bras, which place he expected to find in Ney's possession; but that Marshal had been unable to retrieve his error of the 16th, and remained in front of the British position, although now occupied by Wellington's rear-guard only, which disappeared as soon as its commander perceived the approach of Lobau's horsemen. Napoleon severely reproached Ney for his want of alertness and indecision, and would listen to no excuse or extenuation, insisting that from first to last he should have implicitly obeyed his instructions to attack, in which case it would have been impossible for the Allied armies to have acted for the future in concert. The march was now, therefore, urged in pursuit, the Emperor hoping that he might yet be able to overtake and defeat the British, before they could derive any material assistance from reinforcements of their own countrymen or other of the Allied troops.

The day had set in foul; the wind blew fiercely, torrents of rain rendered the roads scarcely passable; and the soldiers of both armies, as they moved on, sank at every step to their knees in thick clayey mud. The British, who had been almost constantly in motion since the night of the 15th, were harassed beyond measure, and murmured greatly at being led backwards and forwards, merely to fight battles

DISPOSITIONS FOR BATTLE.

which produced no visible result upon the issue of the war. The ball at Brussels was not forgotten; but was adduced against the officers, as proof of a want both of proper precaution to avoid being surprised, and of sympathy with those who had the brunt of battle, the stress of weather, and all the fatigues and privations of the march and countermarch to endure. Wellington's rear-guard, during the day, behaved gallantly; and succeeded, though with considerable loss, in keeping its pursuers in check. In consequence of the state of the roads, it was between three and four o'clock before the head of the retreating column reached the plain of Waterloo, and nearly seven before all the troops were got into position on the rising ground in front of Mont St. Jean. The English soldiers bivouacked that night on the ground they were to maintain in the expected battle of the morrow. Napoleon arrived at Planchenois between six and seven; and, seeing that the enemy was established in position, he fixed his head-quarters at the farm of Cailloux, and ranged his followers on the heights around La Belle Alliance. The reinforcements which the Duke of Wellington continued to receive during the 16th and 17th, had raised his army to upwards of seventy-five thousand men, who were supported by about two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. The forces brought into the field by Napoleon have been estimated, by impartial historians, at about seventy thousand men and two hundred and forty pieces of cannon. In forming a judgment on the relative strength of the two armies, however, it must always be borne in mind, that the Duke could not depend upon the Belgian, Nassau, and Hanoverian troops.

Napoleon, at about ten o'clock at night, despatched an officer to Grouchy, to announce that the Anglo-Belgian army had taken post in advance of the forest of Soignes, with its left resting on the hamlets of La Haye and Ohain, where Wellington appeared determined on the next day to give battle: in consequence of which, Grouchy was required to detach from his corps, at least two hours before day-break, a division of seven thousand men and sixteen pieces of artillery, with orders to make their way to St. Lambert; and, after putting themselves in communication with the right of the Grand Army, to operate on the left of the British. At the same time, it was intimated that as soon as Blücher should evacuate Wavres,

PREPARATIONS.

Grouchy himself, leaving the pursuit, should march with the rest of his corps to the support of the detachment at St. Lambert. An hour after this messenger had been sent towards Wavres, a letter from Grouchy, dated at Gembloux, at five o'clock that evening, was received by the Emperor, stating that the Marshal had been unable to follow the Prussians, as he was uncertain whether they had taken the road to Wavres or to Liege. He had marched, in fact, but two leagues since morning; and, as he did not obtain information of Blucher's route till his soldiers were at supper, he determined to halt till next morning. When Grouchy at last put his corps in motion, it was too late to effect the purpose for which he had been sent.

The Duke of Wellington, meanwhile, was enabled to communicate with Blucher; from whom he obtained a promise, that the whole of the Prussian army should advance to the support of the British on the morning of the 18th.

During the night, the Emperor gave all necessary orders for next day's battle. He was restless and uneasy, fearing that the British and Prussian leaders would avail themselves of the darkness to cross the forest of Soignes and unite before Brussels, in which case the French army must have retired without striking a blow; and the war, henceforth, must have been conducted at the discretion of the Allies, all of whose reinforcements were hastening forward. Before daylight, however, it was ascertained that the English were preparing for battle. "The day, then," said Napoleon to the officers in attendance, "depends upon Grouchy: if he follows the orders he has received, we have in our favour ninety chances to ten."

About five o'clock, the rain, which had not ceased during the night, cleared off; and at eight it was reported by the officers, who had been sent to inspect the field, that the ground was practicable for artillery. The Emperor, who was at breakfast, instantly mounted his horse, and rode forward towards La Haye-Sainte to reconnoitre the British line, and ordered an engineer to approach nearer to see if any entrenchments had been thrown up during the night. When informed that there was no appearance of any fortifications, he is reported to have exclaimed, "Ha! I have them, then — these English!" Final orders for the battle were then dictated to two

PREPARATIONS.

officers, who wrote them down upon the spot; and in less than an hour the drums and trumpets had sounded "To the field!" and the whole army was in motion.

The Duke of Wellington had determined, according to the plan of operations agreed on between him and Blucher, to maintain the defensive until the arrival of the Prussian army, which was expected on the field between eleven and twelve at noon. His arrangements were simple and skilful. The British army was divided into two lines; the first, composed of the troops on whom he had most reliance; and the second, of those whose zeal and fidelity were doubtful, and of those who had suffered most in the battle of Quatre-Bras. The cavalry, disposed in three lines, guarded the rear. The right-wing extended to the village of Merke-Braine, near Braine-la-Leud; the centre rested on the heights of Mont St. Jean; and the left was supported by the hamlet of Ter-la-Haye. The château and gardens of Hougomont on the right, and the farm-house of La Haye-Sainte in front, were occupied by strong detachments, as important points of defence.

The soldiers on both sides were almost exhausted with fatigue and the hardships they had already encountered, ere the decisive field was attained. Marching and counter-marching, want of rest, indifferent provisions, and the tempestuous weather, from which they had no shelter night nor day, had utterly incapacitated many for additional exertion. The advantage, however, in this respect remained, on the morning of the 18th, with the English, who had been able to snatch a few hours' sleep, resting on their muskets, among the standing corn, or lying on the wet ground; while the French troops had been marching till a much later hour at night, and were called into action earlier in the morning.

By half-past ten o'clock the two armies were arrayed, and impatient for orders to commence the battle. Napoleon then rode along the front of the French lines, exhorting his followers to shew themselves worthy of their former days of victory and glory; and he was answered by universal shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" while the infantry raised their caps upon their bayonets, and the cuirassiers their helmets on the points of their sabres, to testify their confident enthusiasm. The Emperor next proceeded to the heights of Ros-

WATERLOO.

somme, where he dismounted, to obtain a clear view of the whole field; and where he stationed his Guard, as a reserve, to act where emergency should require. The English, meanwhile, remained silent and steady, waiting the commands of their Chief; who, with a telescope in his hand, stood beneath a tree, near the cross road, in front of his position, watching the movements of his opponents.

It was nearly noon when Prince Jerome, who commanded the left-wing of his brother's army, began the engagement by an impetuous charge on the position of Hougomont, whence the Nassau troops were speedily driven in confusion. The château and gardens, however, were bravely defended by a division of English Guards, who could not be dislodged; and Jerome, skilfully masking the point, pushed on with his cavalry and artillery against Wellington's right. Here also the Belgian and Nassau soldiers gave way; but the firmness of the British infantry, the steady and continuous stream of their musket-shot, and the well-directed fire of their artillery, defied all the efforts of their assailants; and Jerome, after a stern and desperate contest, was compelled to retire, leaving Hougomont still in the hands of the English, who at once reinforced and strengthened the position. Nevertheless, the conflict raged here, more or less, during the day, till at last the château was set on fire by the shells of the French, and friend and foe were compelled to abandon it. Part of the wood and gardens, at the close of the action, was in the hands of the French, and part was occupied by the British.

While Napoleon was anxiously watching the first movement of his troops, an aide-de-camp, sent by Ney, who had been charged to attack the enemy's centre, arrived at full gallop to announce that all was in readiness, and the Marshal waited only a signal for the onset. The Emperor glanced for a moment round the field; and, in the direction of St. Lambert, perceived a kind of moving cloud advancing on the English left; he instantly pointed it out to Soult, and asked whether he conceived it to be Grouchy or Blucher? That officer was in doubt; and Generals Domont and Subervic were despatched, with their divisions of light cavalry, with instructions to clear the way in case it should be Grouchy, and if an enemy to hold him in check. Shortly afterwards, a Prussian hussar was brought in prisoner, from whom, and from a letter which he bore, it was ascer-

WATERLOO.

tained that the column at St. Lambert was the advanced-guard of Bulow, who was following as rapidly as possible with thirty thousand men; and that Blucher was still at Wavres, where Grouchy had not yet appeared. Napoleon exclaimed, that at least thirty of his ninety chances were now lost; but if Grouchy could be induced to hasten upon St. Lambert, and take Bulow's corps in the rear, all might yet go well. An officer was immediately despatched to urge his arrival; and, in the meantime, Lobau was sent, with two divisions, to support Domont in keeping the Prussians in check; with instructions to charge furiously the moment Grouchy, who it was thought could not be far off, should appear.

Orders were then sent to Ney, to commence his attack, by marching forward on La Haye-Sainte; and, after taking that post with the bayonet, and leaving there a division of infantry, to press forward on the farms of Papelotte and La Haye, and place his troops between those of Wellington and Bulow. In a few minutes, a battery of eighty cannon, opening at once upon the left centre of the British line, announced that the "Bravest of the brave" had, if ever he had lost it, recovered his usual promptitude. The havoc occasioned among the Allies by this deadly fire was immense; and Wellington, in order to screen his men from its effects, drew them back to the reverse slope of the hill on which they had been drawn up. This was the only retrograde movement made by the English during the day. Under cover of the fire, Count d'Erlon, with three divisions of infantry and thirty pieces of cannon, advanced along the Genappe road; but, as they ascended the position of La Haye-Sainte, the Duke of Wellington directed against them a charge of heavy cavalry, which speedily drove one column back into the hollow.

A brigade of Milhaud's cuirassiers, in turn, repulsed the English Guards, and rushing onward attacked the infantry; the charge, however, was unsuccessful; the horsemen being unable to make an impression upon the squares formed for their reception, while they were themselves exposed to an incessant fire of musketry. Meanwhile, one of D'Erlon's unbroken columns pushed forward beyond La Haye-Sainte, upon which it made no attack, and charging one Belgian and three Dutch regiments drove them from their post in disorder, and obtained possession of the heights. Sir Thomas Picton

WATERLOO.

was now sent to dislodge the advancing battalions; and being supported by a brigade of heavy cavalry, the French, after firing a volley, paused, wheeled, and fled in confusion. Many were cut down by the Guards; and seven guns, two eagles, and about two thousand prisoners were taken. The British dragoons, however, pursued their success too far; and, getting involved among the infantry, and being attacked by a body of cuirassiers, they were themselves broken, and compelled to retire with great loss, leaving the captured guns to their new assailants, and affording the broken infantry an opportunity to reform their ranks. Napoleon himself had led the charge that dispersed this brigade of English cavalry, in which General Devaux was killed, and L'Allemand wounded at his side. It was here, also, that the English generals, Picton and Sir William Ponsonby, fell.

Ney, though deprived of his artillery for a time, continued, nevertheless, to advance with the columns which had not yet been engaged: his principal attack being directed against La Haye-Sainte, which was defended by some Hanoverian and Scottish troops. For three hours was this important position, and the part of the field which it commanded, contested by cavalry, infantry, and artillery—the hill being now held by the English, and anon by the French. The contest, which shortly extended itself along the entire front of the British right, was of the most desperate character. Whole battalions fell in line as they stood; and the shrieks of maimed horses, and the cries and groans of the wounded and dying, rose above the loud music of the military bands and the continuous roll of musketry, filling every pause of the thundering cannonade.

Napoleon, from the rising ground to which he had returned to watch the progress of the battle, at length believed that he saw indications of the enemy's retreat, and instantly despatched an order for Kellerman to advance as rapidly as possible with his cuirassiers, to support the cavalry on the low grounds between Mont St. Jean and La Haye-Sainte. The command was obeyed with alacrity, and the dragoons galloping forward, drove the British artillerymen from their guns, and charged furiously upon the squares of infantry behind. It is asserted by all the French authorities, and contradicted by all the English, that several squares of the Allied infantry were now broken, and six stand of colours taken. It is certain that the aban-

WATERLOO.

doned cannon was for a time in possession of the Imperial soldiers; but they could neither secure nor spike the pieces on account of the tremendous fire which was kept up by the British infantry; and when the cavalry retired, the artillerymen, issuing from the squares in which they had found refuge, immediately manned their guns, and poured upon the foe a destructive volley of grape shot. The cuirassiers, however, seemed determined to effect their purpose; and notwithstanding the deadly hail which thinned their ranks, they returned to the charge again and again, and rode round and round the squares, and penetrated even to the second British line; but the infantry was immovable; and after sustaining frightful carnage, the cuirassiers were compelled to draw off — when, for a short time, the conflict on both sides slackened.

It was now nearly six o'clock, and the Chief of each army anxiously looked for his expected reinforcement. Bulow, on the French right, had been effectively checked by Lobau, Domont, and Subervic; but there was no appearance of Grouchy; and it was soon ascertained that Blucher having come up in person with the main body of his army, the French opposed to him would be unable long to maintain their ground. Presently afterwards, a messenger arrived from Grouchy with intelligence that the Marshal, instead of quitting Gembloux at daybreak, according to his stated intentions of the preceding evening, had halted there till half-past nine, and then taken the road to Wavres, ignorant of the Emperor's engagement with the enemy before Waterloo. It was now evident, that no assistance could be received from Grouchy till past seven in the evening at least. It was of the utmost importance, however, that Blucher should be prevented from effecting his junction with Wellington; and accordingly orders were despatched to Lobau and his companions, to use every effort to restrain the Prussian advance. At the same time, Duhesme, with eight thousand of the Young Guard and twenty-four field pieces, were sent towards Planchenois, upon which village Lobau, if overwhelmed, must necessarily retreat. This reinforcement served for a brief space to stay the progress of Blucher; but the dark masses of Prussians were soon afterwards seen debouching on the plain from the Wavres road, and the feeble army opposed to them was compelled to give way, and retire, though slowly, before them.

WATERLOO.

Napoleon now saw that the crisis of the battle approached; and that nothing but the most consummate skill and desperate valour could save him from ruin. He began to prepare, therefore, for the final struggle. His first orders produced a series of movements which changed the whole front of his army, so as to face the Prussians as well as the English. The left-wing was withdrawn from Hougomont, and brought nearer to La Belle-Alliance. The cavalry of Kellerman and Milhaud were ordered to fall back from before Mont St. Jean, and Lobau and Duhesme to continue their retreat, and range in line above Planchenois; while General Pelet was to hold that village, in order to support the movement. At the same time, an aide-de-camp was sent along the lines to announce that Grouchy approached, and that courage and perseverance would soon procure a victory.

The infantry of the Imperial Guard had not yet been brought into action. Napoleon now formed it, at the foot of the position of La Belle-Alliance, into two columns, reserving only four battalions to protect their comrades' march, and led them forward in person, as far as a ravine which crossed the Genappe road, in front of the British lines. Here, on the entreaty of the officers of his staff, who represented to him, that the safety of France depended solely on him, he relinquished the command to Ney; who, having had five horses shot under him during the day, advanced on foot. A heavy fire of artillery announced that they were in motion; and soon the British guns commenced an incessant thunder on their ranks—changing, as the columns advanced, from round to cannister shot; and, finally, firing double charges. The Guards, however, though their numbers were thinned at every step, continued their march; and, in a short time, gained the crest or rising ground of Mont St. Jean, on which the English awaited their assault. The French bands, meanwhile, played the Imperial March, and the soldiers rushed on, with deafening shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" The Brunswick, Belgian, and Dutch troops, which had been stationed on the eminence to oppose the advance of the assailing force, fled in terror the instant they perceived themselves in danger; and the Duke of Wellington was compelled in person to rally them. The fate of Europe, at that moment, hung on the coolness, self-command, and promptitude of the English General; and the result has proved, that the confidence reposed in his skill and firmness

WATERLOO.

was worthily bestowed. Before the Imperial Guard could deploy, he gave the long-desired, long-expected word for the British infantry to advance; which being obeyed as soon as uttered, the men, who had been lying on the ground on the hill, or resting on their arms on the slope, sprang forward, and, moving on in line, closed around Ney and his gallant followers, pouring into their ranks a continuous stream of bullets. The Imperial Guards attempted to deploy; but in the effort they were thrown into confusion, and rushed in a dense crowd, not to the rear, but to the hollow road in front of La Haye-Sainte, whence they were speedily driven in utter confusion. The uniform and hat of Ney in this desperate charge were riddled with balls.

Blucher, meanwhile, had pressed forward and obtained possession of the hamlet of La Haye, having driven thence the few French soldiers who had attempted to hold it; and his advanced-guard was already in communication with the British left. Bulow had been repulsed from Planchenois, but being now reinforced with the strong corps of General Pirch, was again advancing. Napoleon had no reserve, save the four battalions of the Old Guard, which had been retained to cover Ney's retreat. It was already dusk; and Wellington, having assumed the offensive, was advancing at the head of all his forces. The French had been everywhere repulsed: the Guard, never before conquered, had been routed by the stern unyielding Britons; and night brought with it terror and despair. The fatal cry of "*Sauve qui peut!*" was raised, and soon becoming general, discipline and courage vanished, and a wild flight ensued. The Emperor for a moment attempted to rally his fugitive soldiers, but the effort proved unavailing; and he was compelled to throw himself into the midst of the square of his Old Guard, with his brother Jerome, Ney, Soult, Bertrand, Drouot, Corbineau, Flahault, Gorgaud, Labédoyère, and Cambrone, to escape being made prisoner.

The English and Prussians now filled the whole plain, and their cavalry and artillery carried death on every side. The battle had ended; but carnage had taken its place. The British were the victors; but the Prussian swords were unflashed, and their vengeance unsatiated. These reapers of cheap glory, therefore, scoured the field, and gave no quarter.

The Emperor still lingered on the ground with his yet unbroken

FRENCH FLIGHT.

Old Guard. Prince Jerome, who had conducted himself exceedingly well throughout the day, urged him to commit an act of desperation. "Here, brother," he exclaimed, "all who bear the name of Bonaparte

should fall!", Napoleon, who was on foot, instantly mounted his horse; but his generals and grenadiers, though willing to perish themselves, would not listen to any proposal which involved his death; and, finally, an aide-de-camp, seizing his bridle, led him at a gallop from the field. For half a league his route lay through fields, in the midst of the infuriated Prussians, whose bullets whistled in the darkness around his head, but refused to strike him. Shortly before ten o'clock he reached Genappe, where he paused for awhile, and made another attempt to rally; but the confusion was utterly

FLIGHT.

irremediable; and, as the Prussian and English cavalry were close at hand, he was compelled to abandon the place and hasten to Charleroi, where he stayed only to procure some refreshment ere he proceeded to Philippeville, whence he continued his route to Laon. At nine at night, on the 20th, accompanied by Maret, and Generals Bertrand, Drouot, Labédoyère, and Gourgaud, he re-entered Paris, and slept for the night at the Elysée palace.

The Duke of Wellington, on the night of the 18th, had urged the advance in person as far as Genappe, where, and not as almost universally stated at La Belle Alliance, he met with Blücher, some time after ten o'clock. Here it was arranged that the Prussians should continue the pursuit by the light of the moon, which was just rising through the drizzling mist, while the wearied English halted to obtain some refreshment and repose. The French army was utterly disorganized. Cavalry, infantry, artillery, all mingled confusedly together, and sought to escape by the road, and over the heavy ploughed grounds and corn-fields. The artillerymen abandoned their guns, the soldiers of the train cut the traces of their horses; the baggage, ammunition-waggons, stores, and a number of private carriages—among others, that which had borne the Emperor from Paris—were abandoned, and the drivers sought for safety wherever chance directed them. No rendezvous had been appointed, and indeed no road was open: every one, therefore, fled at random, and strove for individual preservation. The Prussian and Brunswick soldiers cut down every soul they encountered. These troops had never by their own valour gained a single battle: but such men exult most savagely over the foes which other arms have prostrated. To the honour of the British it should be recorded, that when the fight had closed, notwithstanding their own losses, sufferings, and fatigue, numbers of the victorious soldiers dispersed over the field, and carried refreshments and assistance, not alone to their wounded countrymen, but to those disabled foes whom they had so recently encountered in mortal strife.

At Fleurus, Ligny, Quatre-Bras, and Waterloo, and in the rout that followed, the French lost about forty thousand men; the Prussians thirty-eight thousand; the "brave Belgians," including the Dutch, to whose memory a colossal lion has since been erected on the plains

NAPOLÉON RETURNS TO PARIS.

of Waterloo,—appropriately depicted with his tail between his legs, —eight thousand; the Hanoverians three thousand five hundred; and the English between eleven and twelve thousand—in all upwards of one hundred thousand men: too high a price, it may now be thought, to have paid merely for the restoration of a baseless throne to the despicable elder Bourbons, and the overthrow of Napoleon.

Immediately on his arrival at the Elysée, Napoleon had caused his brothers, Joseph and Lucien, with Cambacérès, Regnault de St. Jean Angely, Decrès, Caulaincourt, Carnot, and others to be summoned. The Emperor desired that the Ministers, and even the two Chambers, might be called together during the night, believing that a statement of the truth would induce them at once to vote sufficient men and money to reorganize the army, and enable him to make a further attempt for the defence of the country. Maret seems to have understood the spirit of the Representatives of the "Great Nation" much better than he did who had won for it the name of which it vaunted. "Parties will merely take the opportunity to agitate," he said; "and though the house is on fire, the chief discussion will be to spare water and engines."

The return of the Emperor was not generally known till the morning of the 21st, when the two Chambers met in haste to deliberate on future proceedings. The extent of the National disasters, as far as they could be ascertained, were candidly stated in the report dictated by Napoleon, and delivered by the Minister. A stormy debate ensued, and M. de La Fayette, whose honest intentions have never been questioned, but whose want of common sense, on more than one occasion, inflicted serious injuries on his country, proposed five resolutions—the adoption of which was tantamount to establishing a Republic—La Fayette's favourite notion of government. By the first vote, it was declared that the National independence was threatened; by the second, that the sittings of the Representatives were permanent, and that whosoever should seek to dissolve the Chamber would incur the penalties of treason; by the third, it was announced that the army had deserved well of the country; by the fourth, the National Guard was called out; and the fifth invited the Ministers to repair to the Assembly. These resolutions were received with marked demonstrations of joy by the Bourbonists, who became

THE LEGISLATURE.

thus at once assured that the Chamber would refuse all co-operation with the Emperor to drive back the national enemy from the frontier. The debate and its publication must have put an immediate end to the hopes of all who had ventured to dream of French independence, under the constitutional sovereignty of Napoleon.

Debates and conferences were maintained throughout the day—all tending to one point, a wish that, as the war had originally been declared not against France, but against Napoleon, the latter would abdicate; and leave the conduct of the Government to La Fayette and his oratorical companions. From the proceedings which had taken place, it was clear, indeed, that this course, or the trial of a new 18th of Brumaire, must be adopted. Prince Lucien recommended the latter; but the Emperor would scarcely listen to the alternative. "You know the consequences," urged Lucien, "of wanting the courage to dare. You deliberate when you ought to act. The Chamber, unless you speedily resolve on its expulsion, will pronounce your forfeiture." Napoleon finally refused to employ violence against the Legislature; and, during the night of the 21st, an act of abdication was demanded from him, in the name of the Peers as well as of the Deputies. A scene of bitter altercation took place in his presence. La Fayette and Lanjuinais urged that nothing could be done for the benefit of the country, until *a great sacrifice had been made*. Maret, in reply, demanded severe measures against the Royalists, and the disaffected who were their friends. Recourse ought to be had in such a crisis, he urged, to the policy of the Revolution, which condemned to punishment all who sought to endanger the Nation. "Had such measures been earlier resorted to," he added, "some who hear me would not now be smiling at the misfortunes of their country, and Wellington would not be marching upon Paris." Napoleon put an end to the dispute, by dismissing the unmannered cavillers. He subsequently sent for Benjamin Constant, not apparently to ask for advice, but to state his own views to one who was able and honest enough to report them fairly.

"The question no longer concerns me, but France," said the Emperor. "They wish me to abdicate: have they calculated upon the inevitable consequences? It is round me and my name that the army rallies: to separate me from it is to disband it. If I abdicate

THE LEGISLATURE.

to-day, in two days' time you will no longer have an army. The soldiers do not understand your subtleties; nor will foreign powers be won by your fine words. Had I been dethroned fifteen years ago there would have been some spirit in it; but as I now make part of what strangers attack, France is bound to defend me. In abandoning me, she avows her weakness, and courts the insolence of the Conqueror. It is no love of liberty, but Waterloo that deposes me. And what right has the Chamber to demand my abdication? It has no authority; and steps out of its sphere to do so. It is my right and duty to dissolve it."

While he was speaking, the avenue of Marigny resounded with cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" A crowd of the labouring classes and poor citizens had gathered round the palace, and were trying to scale the walls to get near the Emperor, in order to offer him their services to defend him and the country. Napoleon looked at these groups for some time, and at last said:—"You see it is as I have stated. These are not the persons whom I have loaded with wealth and honours. I found and left them poor. It is the instinct of necessity which enlightens them;—the voice of the country which speaks by their mouths. If I were to permit it, the refractory Chambers, in an hour, would have ceased to exist. But I did not return from Elba to inundate Paris with blood! . . . I do not wish to employ force. I came in the hope of combining our last resources: they have abandoned me with the same facility with which they received me back. But let them do for the country what they will not do for me. I doubt their intentions. Those who wish to deliver me up to-day, say that it is to save France: to-morrow, by delivering up France, they will prove that it was to save themselves." He finally declared his resolution to abdicate in favour of his son.

Carnot, who, better than most of his colleagues, understood the position of France, and the need which it had of the genius and valour of Napoleon, to enable it to retain the semblance of an independent nation, and to contest for the exclusion of the hated Bourbons, was the last to sanction the resignation of power by the Emperor, as in brighter times he had been the first to oppose his assumption of the Imperial title. He knew that the safety of the Nation depended upon the army and its Chief; and when he found that the counsel of

CARNOT.

the *Ideologists* had triumphed, he buried his face in his hands at the table where he had been writing, and burst into tears. Napoleon was deeply affected; and, while he sought to soothe the grief of the

aged Statesman, he exclaimed, with a sigh, "I have not known you till too late!"

On the morning of the 22nd of June, the following important document was presented to the two Chambers:—"Frenchmen! In commencing war for the maintenance of the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and on the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success; and therefore braved all the declarations of the Powers against me. Circumstances appear to be changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove to have been

ABDICATION.

sincere in their declarations, and to have aimed only at my person. My political life is terminated; and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II., Emperor of the French. The present Ministers will provisionally form the Council of Government. The interest which I take in my son's welfare, induces me to invite the Chambers to organize, without delay, a legal Regency. Let all unite for the public safety, in order to remain an independent Nation."

The act was received by the disaffected among the Representatives with the utmost transport. It gave the speculative an opportunity to recommence their old amusement of constitution-making; and promised to those who had been long excluded from power and patronage, at least a brief space for attending to their fortunes. The Chambers, meanwhile, prepared an address of thanks, which they transmitted to Napoleon through a deputation, consisting of Lanjuinais and others, who were charged to felicitate him on what they were pleased to call his last act of heroism. The Emperor replied with dignity:—

"I desire that my abdication may conduce to the happiness of France; but I have little hope of such a result: the State is left without a Chief and without political existence. The time lost in overthrowing the monarchy would have been better employed in putting the country in a state to destroy the enemy. I recommend to the Chambers the prompt reinforcement of the armies. Those who wish for peace, must prepare for war. Do not expose this great nation to the mercy of foreigners, lest your expectations be disappointed. In that consists the danger: for me, in whatever situation I may be placed, I shall always be happy so long as I know that France is so."

On the same day, the Chambers, proceeding on the act of abdication, but without reference to the condition upon which it had been executed—that of recognising Napoleon II. as Emperor,—appointed a Provisional Government of five members, consisting of Fouché, Carnot, Grenier, Quinette, and Caulaincourt; strangely overlooking La Fayette and Lanjuinais, who had been the prime movers of the measure, and who, doubtless, wished to be considered as the heroes of the new revolution. It was in vain that Prince Lucien, Labédoyère, Lavalette, and others, urged that the right of

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

succession, according to the Constitution, which all of them, three weeks before, had sworn to obey, was vested in the son of the Emperor; and that Carnot laid before the Chamber a report, founded upon despatches just received from Marshal Grouchy, Soult, and others, that the condition of the army was less desperate than had been imagined,—the Chambers proceeded with as much zest as though it had been their special object and duty to prepare the way for the entire conquest of France and the restoration of Louis XVIII. With one member of the new Provisional Government, indeed, such restoration is now well known to have been the end aimed at. Fouché, from the moment of the Emperor's return from Elba to his final departure for St. Helena, was in constant communication with the Allies, and with the Bourbon Court at Ghent; detailing from day to day, by means of trusty agents—which, from his long connexion with the police and his present post at its head, none knew better than he how to select and employ—all occurrences of interest and all measures resolved upon or contemplated. "It is one of the marvels of our times," says Sir Walter Scott, "how, after having been the mainspring of such a complication of plots and counter-plots, revolutionary and counter-revolutionary intrigues, Fouché contrived, after all, to die in his bed." One of the falsehoods now propagated by this sanguinary old Jacobin, in order to appease the people, who became clamorous at what they conceived to be Napoleon's dethronement, was, that in an official communication, which had just reached him from Prince Metternich, the latter, on behalf of the Austrian Court, had guaranteed the accession of Napoleon II. in case of the abdication of the Emperor.

Napoleon, when informed of the appointment of the Provisional Government, was filled with indignation. "I have not abdicated," he exclaimed, "on behalf of a new Directory, but in favour of my son: if he is not proclaimed, my abdication is null. It is not by presenting itself before the Allies with drooping head and bended knees, that the Nation will obtain the recognition of its independence. If the Chambers were acquainted with their true position, they would spontaneously have proclaimed Napoleon II. Foreigners would then have learned that you possessed a will, an object, a rallying point; they would have seen that the 20th of March was not an affair of

NAPOLEON AT MALMAISON.

party or faction, but the result of attachment in the French people to my person and dynasty. The national unanimity would have pleaded better than any mean and degrading humiliation."

The situation of the Chambers had by this time become critical. The garrison of Paris, the Federates, many of the National Guards, and a majority of the lower classes, had adopted the opinion of Carnot and Labédoyère, that the defence of the country against the advancing enemy should have been the first consideration, and that effective defence was impossible without the name and genius of Napoleon to direct it. Crowds of persons daily gathered around the Elysée palace and demanded to see the Emperor, whom they called upon once more to put himself at the head of the army, to rescue France from foreign and domestic foes. Fouché and his Provisional Government became alarmed lest an insurrection should ensue, and the hostile Chambers be delivered a prey to popular fury. The Emperor was then solicited to leave the capital, where his presence created so much uneasiness among the factious; and, in order to induce him to do so, the Chambers, on the 24th of June, formally recognised Napoleon II. as Emperor. On the 25th, accordingly, the Emperor retired to Malmaison—the ancient country-seat where the happiest days of his life had been spent with his beloved Josephine. Here, on the urgent entreaty of Carnot, who represented that the soldiers had refused to yield obedience to any one save the Emperor, or to acknowledge any other government without his special command, he issued the following proclamation to the troops:—

"Soldiers! While obeying the necessity which compels me to separate from the brave French army, I bear with me the happy certainty that the army will justify, by the eminent services which the country expects from it, the eulogies which our enemies themselves have been unable to refuse. Soldiers! I shall follow your steps, though absent. I know every corps, and not one of them will obtain a signal advantage over the enemy, but I shall render homage to the courage it may display. You and I have both been calumniated. Men, incapable of appreciating our labours, have seen, in the marks of attachment you have given me, a zeal of which I was the sole object. Let your future success apprise them, that it was the country above all things which you served in obeying me; and that if I had

ADVANCE OF THE ALLIES.

any share in your affection, I was indebted for it to my ardent love for France, our common mother.

“Soldiers! A few efforts more, and the Coalition will be dissolved. Napoleon will recognise you by the blows you are about to strike. Save the honour, the independence of the French! Be the same men that I have known you for the last twenty years, and you will be invincible!”

The Allies were now approaching Paris, having urged their march with the utmost speed, the moment they were informed that Napoleon had abdicated, and that nothing remained to oppose their progress, but the embodied cabal which had usurped the functions of Government. The Federates and populace were still clamorous for the restoration of the Emperor; and when it was whispered that Fouché had surrounded him by police agents, who treated him as a prisoner, the house of that infamous man was surrounded by a mob, and he compelled to conceal himself. Malmaison, at the same time, was beset by a crowd of soldiers and others, constantly shouting “Vive l'Empereur,” and petitioning Napoleon to place himself at their head, in order to make a final stand for national freedom, beneath the walls of Paris.

The Emperor, though perfectly calm in all that regarded his own fate, seemed overwhelmed with the thought that Paris was about to be surrendered, without a blow, to the Allies; and, on the 27th, hearing that Wellington and Blucher were not far distant, and that the disposition of their troops was such as to offer a prospect of success, were a bold and skilful movement attempted, he wrote to the Provisional Government to offer his services as General. “In relinquishing my power,” he said, “I have not renounced the noblest right of a citizen—the right of defending my country. The approach of our enemies to the capital, no longer leaves any doubt of their intentions, or of their bad faith. In these grave circumstances, I offer you my services, as General, and desire to be regarded only as the first soldier of the country.”

Fouché and his colleagues, however, with the exception of Carnot, who kept aloof from the intriguers, saw that, if this request were acceded to, Napoleon must necessarily be still in a position to become their master. They accordingly refused his services,

INTRIGUES.

and sent General Becker — a person with whose conduct the Emperor had been dissatisfied, and who was consequently supposed to entertain a pique against him — with orders to watch the dethroned Monarch's proceedings, and prevent his escape from Malmaison.

In the meantime, the answer of the Allies to the demand of the Provisional Government, for an armistice, was made known:—The person of Bonaparte was to be surrendered, unconditionally, to their keeping; Paris was to capitulate; and Louis XVIII. was to be replaced upon the French throne. Even the atrocious Fouché quailed when he reflected on the summary vengeance which would be taken by the people, should these demands be at once complied with; and, in order to avoid the consequences of appearing to yield to the letter of the first requisition, though engaging at the same time to do so in substance, messengers were despatched to the Emperor, to implore him, for his own safety, the general interest, and the welfare of his family, to quit Malmaison, and repair to Rochefort, where two frigates were to be instantly prepared to convey him to the United States of America. "The Provisional Government," says Sir Walter Scott, "like skilful anglers, had been gradually drawing their nets around Napoleon; and it was now time, they thought, to drag him upon the shallows." The meaning of which is, that Fouché, knowing the inevitable consequences to himself and his friends should Napoleon be openly delivered to his enemies, induced him to remove to a distance, and, by giving prompt information to the Allies of all his movements, secured his final capture as effectually as though he had been arrested at first. The reward of Fouché's perfidy was the appointment of Minister of Police to Louis XVIII. Davoust refused to affix his signature to a document intended to authorize Becker to make the Emperor prisoner, in case of his refusal to depart for the coast, and even the Secretary of the War Minister was ashamed to sign it.

At length, on the 29th of June, after another vain offer to join the army, and repel the foe; and, on receiving promises from the Provisional Government that passports should be procured from the Allies, and forwarded to him, to permit his sailing to America,

DEPARTURE TO ROCHEFORT.

Napoleon, with a few faithful adherents, set off, by way of Tours, for Rochefort; where he arrived on the 3rd of July.

CHAPTER LIII.

NEGOCIATION WITH CAPTAIN MAITLAND—LETTER TO THE PRINCE REGENT — NAPOLEON EMBARKS IN THE 'BELLEROPHON' — BROUGHT TO THE ENGLISH COAST — SENTENCED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT — TRANSFERRED TO THE 'NORTHUMBERLAND,' AND SENT TO ST. HELENA — THE BOURBONS AND THE ALLIES. 1815.

ECKER, whom the Provisional Government had charged with the custody of Napoleon at Malmaison, followed him to Rochefort. His personal conduct to the Emperor was free from all blame. His duty, however, must have been a painful one for any man of honour—to act as spy and gaoler to his recent Sovereign, of whose actions he was constrained to give a daily report, and whom he was to guard in all respects as a condemned person. This arose from the previous arrangements of Fouché with the Allies, to whom he had pledged himself, that he would "rid France of the *Man*." The application to the Duke of Wellington for passports assisted the fulfilment

ROCHEFORT.

of the nefarious bargain; as it afforded an opportunity to point out the place of Napoleon's retreat, and to quicken the vigilance of the British Admiralty to effect his capture; while the desired permission could scarcely have been expected, from the spirit in which the war had been undertaken and conducted by all the Allied powers, as against an outlaw. Thus, when the Emperor arrived at Rochefort, he found that the entire line of coast was watched by English vessels of war, which would scarcely have permitted the egress of a wherry until it had been subjected to a strict search.

At Rochefort, the Emperor continued to receive assurances of attachment from the army, and invitations to place himself at its head; but the horror of civil war which he had always hitherto expressed, still clung to him, and induced him to prefer any chance to that of seeing France ravaged by enemies, part of whom would gladly have seized any excuse for wreaking vengeance on the foe by whom they had been so often humiliated. He desired only to quit the country; but the precautions of the British had rendered every scheme which suggested itself for that purpose abortive. The frigates which had been sent round by the Provisional Government, were closely watched by Captain Maitland, who commanded the *Bellerophon*, and two English sloops, the *Phoebe* and *Slaney*; and the French officers, chosen by Fouché, shewed no disposition to encounter the risks of an engagement. The captain of a Danish merchant-ship, offered to attempt the passage to the United States on being indemnified from loss to his owners; but the difficulty of concealing the person of Napoleon, was thought to be insurmountable. A number of young naval officers next proposed to man a *chasse-marée*, or small coasting vessel, in which it was deemed possible for the Emperor to elude the vigilance of the British cruisers; but this also was rejected, as being too insecure a conveyance across the Atlantic. Finally, it was resolved to send on board the *Bellerophon*, to demand the passports promised by the Provisional Government, and to ascertain, as far as possible, the temper and intentions of the British Government. Count Las Cases and Savary, Duke of Rovigo, went accordingly, on the 10th of July, to Captain Maitland, who at once declared that no passports had reached him; and that he could neither permit armed nor neutral vessels to put to sea with the Emperor, without permission

BELLEROPHON.

from Admiral Hotham, his superior. Captain Maitland, however, in the course of the conversation that ensued, appears to have suggested the expedient which was afterwards adopted—that of asking an asylum for Napoleon in England.

On the 14th, the visit of Las Cases to the British squadron was repeated, he being on this occasion accompanied by General L'Allemand. The conference that followed has been variously stated by Las Cases and Maitland; and, in the end, the misunderstanding which it originated became the source of much bitterness to Napoleon and his followers. It is admitted by Captain Maitland himself that, during the interview on the 10th, he had advised Savary to solicit an asylum in England; where, Las Cases adds, he intimated that the exile would have no ill-usage to apprehend. On the 14th, the conversation chiefly turned upon Napoleon's embarkation; and Las Cases says that Captain Maitland assured him the Emperor would be certain to meet with all possible respect. Maitland, whose strict integrity is unquestionable, while confirming the substance of this statement, has added that, in offering to receive Napoleon on board the *Bellerophon*, for the purpose of conveying him and his suite to England, he distinctly stated "that he could enter into no promise as to the reception the Emperor might meet with, as even in receiving him he should be acting on his own responsibility, and could not be sure that it would meet with the approbation of the British Government; and that the assertion, that he had no authority to make conditions as to Napoleon's future destination, was more than once repeated." In his 'Memorial de Ste. Hélène,' Las Cases admits that he had no very sanguine hopes of the Emperor's obtaining permission to retire to the United States, but says that neither he nor any of his companions doubted that they would be permitted to fix their abode in England.

The situation of the Emperor had now become extremely critical. Louis XVIII., supported by the victorious armies of Wellington and Blucher, had made his public entrance into Paris on the 8th, and the white flag floated over half the towns in France. The bad faith of the Provisional Government justified the fear, that if Napoleon lingered he would be delivered up to the Bourbons; in which case the fate of others who fell into their hands, while the Allied armies

LETTER TO THE REGENT.

were still present to countenance them, shews what he had to expect. He might, it is true, have renewed the war at the head of a strong army; but this must have assumed a character of brigandage, and would inevitably have consummated the ruin of France, if not have led to its ultimate partition among the Allies. The Emperor, therefore, determined, whatever might ensue, to embark in the *Bellerophon*, and trust to English generosity and honour. Accordingly, about noon on the 14th, after having announced such his intention to his followers, he wrote the following autograph letter to the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV.:—

“ Royal Highness, — Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and come like Themistocles to seat myself at the hearths of the British people. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

“ NAPOLEON.”

A dispute, which has become of some importance from the circumstances connected with it, has arisen concerning the date of this letter. Captain Maitland and Sir Walter Scott assign it, on the testimony perhaps of an erroneous copy, to the 13th of July, the day before the conference of Las Cases with the commander of the *Bellerophon*; while Las Cases and General Gourgaud, who saw it written, and the latter of whom, besides having been made the bearer of it, has, in his *Memoirs of Napoleon*, published in 1823, given an engraved fac-simile of the original draft, state that it was written on the 14th, after, and partly in consequence of the manly frankness of Maitland during the interview. The latter date certainly seems most consonant to the circumstances of the case; but the question cannot now be entirely set at rest, since, on an enquiry kindly instituted by Lord Holland, it has been ascertained that the original is lost. There cannot be a doubt, on the mind of any impartial person, as to the rectitude and propriety of Maitland's conduct throughout; but it is just towards the memory of Napoleon, to shew that he acted on this occasion from the advice and representations made to him by his adherents, and not from

EMBARKATION.

duplicity. Las Cases, it may be added, if he perfectly understood the reservation of Maitland, seems to have been thoroughly impressed with the idea,—which the Captain's own words, that "he would carry the Emperor and his suite to England, to be received in such manner as the Prince Regent might deem expedient," were not calculated to remove,—that Napoleon would be taken, in good faith, to England, and not merely to the English coast.

The letter to the Prince was despatched the same afternoon by Gourgaud and Las Cases to the *Bellerophon*, with an announcement that the Emperor would repair on board on the following morning. The *Staney*, commanded by Captain Sartorius, was immediately afterwards despatched to England with Gourgaud, who had been commanded to deliver Napoleon's note to the Regent in person. On the morning of the 15th, the Emperor himself, with his attendants, came off in the brig *L'Epervier*. At the moment of quitting the French

TREATMENT.

vessel, General Becker approached, to bid his late Sovereign adieu. "Retire, General," said the Emperor, with much animation, "I would not have it believed that a Frenchman delivered me to my enemies." To shew, however, that no ill-feeling had dictated these words, he extended his hand, while speaking, to the General; and when he had concluded, embraced and dismissed him. He then embarked in the *Bellerophon*, exclaiming, as he was presented to Captain Maitland at the gangway, "I come to place myself under the protection of the laws of England." The officers of the ship were shortly afterwards presented to him; and, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the *Superb* brought Admiral Hotham alongside, who came on board to pay his respects to the fallen Monarch, and remained to dinner.

On the morning of the 16th, the Emperor, on the invitation of the Admiral, visited the *Superb*, and received every mark of attention from both officers and men; the latter of whom seemed much gratified by the familiar manners of their ancient foe, and went through several manœuvres under his inspection. Indeed, both here and on board the *Bellerophon*, except that he received no royal salute, his treatment was in every respect suitable to his rank and fame. The captain, officers, and crew, adopted the etiquette of his suite, and addressed him as a legitimate sovereign. When he appeared on deck, every one took off his hat, and remained uncovered while in his presence; and his cabin was held perfectly sacred. "In short," says Las Cases, "Napoleon continued to be regarded as Emperor." For this courtesy, although a different line of conduct had not been expressly prescribed, Captain Maitland eventually suffered by being condemned to inactivity, while his juniors were promoted over his head. Captain Usher, for similar offences while conveying the Emperor to Elba in 1814, experienced similar punishment. The *Bellerophon* weighed anchor on the evening of the 16th of July; and, about eight o'clock in the morning of the 24th, anchored in Torbay, whence Captain Maitland instantly despatched a messenger, with news of his arrival, to Lord Keith, commanding-in-chief at Plymouth; and where Gourgaud, who had been compelled to deliver up his letter to the Regent without being allowed to land, or to communicate with any one on shore, rejoined the Emperor. This, the first indication of the

PLYMOUTH.

treatment reserved for Napoleon, was speedily followed by other equally significant manifestations of the feelings by which the Government was actuated towards him. The vessel which bore him had scarcely anchored, ere directions were received from Lord Keith, seconded by more peremptory orders from the Admiralty, that no person of whatever class, except the officers and men belonging to the ship, should be permitted to visit the *Bellerophon*, or to hold any intercourse with Bonaparte or his attendants. The Ministry, however, had no power to repress the curiosity and even the sympathy of the public. The bay was crowded with boats and vessels of every kind, filled with people, — some of the highest rank, — anxious to obtain a glimpse of the Great Emperor ; and the owner of a country-seat, within sight of the anchorage, sent on board a present of fruit. Napoleon, during the 24th and 25th, shewed himself from time to time at the cabin windows, and occasionally upon deck.

During the night of the 25th, orders were sent for the ship to repair to Plymouth, off which place it was accordingly moored in the afternoon of the 26th. The *Bellerophon* was then surrounded by armed boats, which constantly rowed round the vessel, to prevent any communication between those on board and the multitude by which the sea was covered. Even musketry was resorted to for the purpose of intimidating visitors, whose greetings, whenever the Emperor could be seen, seemed to be peculiarly irritating to the authorities which held him captive ; and many boats were nearly run down for their temerity in venturing within the prescribed limits—three hundred yards from the prison-ship. It was insufficient for political exigencies that the Emperor should be held in safe custody ; the foe of the Bourbons, the *parvenu* monarch, required to be humiliated as well as stripped of his power to disturb legitimate royalty.

In the meantime, it transpired through the British newspapers, that the Government had determined to refuse the hospitality which had been claimed of the Prince Regent by Napoleon, and that the latter was to be immediately deported to St. Helena, as a prisoner of war. The Emperor would at first give no credence to this report ; but as the rumour spread, and commanded general belief among the English, and as all communication with the land continued to be obstinately prohibited to the French, it soon became evident that Napoleon had

SENTENCE.

little to hope from the generosity to which he had appealed. The ministerial newspapers at the same time redoubled their virulence against the captive and his friends; alluded with bitterness to the courtesy which had been observed towards them by Admiral Hotham and Captain Maitland; and repeated all that had been urged for years, by hireling vilifiers, of the tyranny, the falsehood, and the crimes of the *Corsican*. They even accused of sedition those whom curiosity had led to Plymouth to see the Emperor—especially after it was found that the multitudes, when by chance they could obtain a sight of him, cheered him as an honoured guest rather than a public enemy; and that one of his symbols—a red carnation—was extensively worn by the crowd of spectators.

On the 31st of July, Sir Henry Bunbury, an under Secretary of State, and Lord Keith, accompanied by the secretary of the latter as a witness to what might pass, repaired on board the *Bellerophon*, to communicate to Napoleon the official sentence of his banishment; under which he was to be taken, as had been rumoured, to St. Helena, whither he might be accompanied by any three of his officers whom he chose to select, with the exception of the Duke of Rovigo and General L'Allemand, who were particularly obnoxious to, and had been proscribed by, Louis XVIII.; in addition to whom *General Bonaparte* was to be permitted to take his surgeon and twelve domestics; but it was intimated at the same time, probably in order to deter his followers from further attaching themselves to his fortunes, that the persons who accompanied him would not be permitted to quit the rock to which they were about to be consigned, without the sanction of the British Government.

The Emperor received the news calmly and with dignity; but protested with solemn energy against the right of the British Government so to dispose of him. "I came," he said, "voluntarily to throw myself on the hospitality of your nation. I am not a prisoner of war; and if I was, I have a right to be treated according to the law of nations. . . If I had been told I was to be a prisoner, I would not have come. To take me to the Island of St. Helena, would be my sentence of death. I demand to be received as an English citizen. Let the Prince Regent place me under any superintendence he thinks proper—in a country-house in the centre of the island, thirty leagues

REMONSTRANCE.

from every sea-port; let a commissioned officer attend me to examine my correspondence, and report my actions; but St. Helena, to one of my habits and constitution, would be death. I am accustomed to ride twenty miles a day—what am I to do on that little rock at the end of the world? Botany Bay is preferable to St. Helena.” He contended that his going on board the *Bellerophon* was a matter of choice and confidence, “otherwise,” he said “I might have gone to my father-in-law, or to the Emperor Alexander, who was my personal friend. We have become enemies because he wanted to annex Poland to his dominions, and my popularity among the Poles was in his way. He, however, would not have treated me thus. Your Government by this act will disgrace you in the eyes of Europe. Even your own people will blame it. What was there to force me to the step I took? The tri-coloured flag was still flying at Bordeaux, Nantes, and Rochefort. The army has not even yet submitted. . . I hold out to the Prince Regent the brightest page in his history, by placing myself at his disposal. I have made war upon you for twenty years; and I give you the highest proof of confidence by placing myself of my own accord in the hands of my most inveterate and constant enemies. Remember what I have been, and how I stood among the Sovereigns of Europe. One courted my protection, another gave me his daughter—all sought my friendship. I was acknowledged as Emperor by all the powers of Europe except Britain, and she had acknowledged me as First Consul.” He stated that he would never voluntarily submit to the outrage prepared for him, and that violence alone should compel him to go to St. Helena. “You found me free,” he added; “send me back again. Replace me in the condition in which I was, or permit me to go to America.” In conclusion, he recapitulated the circumstances under which he had been not only justified but in a measure compelled, by breach of faith in the Allied Sovereigns, to quit the Island of Elba; shewed that he had exerted himself to prevent a renewal of hostilities, and that, when war was forced upon him, and fortune had decided against him, he did not, as he might have done, maintain a bloody struggle to secure favourable terms for himself, but at once abdicated his throne, to facilitate the return of peace. The British officers very properly declined to discuss any points not involved in their instruc-

NAPOLEON'S SUITE.

tions; and after listening to the Emperor's observations on their mission, they immediately took leave.

Napoleon's wonted equanimity did not forsake him, and though he could not avoid feeling that a death blow had been dealt to his hopes, he appeared on deck and at dinner with his usual tranquillity and even cheerfulness; and seemed to derive a melancholy pleasure from surveying the crowds collected in the numerous boats around him, and in listening to the plaudits of which he was the subject, from those who certainly shared not to the orthodox extent in the ministerially enjoined hatred of the "Foe of Mankind." It now became necessary to make the selection of companions directed by the Government; and the French officers, to their credit, all volunteered their services; "there was," says Las Cases, "but one fear among us—that of finding ourselves excluded." The Emperor's choice finally fell on Count Bertrand, Grand Marshal of the Palace; Count Montholon, Councillor of State; Baron Gourgaud, Aide-de-camp, with whom was afterwards associated Count Las Cases, Councillor of State, who was to go in the capacity of secretary, and whose services were requisite from his knowledge of English; and Mr. Barry O'Meara, surgeon of the *Bellerophon*, whose services were preferred to those of the medical attendant who had followed Napoleon from Paris. The Countesses Bertrand and Montholon and their children also received permission to accompany the exile, as did the son of Las Cases, a boy from school. Besides these, there were twelve domestics of the Imperial household. The exclusion of Savary and L'Allemand was peculiarly afflicting to those gentlemen, as both had been omitted by name in the Bourbon amnesty to Frenchmen; and it was generally supposed that the British Government, in distinguishing them with its hatred, manifested an intention of yielding them up to vengeance. They were driven almost to despair, and were only relieved from apprehension by Sir Samuel Romilly, who, on being appealed to for his legal opinion, waited on the Lord Chancellor, and ascertained that there was no intention to surrender the prisoners to Louis XVIII., as indeed there could not have been, without a gross violation both of law and justice.

Napoleon does not appear to have resigned himself to his destiny without a severe mental struggle. The affliction of his followers,

THOUGHTS OF SUICIDE.

as well those who were to accompany him into exile as those from whom he was to be separated, painfully affected him, and he appears for some days seriously to have contemplated suicide. "Is a man dependant on others," he said to Las Cases, "when he wishes that his dependance should cease?—My friend, I have sometimes an idea of quitting you, and this would not be very difficult. It would only be necessary to give way to a little excitement, and I shall soon have escaped. All will be over, and you can then tranquilly rejoin your families. This is the more easy, since my internal convictions oppose no bar to it. I am one of those who conceive, that the pains of the other world were imagined merely as a counterpoise to the inadequate allurements offered to us there. God can never have willed such a contradiction to his infinite goodness—especially for acts of this kind; for what is it after all, but wishing to return to him a little sooner?" Las Cases remonstrated against the notion thus started, urging that reverses and constancy had their glory as well as success; and that it would little become one of such noble and exalted character as the Emperor to descend to the level of vulgar minds, which would be the case if he, who had excited the admiration and influenced the destinies of the world, should end his career like a desperate gamester or disappointed lover. "What changes," concluded Las Cases, "may not the mere dissolution of a ministry, the death of a prince, that of a confidant, the slightest burst of passion, or the most trifling dispute, bring about?" The Emperor, upon this and the additional suggestion that abundant occupation might still be found in writing his own memoirs, acquiesced; and from that period reassumed his customary ease and gaiety.

The friends of Napoleon in England, meanwhile,—for notwithstanding the odium which had been uniformly cast upon him by authority, his real character had gradually become known, and the revulsion, consequent upon the detection of falsehood, had naturally converted many, who had been unwitting dupes, into admiring friends, to say nothing of the number of intelligent persons who had never been deceived,—used all their influence to soften the rigour of his sentence; and failing in their appeals to the clemency of the Government, they had recourse to other, though certainly as inadequate, means to effect their purpose. It was first sought to procure

PROTEST.

his removal on shore by writ of *Habeas Corpus*; but this process was found to be inapplicable to an alien: upon which a subpoena was issued, citing him to appear as witness in an action brought by a naval officer for libel. This proceeding seems to have alarmed and confounded both the Admiralty Board and its officer, Lord Keith. The latter, especially, appears to have had a true British sailor's dread of the mysterious powers of the law; and he accordingly took every precaution to prevent the citation from being served, at first by keeping the attorney's boat at a distance while he was on board, and by the speed of his twelve-oared barge when he quitted the ship; and, at last, fairly frightened by the pertinacious lawyer, he ordered the *Bellerophon* to put to sea, and to cruise off the Start until the *Northumberland* should be ready to receive the captive. This was on the 4th of August, and on the same day, Napoleon prepared the following protest against his deportation:—

“I solemnly protest in the face of heaven and of mankind against the outrage I have sustained, and the violation of my most sacred rights in forcibly disposing of my person and liberty. I voluntarily came on board the *Bellerophon*—I am not the prisoner, but the guest of England. I came at the instigation of the captain himself, who said he had orders from the Government to receive and convey me and my suite to England. I came with confidence to claim the protection of the laws of England. When once on board the *Bellerophon*, I was entitled to the hospitality of the British people. If the Government, in ordering the captain of the *Bellerophon* to receive me and my followers, wished merely to ensnare us, it has forfeited its honour and disgraced its flag. If that act be consummated, it will be in vain for the English henceforth to talk of their sincerity, their laws, and liberties: British faith will have been lost in the hospitality of the *Bellerophon*.

“I appeal to history! It will say that an enemy who fought for twenty years against the English people, came freely in his misfortunes to seek an asylum under their laws. What greater proof could he have given of his esteem and confidence? But how did England respond to such magnanimity? She feigned to tender a hospitable hand to that enemy, and when she had gained possession of his person, he was immolated.”

CAPTAIN MAITLAND.

Napoleon desired that Las Cases might bear this document to the Prince Regent; but the necessary permission for that purpose was obstinately refused. It appears, indeed, to have been a matter of vital importance to the ministerial policy of the day, to prevent any direct communication between the Emperor and the Prince. The latter, on receiving the letter written at Rochefort, is said to have betrayed symptoms of relenting towards his ancient foe, and to have declared that Louis XVIII., on whom he had conferred a throne, had never written to him with such good sense and propriety. It was even necessary, in order to divert the Prince from committing some perverse act in opposition to the will of his Ministers, to remind him, that Napoleon was a mere Usurper, and not a legitimate Sovereign, which ought sufficiently to account for the difference between his style of correspondence and that of the hereditary *King of France*. The "divine right" consideration triumphed; and the Hanoverian heir of the "Glorious Revolution of 1688," turned a deaf ear to the Corsican elevated by the events of 1789. Such, however, was known to be the genius of the French Emperor, and the power which this gave him over inferior minds, that when Lord Keith was consulted as to the probable result of an interview with the Regent, he unhesitatingly exclaimed, "On my conscience, if you grant that, I believe they will be excellent friends within half an hour."

Napoleon's protest, it may be necessary to observe, contains a severe reflection on Captain Maitland, as having been an instrument in inveigling the French on board the *Bellerophon*. This must have arisen from misunderstanding on the part of Las Cases, as to what was said of Maitland's instructions from the Government. The Captain merely said, that he would refer the question, concerning a passage to the United States, to the Admiral; but that in the event of Napoleon's coming on board his ship, he would convey him to England, to await the decision of the Prince Regent; at the same time adding, as his private opinion, that the Emperor would not be ill-received by the British. Captain Maitland was, in all probability, as much deceived as to the course finally adopted with the refugees as Napoleon himself: — perhaps, indeed, more so; for the latter, in his conversation with Benjamin Constant, before quitting Paris, distinctly stated, that he did not consider England a fit asylum for him.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND.

"My abode there," he said, "would be ridiculous or disquieting. No one would believe that I should be tranquil. Every fog would be suspected of landing me on the French coast. At the first sight of a person in a green coat stepping from a vessel, one party would fly the country, and another would put it out of the pale of the law. I should compromise every body; and the repetition of 'Behold, he comes!' would tempt me to set out. America would be more suitable; I could live there with dignity." Maitland might, perhaps, without breach of his secret orders, have refrained from promising to convey the Emperor and his suite to England; when, had Napoleon surrendered, he must have done so with the clear understanding that he was to expect only the treatment of a prisoner of war. As it was, both he and his followers undoubtedly considered, that faith had been broken with them;—not intentionally by Maitland, but by the British Government; which, while fulfilling, as its friends contend, the literal engagement made by its officer, hesitated not to treat the substance of that engagement with scorn and mockery. To argue upon the right assumed by the British to transport their captive would be useless. In such cases might constitutes the sole law; and Napoleon, when afterwards pleading his own cause against the advocates of Toussaint L'Ouverture, furnished the best possible apology for the English Ministers; while the admirers of Toussaint supply the bitterest invectives that could be urged against the ungenerous and unnecessary harshness exercised upon the Emperor. The case was not a new one. Napoleon himself had established a precedent; and, in this instance, his enemies were not ashamed to pursue the path he had indicated.

On the 6th of August, the *Northumberland*, and two frigates filled with troops, destined for St. Helena, anchored alongside the *Bellerophon*, where the Emperor was visited by Lord Keith and Admiral Sir George Cockburn. The latter had been commissioned to take charge of the illustrious prisoner; and specially ordered not to treat him with the same civility as had been shewn by Captain Maitland, or as if he had been born a prince. Sir George and his officers were to wear their hats in his presence; Sir George was to preside and command at table; to call his guest *General*; and not to yield to him the undisturbed use of any apartment, save his bed-cabin. Sir

ADMIRAL COCKBURN.

George had, also, precise instructions to examine everything that General Bonaparte had on board the *Bellerophon*—baggage, *wines*, *provisions*, plate, money, diamonds, bills of exchange, and saleable effects of all kinds, of which the Admiral was to take possession, in order to apply the produce, with the exception of the plate, which, if not too considerable, the Emperor was to retain, in support of the prisoner and his attendants. It was, however, kindly provided at the same time, that if the *General* should die before the whole of his property happened to be consumed, he would be permitted to dispose of the surplus by will.

The part of these instructions which seems to have been most offensive to the French, was that which enjoined the Admiral to take no person to St. Helena, except Napoleon, without the consent of such person; nor without previously explaining to each, that he would be subjected to whatever regulations might be deemed requisite for securing the person of the Emperor; and that the Emperor himself, should he attempt to escape, and any of his suite endeavouring to facilitate his escape, would be subjected to close confinement. This was regarded as an effort to deter his friends from accompanying the Exile to his destination, by impressing them with an idea of punishment for vague and undefined offences; and of having before them a life of disquietude, from espionage and arbitrary control. If such were really the intention, however, it signally failed: its sole effect being to concentrate the affections of those whom it sought to terrify; and, by disgusting them with their rulers, to render them less tractable to any but compulsory measures.

On the morning of the 7th, Sir George Cockburn, assisted by a custom-house officer, searched the effects of Napoleon and his attendants, and seized four thousand Napoleons in gold, leaving with Marchand, the Emperor's valet-de-chambre, who, of all engaged in the Imperial service, alone would consent to be present at this humiliating scene, fifteen hundred Napoleons for his master's present use. This, with the exception of some gold and silver plate, and some valuable, but not easily convertible jewellery, formed the whole of the Emperor's treasure.

The weapons of all Napoleon's attendants were next taken from them. The Lords of the Admiralty appear to have directed, that

SEPARATION.

"arms of every description should be taken from the French, of whatever rank, on board his Britannic Majesty's ships;" but Lord Keith specially commanded, that the sword of the Emperor should be respected; and when reminded, by his secretary, that this was contrary to superior orders, he drily desired that functionary "to mind his own business."

The Exile had a parting interview with such of his followers as he was compelled to leave behind, shortly before one o'clock. The scene was affecting. Savary and L'Allemand wept; and Piontkowski, a Polish officer, who had been raised from the ranks, clung to Napoleon's knees, and entreated Lord Keith that he might be permitted to go, even in the most menial capacity, with his beloved master. The Emperor's last act, before stepping into the Admiral's barge, was to give to those from whom he was separated a written testimonial of his satisfaction with their zeal and fidelity. Las Cases, as he passed

DEPARTURE.

Lord Keith at the gangway of the *Bellerophon*, could not refrain from directing his Lordship's attention to the fact, that "the only persons who shed tears on the occasion were those who were forcibly separated from their Sovereign."

The ship got underweigh the same afternoon, and stood along the English coast, communicating with the various ports it passed, in order to complete its stores and sea-stock. Thus, forty days after quitting Paris, Napoleon was on his passage for St. Helena. The last incident connected with his departure was the running down, by a government cutter, of a boat filled with too curious spectators; when, among others, two females perished. This punishment, it may not unreasonably be thought, exceeded the offence — even though the latter were respect for the fallen Emperor.

Before proceeding with the History of Napoleon, it is necessary to give a brief summary of the results to France and Europe of the Battle of Waterloo.

The Parisian Provisional Government, having despatched Napoleon to Rochefort, endeavoured to enter into treaty with the Allies; but found, too late, that no authority was recognised by the enemy save that of Louis XVIII. The army was next appealed to; but the army had no confidence in any one save Napoleon, and sullenly answered the Deputies, who came among them with white scarfs and long proclamations, filled with professions of patriotism and public right, that, "since the Emperor was gone, resistance to the foe was hopeless." The federates, the population of the Faubourgs, and the peasants, adopted the same language; and the theorists saw that their discussions on Utopian freedom, instead of invigorating the country as they had hoped, had assisted in preparing it for despotism. The people, on learning that he who might have saved the nation had been abandoned by those who ought to have supported him to the utmost, believed that they had nothing worse to fear from declared enemies than from pretended friends; and consequently became mere listless spectators of the political drama in action.

On the 3rd of July, Paris capitulated to Wellington and Blucher, on condition that public property and persons should be held sacred; that "private persons and property should be equally respected; the inhabitants, and in general all individuals who should be in the

RESTORATION OF LOUIS XVIII.

capital, being permitted to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed or called to account, either as to the situations then or previously held by them, or as to their conduct or political opinions;" and, finally, that, "if difficulties should arise in the execution of any one of the articles of the Convention, its interpretation should be in favour of the French army and of the city of Paris." The French troops, in return for these concessions, were to retire behind the Loire, with their *materiel*, field-artillery, military chest, horses, and baggage; leaving their sick and wounded to the protection of the conquerors.

On the 6th, the Allies informed the Provisional Government that its authority could no longer be deemed valid—Louis XVIII., the legitimate Sovereign of France, being then at St. Denis, and in a condition to take on himself the functions of power. On the 7th, Fouché and his colleagues addressed to the Chambers a message, declaring that "the Ministers and Generals of the Allied Powers, having declared that the Coalesced Sovereigns had engaged to replace Louis XVIII. upon the throne, and that he was about to re-enter the capital, the Government was dissolved. The Peers, upon this notification, dispersed without discussion; but the Representatives continued their sitting during the day; and, on rising, agreed to meet again at eight on the following morning. Special care was taken, however, to prevent this. The Allied armies had taken possession of Paris, and a body of National Guards were posted at the doors of the Legislative Hall to prevent ingress. Some of the Members were indignant, but the populace had too little respect for their proceedings to sympathize with them, and greeted their arrival with jeers and laughter, hissing or applauding their complaints, as they would the speeches of actors at a play.

On the 8th, King Louis, escorted by a corps of Royalist Volunteers and some National Guards, made his public entry into the capital—the streets of which were lined with English and Prussian troops, to repress, if necessary, any tumult or ebullition of popular feeling. An immense concourse assembled to witness the pageant, among whom the most conspicuously loyal were the ladies. Acclamations of "Vive le Roi!" mixed with those of "Vive l'Empereur!" were general; but what gave the most decided appearance of triumph to

PROSCRIPTIONS.

the procession was the brilliant train of officers which brought up its rear—including Marshals Victor, Macdonald, Oudinot, St. Cyr, and Moncey, strangely associated in the inglorious cavalcade with the traitors Marmont and Bourmont.

One of the first acts of the King, was to decree the revocation of freedom of the press; and to declare that the abolition of the slave trade by Napoleon was illegal. He then proceeded to ordain the forfeiture of thirty peers, for having sat in the Chamber summoned by the Usurper; next to proscribe, and order to be arrested, Ney, Labédoyère, the two L'Allemands, D'Erlon, Le Febvre Desnouettes, Ameilh Brayer, Gilly, Mouton-Duvernet, Grouchy, Clausel, Laborde, Debelle, Bertrand, Drouot, Cambrone, Lavalette, and Savary; and finally, Soult, Alaix, Excelmans, Maret, Thibaudeau, Carnot, Vandamme, Lamarque, Lobau, Harel, Regnault St. Jean d'Angely, Arrighi, and twenty-six other distinguished men, whose reputation as patriots was sealed by the persecution to which they were subjected, were commanded to retire into the interior of France, until the Court had decided whether they should be banished or delivered to the Royal tribunals. These decrees were countersigned by Talleyrand and Fouché! and suffered to be carried into execution by the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher, notwithstanding the explicit indemnity contained in the capitulation of Paris, that none "should be disturbed or called to account for their conduct or political opinions!"

The paternal sway of the Bourbons now began to be understood. Marshal Brune was assassinated at Avignon by Royalist gens-d'armes; and Ney, Labédoyère, Chartran, and Mouton-Duvernet, after being subjected to a form of trial, were shot as traitors. Ney, it should be mentioned, was first arraigned before a council of war, composed of field-m Marshals; but these officers refused to try the prisoner, on the plea that the Prince of the Moskwa was a Peer of France. He was subsequently taken before the remodelled Chamber of Peers, a majority of the members of which were decided Bourbonists—men of the ancient emigration, or more recent betrayers of their country—who thirsted for the blood of those whose services to France threw their own zeal and loyalty into shadow, and who thought it unnecessary to adhere even to legal formalities. So palpable, indeed, was

DEATH OF NEY.

their predetermination to sentence the accused, that Count Collard not only refused to vote upon the conviction, but was sufficiently excited with indignation at the conduct of those around him to declare his sentiments on the occasion. "I thought," said he, "that I had been among judges; but I perceive none here but executioners. The greater portion of the members of this Chamber, not only abandoned their country in its need, but have basely fought against it; and as shamefully fled, before the national phalanxes in the army of Condé and of La Vendée, being beaten wherever they ventured to shew themselves. They cannot endure the aspect of their conquerors. The sight of a hero, who for twenty-five years fought for his country, makes them even now turn pale. On his forehead they read their own disgrace; and, true to their character for cowardice and perfidy, they have sworn to destroy this illustrious victim, whose glory troubles them; whose great achievements cover them with eternal infamy. I will not be a witness to the perpetration of such premeditated atrocity."

Notwithstanding this manly protest, beneath which, like beaten hounds, the craven peers of Louis XVIII. crouched in silence, a large majority of the Chamber, chiefly upon the evidence of the traitor Bourmont, formerly Ney's aide-de-camp, condemned the illustrious Marshal to death. His last words, at the place of execution, were, "I declare, before God and man, that I have never betrayed my country. Vive la France!" How many of his accusers and judges could with truth have repeated that exclamation? The character of Ney has been drawn by one who is usually sparing of praise to the friends and followers of Napoleon. "'The Bravest of the Brave' was sometimes a stern, but never an implacable enemy. He was sincere, honest, blunt. So far from flattering, he often contradicted him on whose nod his fortunes depended. He was, with few [nameless] exceptions, merciful to the vanquished; and, while so many of his brother marshals dishonoured themselves by rapine and extortion, Michael Ney lived and died poor." Colonel Napier, in his 'History of the Peninsular War,' has borne abundant testimony to "the happy mixture of courage, readiness, and skill," combined in the Prince's person, to "his magical military glance," and the eagle-swiftness and certainty of his stoop upon the foe. The murder of

ESCAPE OF LAVALETTE.

Ney, of the young and gallant Labédoyère, of the brave Duvernet, and their comrades, has since been avenged upon the Bourbon family and some of its accomplices.

It was not thought advisable to bring Carnot, Davoust, Soult, or Massena to trial, as the army murmured at the martyrdom of Ney and his compeers; and it was feared, that even the foreign troops quartered in the country would be unable to suppress a general insurrection, if more blood were shed to gratify the wantonness of Royal vengeance. Lavalette, Napoleon's Postmaster-general, had been condemned; but being related by marriage to the Beauharnais family, and hence to the King of Bavaria, the execution of his sentence was deferred, till his wife—a devoted and heroic woman—found means to contrive and execute a plan for his escape: which it is possible might have proved less effectual, but for the assistance of Sir Robert Wilson and Colonel Hutchinson.

The result of the long conflict with France was now declared by the Congress. The war, it should be remembered, had been undertaken to enable nations to recover their rights and freedom, trampled under foot as these were said to be by a despot. To every state its ancient boundaries were to be restored; and a guarantee given for the speedy establishment of just, wise, and wholesome laws, conformable to the advancement of civilization and the ideas of the

TREATY OF VIENNA.

age. In Germany, especially, a millennium was to have arisen out of the ashes of feudalism, and the visionary principles of the "*Tugendbund*" were to govern all the princes and people of the earth. This was the lure upon which money and men had been raised for the battle of the Monarchs against Napoleon, and against the progression of popular government and popular civilization. The legend became more homely as danger diminished; and, finally, the combined Princes scrupled not to avow that the quarrel had been exclusively theirs, and that the populace were to be regarded merely as "hereditary bondsmen," whose rights and privileges consisted in blind obedience to the will of their chiefs. In short, Europe was parted, like a family inheritance, among the tribe of legitimates; and whole races of people were transferred as cattle, to increase or diminish the portions of individuals. The Duchy of Warsaw was dissolved, and its territory divided between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Naples was restored to King Ferdinand; and Spain and the Holy Inquisition to his namesake. Venice and Lombardy were re-consigned to Austria. Genoa was delivered to the King of Sardinia. Belgium, Liege, and the Duchy of Luxembourg, were annexed to Holland. The King of Saxony, for his faithful adherence to the cause of his benefactor, besides losing Warsaw, was stripped of a large portion of his hereditary states. Hanover was erected into a kingdom; and Prussia received considerable accessions in Franconia, Westphalia, and on the left bank of the Rhine. The petty Italian and German Princes were restored to the states which they had misgoverned, or to equivalents taken by force from the friends of the French Emperor; and their subjects were reduced by threats of foreign interference to the old feudal subjection. And this in the face of the liberal proclamations of the Allies, and in defiance of the solemn protestations of those who had believed themselves engaged in a war of deliverance! One of the last acts of the Confederated Powers, was to deprive the son of Napoleon of the inheritance, which had been guaranteed to him, of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla.

France itself, meanwhile, was subjected to heavy contributions, being made not only to support the troops which had conquered the country, but the whole horde which had followed them into the

STATE OF FRANCE.

devoted land, in order to maintain Louis upon his throne; besides which they were burdened with the heavy expenses of the war. The National Museum was stripped of the rich works of art, which Napoleon had collected, often in lieu of money, from the different nations conquered by France; the Imperial fortresses were occupied by enemies; and every department was subjected to foreign military governors. The miseries inflicted upon the French were well described by Talleyrand and Fouché, in an official memorial, addressed to the Allies. "The Sovereigns," says this document, "declared that they made war against Napoleon alone; yet all their measures belie their words, since at the present moment, when the war ought to be finished, it seems only commencing. The position of France is the more afflicting, inasmuch as were war openly declared, it is impossible that the nation could suffer in a greater degree all its evils and horrors. Wherever foreign troops are quartered, pillage, fire, rapine, and murder have raged without control, and avarice and vengeance have left nothing that officers or soldiers can desire. The atrocities committed exceed even those of which the French armies have been accused." Fouché, at the same time, in a report to Louis on the state of the kingdom, advised the Monarch to withdraw from the evils by which he was surrounded; adding, that the public functionaries would also quit their places, leaving the armies of the Sovereigns at issue with a people freed from all restraint. "A nation of thirty millions of inhabitants," concludes this report, "may undoubtedly be made to disappear from the face of the earth; but in this war of extermination, the oppressed and the oppressors will lie together in more than one grave." The circumstances which could call forth such expressions from one of the most wary politicians in Europe, must have been desperate. The opinion of the same writer as to the result was unequivocally expressed to M. de Bourrienne before the end of 1815; and, being reported by the latter to the King, occasioned the removal from his post of the old Jacobin Minister. "The Royalists of 1815," said Fouché "are precisely the same as they were in 1789. The egregious folly has been committed of wishing to force a people, enlightened by ages, to forget its knowledge, to retrograde, and put all to hazard in behalf of antiquated notions. This inexplicable conduct has given occasion for the saying,

STATE OF FRANCE.

that we have placed a counter-revolution upon the throne. . . We have yet to terminate the great contest, which, after twenty-five years of overturning and of lessons, is not ended. Not a sixth portion of the French would voluntarily have placed themselves under the ancient regime; nor is there now a fifth of the nation frankly devoted to the legitimate authority. . . A civil war will come; and in more than sixty departments a handful of Royalists only will oppose the mass of the people." "If I understand your Grace," replied De Bourrienne, "you think it impossible for the Bourbons to remain?" — "I do not tell you my opinion," replied the Minister, with a sardonic smile; "but you may draw what conclusion you please from my words."

CHAPTER LIV.

VOYAGE TO ST. HELENA—BRIARS—LONGWOOD. 1815—1816.

KEEPING along the English coast, the *Northumberland*, on the 10th of August, cleared the British Channel; and, on the 11th, Napoleon obtained a last glimpse of the coast of France—the heights of Cape de la Hogue. He gazed long and anxiously upon the scene; and, as it lessened in the distance, extended towards it his hands, and exclaimed, with deep emotion, “Adieu! land of the Brave! Adieu, dear France! A few traitors less, and thou wilt again be the mistress of the world!” This was the Emperor’s last farewell to the country on which he had conferred a wreath of imperishable glory. Was France quite worthy of her Hero? In his prosperity, she made of him an idol, in adversity she deserted and would have forgotten him, but that oppression brought back the remembrance of her former saviour.

THE VOYAGE.

The conduct of Admiral Cockburn, during the voyage, was, in all things, conformable to his instructions. He treated the Emperor with cold civility as General Bonaparte; but would allow no deference to his habits, which could indicate consciousness of inferiority in rank to the illustrious Exile, with whom he and his officers were thus brought in contact. However vulgar or unworthy this might have appeared to the Emperor, he took no notice, even to his suite, of the studied indignity; but when reminded by his attendants that it was doubtless intended to annoy him, he merely replied, "They may call me what they please; they cannot hinder me from being myself." Sir Walter Scott, in attempting to defend the British Government for having descended to the petty inflictions by which wormwood was added to Napoleon's cup of gall, has betrayed the motives which induced such conduct to be adopted and persisted in. "Once acknowledged as Emperor," he says, "it followed of course that he was to be treated as such in every particular. . . . Whoever heard of an Emperor restricted in his promenades, or subjected, in certain cases, to the surveillance of an officer, and the restraint of sentinels? Or how could those precautions against escape have been

THE VOYAGE.

taken, without irreverence to the person of a crowned head, which, in the circumstances of Napoleon Bonaparte, were indispensably necessary?" In other words, the British Ministers having directed their instruments to pursue a course of stern severity, were compelled to resort to a fiction, as to the rank of their victim, in order to justify their harshness even in their own eyes. It was reserved for the English Government of 1840 to place Napoleon's name among the Sovereigns of Europe, and thus, by exposing the hollowness of factious pretensions in 1815, to remove the odium incurred by the Emperor's gaolers from the nation at large to a few individuals. Napoleon, it may be added, had intended, if permitted to land in England, to have assumed the name of Colonel Duroc or Muiron, according to the usage of Sovereigns when out of their own dominions without political object or power; but when the title which he had so long borne, and which had been directly acknowledged by every State in Europe except England, and indirectly by the latter, was disputed, he laid aside all thoughts of an incognito, and claimed the rank to which he felt himself entitled. "I abdicated the throne of France," he said, "but not the title of Emperor. I do not call myself Napoleon, Emperor of France, but the Emperor Napoleon. Sovereigns generally retain their titles. Thus, Charles IV. of Spain retains the title of King, though he has abdicated in favour of his son. If I were in England, I would not call myself Emperor; but it is designed to make it appear that the French nation had no right to choose me as its Sovereign. If the people had no right to make me Emperor, they were equally incapable of making me General. The English called Washington a leader of rebels for a long time, and refused to acknowledge either him or the constitution of his country; but his success ultimately obliged them to change their tone and acknowledge both."

The life of the Emperor on board the *Northumberland* was only remarkable from its simplicity. He breakfasted in his bed-cabin, at irregular hours, in the French style. He inquired of one of his attendants what was passing, the distance run, the state of the wind, and other particulars concerning the ship's progress. He then read for some time, dressed towards four o'clock, and played at chess till five, when dinner was announced. This meal had usually been

THE VOYAGE.

discussed by Napoleon at the Tuileries in about a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes; but Admiral Cockburn's two courses occupied from an hour to an hour and a half, which, though the Emperor never spoke of it, somewhat annoyed him. He made no observation upon the new system of cookery, or the quality of any dish, and left the selection of his food entirely to the two valets who waited on him. He seldom joined in the conversation at table; but, though it was in French, remained silent and listless, as if a stranger to the language. The Admiral was at first disconcerted by the Emperor's habit of rising immediately after dinner; but, on being informed of his guest's peculiarities, he so far accommodated himself to them, as to order coffee for him and his companions, sometimes even before the English had finished their meal. Napoleon then went upon deck, and Sir George and his officers remained to take wine. The Emperor continued walking the deck till dark, when he usually returned to the after-cabin, and played a game at *vingt-un* or chess for half an hour, after which he retired for the night. He wore a light dress, on account of the excessive heat; and when on deck was accustomed to seat himself on a particular gun, which among the seamen soon acquired the name of the "Emperor's gun," and there relate to his faithful followers the most interesting particulars of his early life, of the history of his family, his politics, and opinions.

At noon, on the 23rd of September, the ship crossed the Equinoctial line, in the Gulf of Guinea. The day was one of unusual mirth and disorder; but the Admiral courteously exempted the Emperor and his suite from the unpleasant ceremonies appropriated to the Neptunian festival. Napoleon, as the price of his exemption, desired to present the crew with a hundred Napoleons; but this, Sir George Cockburn considered excessive for a *General*, and restricted the donation to a tenth of the amount; an interference which the Emperor conceived to be uncalled-for, and consequently he gave nothing.

Between the 4th and 7th of October, the *Northumberland* spoke with a French merchant vessel, in the Gulf of Guinea, the Captain of which was greatly surprised and vexed to learn that Napoleon was a prisoner in the hands of the English. "You have robbed us of our treasure," he said, when informed of the capture and transportation; "you have taken away him who knew how to govern us, according

ST. HELENA.

to our tastes and manners." Towards evening on the 14th, land was descried; and, at daybreak on the 15th, the Exile and his followers had a full view of their future prison. "Before us," says Las Cases, "we beheld a kind of village, surrounded by numerous bleak and barren hills, towering to the clouds. Every platform, every aperture, the brow of every rock and hill, was rife with cannon. The Emperor viewed the prospect through his glass. I stood beside him, and kept my eyes constantly fixed on his countenance; but I could perceive no change: yet he saw before him what, in all probability, would be his perpetual prison—perhaps his grave!" About noon, the ship cast anchor; and the Admiral, notwithstanding his instructions to keep the French on board till a residence, comprising all the requisites for a prison, could be found or constructed, went on shore in search of a temporary habitation for his captives; and having found one, he returned in the evening with the grateful news, that on the morrow they would be permitted to go on shore.

On the 16th, accordingly, Sir George Cockburn, on his own responsibility, transferred the Emperor and his suite from the *Northumberland* to an inn at James' Town, where they slept for that night; and, on the 17th, Napoleon removed to a pavilion, or summer-house, attached to the estate of a resident merchant, named Balcombe, which had been hired by the Admiral, as a retreat, till Longwood, the place fixed on for Napoleon's permanent abode, could be prepared for his reception. This was a miserable place; but it was the best that could be had; unless, indeed, Plantation-house, the summer villa of the Governor, had been intruded upon; which would have been contrary to the express orders of the English Ministry, who had prohibited any such excess of courtesy—lest the prisoner should be tempted to suppose that "he had no superior in St. Helena."

Briars, which was the name of the estate to which the summer-house belonged, was situated on a pointed eminence rising from the valley, which runs from James' Town some distance into the interior of the island. All around were rugged steepes and broken ground, presenting little but bare rocks and wild precipices, interspersed with a few stunted trees, and an occasional patch of vegetation, struggling for existence. Las Cases was sent for as soon as the Emperor obtained possession of the pavilion. It was evening when the Count

reached the place. The Emperor was standing at the threshold of his hut, attired in his customary uniform of the Imperial Guard and his small cocked-hat, surveying the winding path leading from the valley. His form was slightly bent, and his hands reposed behind his back. "In none of his campaigns, perhaps in no situation of his past life," says his faithful follower, "had he been so wretchedly lodged, or subject to so many privations." The summer-house contained but two rooms, one on the ground-floor and the other above. The windows had neither shutters nor curtains, and there was scarcely a seat in the room. The Emperor was alone—his two valets being engaged in preparing him a bed. Darkness was rapidly closing around, and with it came profound silence and undisturbed solitude. "To understand my feelings at that moment," says Las Cases, "it would be necessary to revert to the days of Napoleon's past glory, when one of his decrees sufficed to subvert or to create thrones; and when his Court at the Tuileries was thronged by submissive ministers, anxious ambassadors, and trembling princes and kings." Now it was necessary to barricade a broken window near his bed, so as to exclude the air; for his two valets to sleep in their cloaks on the ground, across the door of his apartment; and for his Councillor of State to repose on a mattress spread on the floor, in a chamber about seven feet square, without a chair, or the slightest convenience in the room. Were such things necessary to the safe custody of Napoleon? Scott, the general advocate and organ of the Government, condemns the narrow-mindedness which dictated the instructions that led to such a result, and argues that Plantation-House should have been conceded to the captive, "because the very best accommodation was due to fallen greatness; and because, in his circumstances, Napoleon ought to have been the last person on the island subjected to inconvenience." This somewhat vague reasoning was probably adopted, in order to blink a better—namely, that having been guilty of an act of duplicity, if not of absolute injustice, the Government ought to have rendered the wrong less glaring, by as much of kindness and consideration as the *expediency* on which it acted would admit.

In the morning, the Emperor breakfasted without tablecloth or plates—the remains of his previous day's dinner furnishing his repast. An English officer was lodged in the neighbouring house—that of

BRIARS.

Mr. Balcombe — as a guard; and two soldiers paraded before the pavilion, to watch the motions of the inmates. Napoleon said nothing respecting these precautions; but cheerfully resumed the occupation, by which he had recently diverted *ennui*, during the mornings while on board the *Northumberland* — that of dictating a history of his first campaign in Italy, and conversing on the course of his early life and adventures. In the afternoon of the 18th, he began an exploration of the little domain which his name has since rendered famous through the earth; and then commenced his acquaintance with the excellent family of the Balcombes; who, during his residence in their immediate neighbourhood, omitted nothing in their power to render his situation as agreeable as circumstances would permit.

The preparations at Longwood, and consequently the residence at Briars, continued for nearly two months, during which the life of the Exile was one of routine — diversified only by the attentions of his followers to increase his comforts, and by the novelties of his abode and position, which were calculated only to inspire him with feelings and thoughts of bitterness. He who, but a few months before, was at the head of one of the most powerful nations of Europe; the disposer of crowns and dispenser of glory, honour, and wealth, was now limited to a hovel, twelve feet square, perched on a barren rock, without furniture, or the simplest requisites of comfort; and with but one room for dining-room, sitting-room, study, bed-chamber, and dressing-room — compelled to walk in the air daily while his apartment was cleaned. His meals were brought to him from a distance; his food such as he had not been accustomed to; water for a bath, which was necessary to his health, not to be had; exercise on horseback impracticable; and his friends and servants quartered at a distance of two miles, and only permitted to approach him in the company of a soldier, taught to regard the captives as enemies. Napoleon sometimes chafed and repined under these privations; and therefore his detractors have stigmatized him as petulant, captious, and undignified.

Before the end of October, this want of accommodation was, in some measure, remedied. The Colonel of the 53rd English regiment presented to Las Cases a tent, which was forthwith pitched, so as to

BRIARS.

form a prolongation of the pavilion. The Emperor's cook took up his abode at Briars. His table-linen and plate were brought from James' Town; and some of the officers of his suite attended daily at Briars, and stayed to dine. These were grateful alleviations to the monotony of the first few days; and their value was enhanced by the removal to a greater distance, in the beginning of November, of the soldiers who had been stationed at the pavilion—a relief which was due to the kind intercession of Mr. Balcombe. This change enabled the prisoner to take more exercise than before, as he had objected to walk while his steps were watched by strangers.

Napoleon's favourite resort was Mr. Balcombe's garden, a level patch, containing more shrubs and plants than were generally to be found in the neighbourhood. This was cultivated by a negro, named

BRIARS.

Toby, who described himself as a Malay-Indian, forced from home by Englishmen, and sold as a slave at St. Helena. The affecting story and simple manners of this old man greatly interested the Emperor, who sought to purchase his liberation, in order to restore him to his country and friends. Toby, in return, became attached to the Emperor, and was accustomed to call him the "Good Gentleman." Pausing with Las Cases one day, while the negro was at work before them, Napoleon exclaimed:—"What after all is this poor human machine? There is not one form whose exterior is precisely like that of another, or whose internal organization does not differ. . . Had Toby been a Brutus, he would have put himself to death; an Æsop, he would now, perhaps, have been the Governor's adviser; an ardent and zealous Christian, he would have borne his chains in the sight of God, and blessed them. As for poor Toby, he scarcely heeds his misfortunes, but stoops and toils in innocent tranquillity." Then, after having steadfastly regarded him for a few moments in silence, Napoleon resumed: "There is certainly a wide distance between poor Toby and a King Richard: and yet the crime is not the less atrocious; for this man after all had his family, his happiness, his liberty; and it was an act of horrible cruelty to bring him here to languish in the fetters of slavery." The Emperor stopped short; but the next moment, turning to Las Cases, continued:—"I read in your eyes that you think he is not the only example of the same kind at St. Helena. My dear friend, there is not the least resemblance here. If the outrage is of a higher class, the victims also furnish very different resources. We have not been exposed to corporeal sufferings; and if that had been attempted, we have souls to have disappointed our tyrants. Our situation may even have its charms. The eyes of the universe are upon us. We are martyrs in an immortal cause. Millions of human beings are weeping for us: our country sighs, and glory mourns our fate. We here struggle against the oppression of the gods; and the prayers of nations are for us. Besides, this is not the source of my real sufferings. If I considered only myself, perhaps I should have reason to rejoice. Misfortunes are not without their heroism and their glory. Adversity was wanting to my career. Had I died on the throne, enveloped in the dense atmosphere of my power, I should to many have remained a problem;

LONGWOOD.

but now misfortune will enable all to judge of me without disguise."

On the 10th of December, the repairs and alterations having been completed at Longwood, the household of the Emperor was transferred thither. On this occasion, Napoleon rode a horse which had been sent for his use from the Cape of Good Hope. The Admiral, between whom and the Captive some coolness had arisen, in consequence of the privations endured by the latter at Briars, and the restrictions imposed on such of his suite as had continued to reside at James' Town, now behaved with the utmost attention; as also did the officers of the garrison, who formed the Imperial escort. The road was lined with spectators, anxious to obtain a glimpse of the Great Man, whose seclusion, since he had been on the island, rendered him still a perfect stranger to his curious neighbours. The cortège reached Longwood about four o'clock in the afternoon; and, at six, the Emperor indulged, for the first time since he had quitted Malmaison, in the luxury of a bath.

Longwood, originally a farm belonging to the East India Company, had been recently occupied as a summer residence by the Deputy-governor of St. Helena. It is situate on one of the highest parts of the island, a level height running on the north and east towards the steep coast; and bounded, on the south and west, by the barren rocky hills, of which the greater portion of the isle consists. The difference of temperature between Longwood and James' Valley is said to be, by Las Cases, at least ten degrees, as marked on the English thermometer. The sun, though rarely seen, exercises considerable influence on the atmosphere; which, without due precaution, is apt to produce diseased liver. Continual, and frequently violent, winds blow regularly from the same quarter; and heavy and sudden falls of rain render it impossible to distinguish any settled gradation of seasons. The year forms a round of wind, rain, and clouds; and the temperature, though mild, is so monotonous as to occasion lassitude and *ennui*. The rain is abundant; but the grass, to which it gives new life, speedily disappears under the withering heat or nipping wind. Water is conveyed thither in a conduit; but it is so unwholesome, that those who use it are compelled to boil it first. The trees in the vicinity are gum trees — mere shrubs, affording no shade. The

LONGWOOD.

prospect on the one side extends far over the ocean, which bounds the horizon ; while, on the other, it is contracted within narrow limits by huge masses of rock, desolate valleys, deep gulfs, and bleak ledges of mountain.

The house had been for two months undergoing repairs, which, however, are said not greatly to have improved it. Its entrance was through a room which had just been built, and which was to answer the double purpose of ante-chamber and dining-room. This led to the withdrawing-room, beyond which was a dark apartment, at first intended to contain the Emperor's maps and books, but afterwards converted into a dining-room. The cabinet and bed-chamber of Napoleon opened into this last, and were connected with a small external gallery, which served for a bathing-room. The opposite end of the building was fitted up for Count Montholon and his family, and for Count Las Cases and his son—the chamber of the latter being a loft, to which he had access by a ladder and trap-door. The windows and beds were generally without curtains, and the furniture of a scanty, mean, and heterogeneous description. A garden surrounded the house, but, from its situation, want of water, and other causes, was such only by courtesy. In front, and separated from the house by a ravine, the 53rd regiment was encamped, parties of which were posted on the neighbouring heights. Gourgaud and Mr. O'Meara were compelled to sleep under a tent, till their apartments could be got in readiness ; and Bertrand and his family were domiciliated in a small cottage called Hut's gate, about two miles from Longwood. The accommodations were, in all respects, far inferior to what Englishmen could have desired for the illustrious captive ; but it must be stated, that every effort had been used to make them as good as time and means would permit. Sir George Cockburn, according to O'Meara, had been indefatigable in his exertions to stimulate the numerous workmen engaged in rendering the place fit for habitation ; and, with the exception of Plantation House, of which Sir Walter Scott more than once regrets the nonappropriation as the captive's residence, it was better than any house on the island.

The following were the precautions now taken for the safe custody of the Emperor. "A subaltern's guard was posted at the entrance

PRECAUTIONS.

of Longwood, about six hundred paces from the houses, and a cordon of sentinels and picquets were placed round the limits. At nine o'clock, the sentinels were drawn in, and stationed in communication with each other, surrounding the house in such positions that no person could come in or go out without being seen and scrutinized by them. At the entrance of the house, double sentinels were placed; and patrols were continually passing backward and forward. After nine, Napoleon was not at liberty to leave the house, unless in company with a field-officer; and no person whatever was allowed to pass without the countersign. This state of affairs continued until daylight in the morning. Every landing-place in the island, and, indeed, every place which presented the semblance of one, was furnished with a picquet, and sentinels were even placed upon every goat-path leading to the sea; though in truth the obstacles presented by nature, in almost all the paths in that direction, would of themselves have proved insurmountable to so unwieldy a person as Napoleon.

"From the various signal-posts on the island, ships are frequently discovered at twenty-four leagues' distance, and always long before they can approach the shore. Two ships of war continually cruised, one to windward and the other to leeward, to whom signals were made as soon as a vessel was discovered from the posts on shore. Every ship, except a British man-of-war, was accompanied down to the road by one of the cruisers, who remained with her till she was either permitted to anchor or was sent away. No foreign vessels were allowed to anchor, unless under circumstances of great distress; in which case no person from them was permitted to land, and an officer and party from one of the ships of war was sent on board to take charge of them as long as they remained, as well as in order to prevent any improper communication. Every fishing-boat belonging to the island was numbered and anchored at sunset, under the superintendence of a lieutenant in the navy. No boats, except guard-boats from the ships of war, which pulled about the island all night, were allowed to be down after sunset. The orderly officer was also instructed to ascertain the actual presence of Napoleon twice in the twenty-four hours, which was done with as much delicacy as possible. In fact," adds Mr. Barry O'Meara, "every human pre-

CORRESPONDENCE.

caution to prevent escape, short of actually incarcerating or enchaining him, was adopted by Sir George Cockburn."

But it was not for his detention alone that the British Government had provided. It was deemed necessary to exclude him as much as possible from the notice and knowledge of the world, and even from his own family and friends. It was ordered that "all letters addressed to him or any of his suite should be delivered, in the first place, to the Admiral or the Governor, who was to read, previously to transmitting, them; and the same regulation was to be enforced with respect to letters written by the *General* or those of his suite." This was a humiliating restriction, intended to prevent the Emperor from holding any intercourse with Europe. It has been condemned even by Scott: "If a third person," says that author, "cold blooded at best, perhaps inclined to hold up to scorn the expressions of our grief or our affection, is permitted to have the review of the effusions of our hearts towards a wife, a sister, a brother, or a bosom friend, the correspondence loses half its value; and forced as we are to keep it within the bounds of the most discreet caution, it becomes to us rather a source of new mortification, than the opening of a communion with those absent persons, whose friendship and attachment we hold to be the dearest possession of our lives. . . Whatever was to be apprehended of danger in this species of intercourse, was much more likely to occur in a clandestine correspondence than in one carried on even by sealed letters openly and by permission of the Government." One thing was almost certain to result from the arrangement as it stood. No one would conceive that he was acting wrong in sending, or receiving, letters which had not passed the prescribed examination; and no person was likely to deem that he degraded himself by becoming the medium of free communication between the exiles and their friends. Accordingly, it was afterwards discovered, that, notwithstanding all the vigilance used, letters from time to time did find their way to Europe without the supervision of the constituted authorities; and these being generally filled with complaints against the English officials, derived additional weight and importance, from the fact that the Government restrictions were believed to have been imposed in order, principally, to intercept such complaints.

ESTABLISHMENT.

Some of the other instructions regarding the treatment of the Emperor were dictated in the same narrow, vindictive spirit. An English officer, it is said, was to have been stationed constantly at the Emperor's table; but as Napoleon declared his resolution to take his meals in his chamber, the order was not persisted in. An officer was also to accompany him in all his rides on horseback; but on its being signified that the prisoner would not ride at all under such surveillance, limits were fixed within which he might ride at discretion. Sentinels were posted beneath the windows and before the doors of Longwood; communication between the French and the inhabitants of the island was restrained; the pass-words and orders were incessantly changed, and the captives were reduced to a state of constant perplexity and apprehension. The Emperor, annoyed for his followers rather than himself at these vexatious proceedings, directed Montholon to remonstrate in writing against their continuance; but in consequence of the letter, in which the complaint was urged, being addressed to the Admiral in the name of the Emperor, the answer returned briefly stated, that "No such thing as an Emperor was known at St. Helena."

The exiles being now settled at Longwood, Napoleon assigned to his suite their several future duties. To Bertrand, the Grand Marshal, was entrusted the control and superintendence of the household; to Montholon, the care of all domestic details; to Gourgaud, the direction of the stables, which soon contained eight or ten horses; and Las Cases had the care of the property and furniture, and the management of the supplies. These arrangements had been rendered necessary in consequence of the irregularities and occasional disorders which had arisen from want of defined occupation for the several members of the little Court; but, however prudently the duties had been assigned, instead of giving perfect satisfaction, and conducing to the harmony and happiness of the household, they sowed the seeds of discontent which took permanent root, and proved a fertile source of vexation to all parties. One thought that his talents or devotion had not been sufficiently studied in the selection of the office conferred on him; another sought to attach undue importance to his appointment; and all seemed disposed to dispute their fellows' advancement as a matter of serious importance and an object of

EXERCISE.

legitimate ambition, rather than to unite in providing for the common necessities of their condition, and thus securing the advantage and comfort of the whole.

Las Cases has partly explained the reason of this dissension: — “Though attachment to the person of the Emperor,” he says, “had attracted us all around him; yet chance, and not sympathy, had brought us together. Our connexion was purely fortuitous. We were encircled at Longwood round the same centre, but without any cohesion with each other. We were almost all strangers to each other; and unfortunately our different conditions, ages, and characters, were calculated to make us continue so.” These circumstances had the effect of banishing confidence, interchange of sentiment, and intimate union; and had it not been for the kindness, good-temper, and care of the Emperor, to remove every just cause of jealousy, the foolish bickerings of his followers, whose love for him appears to have been the only feeling in which they all participated, would have rendered the establishment as miserable in its own constitution as through any infliction of the enemy.

Towards the end of December, the Emperor began to take exercise on horseback, and made several rambles on foot; visiting the East India Company’s farm, and other places on the island, as far as his limits would permit him to go without a guard. His health had begun to decline; and Dr. O’Meara assured him that exercise alone could restore it. One day, the 29th, during one of his exploratory rides, Napoleon dismounted, in order to descend a steep and deeply furrowed valley. At the bottom was a streamlet, the banks of which appeared to be dry; but when trodden they gave way, and Las Cases and the Emperor sank to their knees in mud. Looking at his clothes, Napoleon, when extricated, said: — “This is certainly a dirty adventure. If we had been lost here, what would have been said in Europe? Canting hypocrites would have proved, beyond a doubt, that we had been swallowed for our crimes.”

These rides and walks tended greatly to undeceive the inhabitants of St. Helena, as to the real character of the prisoner. The most violent prejudices had been fostered against him, by the countless books and pamphlets circulated by the British Government and its agents during the war. “If it had then entered into any person’s

head," said Napoleon, "to have said, that I had grown hairy, and walked on all-fours, there are people who would have believed it, and would have said that God had punished me as He did Nebuchadnezzar." All seemed to have been misled by these improbable libels, and were consequently surprised at the want of similitude between what they saw and what they had been led to expect. Even Sir George Cockburn, a man in whom the strong prejudices of his profession, and his strict sense of duty, tended to keep alive early notions and predilections, with reference to the French, more than once exclaimed, in the midst of his numerous disputes with the followers of Napoleon, that the Emperor was "the best-natured, the most just and reasonable of the whole set."

This favourable reaction soon became general. On one occasion, an Englishman, with whom the Emperor sometimes conversed, frankly acknowledged that he had formerly believed all the absurd calumnies which were circulated respecting the Corsican,—his burnings, stranglings, massacres, and brutal ferocity, down to the details of his personal deformity and hideous features. "The English publications," said this person, "were filled with such statements; they were in every mouth, and not a voice was raised to contradict them." — "It is to your Ministers," replied Napoleon, "that I am indebted for these favours. They inundated Europe with pamphlets and libels against me. Perhaps they might urge in excuse, that they responded merely to what they received from France; as it must in justice be admitted that those Frenchmen, who have since exulted over the ruin of their country, felt no hesitation in furnishing such articles in abundance. . . . Falsehood, however, passes away, and truth remains. The sensible portion of the present age, and posterity, especially, will judge from facts only. Already the cloud is breaking, the light is piercing through. Those who have succeeded me, possess the archives of my administration and police, and the records of my tribunals; they hold in their pay and at their disposal those who are said to have executed, as well as the accomplices of, my crimes and atrocities; yet what proofs against me have they brought forward? . . . The venom of calumny has been exhausted on me. It can no longer injure, but operates like the poison on Mithridates."

The good opinion of the Admiral about this time so far counter-

FREEDOM.—SECLUSION.

balanced his want of knowledge of an Emperor, that, after an interview with Napoleon, on the 30th of December, he directed that henceforth the Exile should be permitted to ride freely about the island—the officer, who had previously been appointed to accompany him, merely keeping him in view from a distance, so that his presence should no longer give offence. At the same time it was arranged, that visitors should be admitted at Longwood, not by leave obtained from Sir George Cockburn, but on the invitation of the Grand Marshal, who did the honours of the establishment. On New-year's day, the Emperor's fowling-pieces, though as there was no game on the island they were not likely to be very useful, were returned to him, together with two or three belonging to the gentlemen of his suite, which had been detained. The restoration of the latter was somewhat ungracious, it being coupled with the condition, that the owners should send the guns every evening to the tent of the officer on duty; but this proposal having been declined, the pieces were surrendered at discretion. The Admiral; Colonel Wilks, the governor of the island, whom the Admiral had superseded; Colonel Skelton, the lieutenant-governor; the Colonel of the 53rd regiment, and several of the officers and their ladies, now became guests at Longwood; and a better understanding seemed about to be established on all sides; but, unfortunately, this state of things continued only for about a week, when it was announced that the officer on duty refused to act the part of a servant, by remaining behind, alone, when the Emperor rode beyond the limits; and that, consequently, the latter must forgo his excursions, or submit to the presence of a guard. This revived all the old grievances; interrupted, unfortunately for ever, the dinner parties which had so auspiciously commenced to strip captivity of half its sorrows; and taught Napoleon again to regard himself as a prisoner, at the disposal of a capricious gaoler, in whose behalf the only allegation advanced is, that the Emperor had abused the privilege accorded to him, by stopping, as he had always been accustomed to do, to speak with some person on the road.

The subsequent seclusion of the Captive occasioned much disappointment both to visitors and residents at St. Helena. Some English sailors, especially those of the Northumberland, who regarded Napoleon as their shipmate, more than once braved all the obstacles

ENGLISH SAILORS.

interposed by sentinels, and the dangers incurred by breach of orders, to obtain a near view of the Emperor from behind the trees and hedges about Longwood. "Tell him," said a sturdy tar to Las Cases

one day, "that we wish him no harm, but all possible happiness. Long life and health to him." When the circumstances were reported to Napoleon, he said, "This is the effect of imagination. How powerful is its influence! Here are people who do not know me—who have merely heard me spoken of, yet what do they not feel? What would they not do to serve me? The same caprice is to be found in all countries, in all ages, and in both sexes. It is fanaticism! Yes, imagination governs the world!"

In order to lighten the time, which, notwithstanding the Emperor's

NEWS.

lengthened morning dictations to his followers, his readings of the best French poets, historians, novelists, and dramatists, and some attention to the study of the English language, still hung heavy on his hands, and proved to be, as he himself said, "the only thing of which he had too much," recourse was had by turns to exploded works, relating to the early career of the Emperor, to annual registers, encyclopædias, and political *jeux de mots*. But the publications, which of all others interested the captive and his household most deeply, were the files of journals, brought every three or four weeks from Europe, from which were gathered what was passing in England, in France, and generally on the Continent. Intelligence at this period was, indeed, of the most exciting kind, even to disinterested parties. To Napoleon, and those whose fortunes were linked with his, it could not fail to be absorbing. The news successively arrived of the capture and death of Murat; the insurrection and punishment of the Spanish guerilla general Porlier; the executions of Labédoyère, Ney, and others; and the escape of Lavalette. Concerning the fate of Murat, the only observation made by the Emperor at the moment was, "The Calabrians were more humane, more generous, than those who sent me here." He afterwards added, that "at Waterloo, King Joachim might have enabled the Imperial army to gain the victory."

The Spanish attempt to overthrow the rule of King Ferdinand, afforded him no surprise. "Those very Spaniards," he said, "who proved themselves my most inveterate enemies when I invaded their country, and who acquired the highest glory by their resistance, immediately on my return from Elba appealed to me to become their deliverer. . . This circumstance sufficiently explains their late revolt, which there is little doubt will be renewed. Ferdinand, in his madness, may grasp his sceptre as firmly as he will, but one of these fine mornings it will slip through his fingers, like an eel."

It should be mentioned, that with the last ships that had arrived, came out the Polish captain Piontkowski, who had been left behind with the *Bellerophon*, at Plymouth; but whose urgent entreaties to be permitted to rejoin the Emperor had subdued the obduracy of the British Ministers.

In the month of February, 1816, there arose complaints respecting

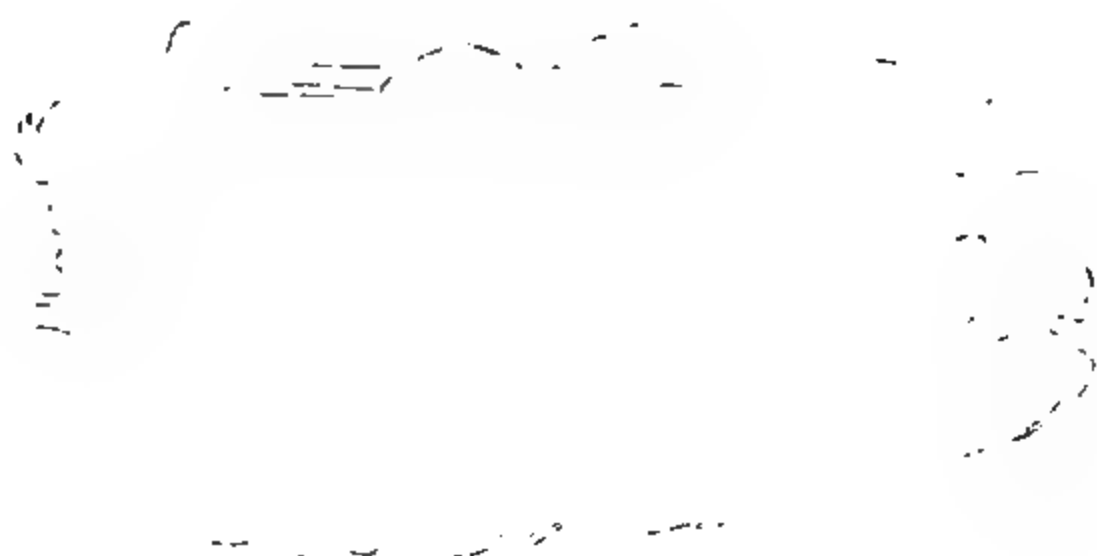
SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS.

the quantity and quality of the provisions furnished for the tables at Longwood. The increased number of soldiers on the island, and the prohibition of trading vessels, had produced a scarcity, which rendered it necessary for Sir George Cockburn to caution the exiles to economise their daily consumption, as otherwise some of the stores would be shortly exhausted. Writing-paper, coffee, loaf-sugar, and other articles, were scarcely to be obtained; but, as the cause from which this proceeded was capable of explanation, no one thought of accusing the Admiral, or any other individual, on this account, of putting the captives to intentional inconvenience. It was merely felt, that the English Government had taken no pains to ascertain the fitness of the island for the purpose to which it was appropriated; and, accordingly, whenever a reference was made to the subject, it was the Ministers, and not their agents, who were condemned. It was hoped, too, that as the new Governor was daily expected, with fresh powers to make arrangements respecting the Emperor's comforts and privileges, and, as Sir Hudson Lowe had been represented as an honourable and liberal man, a speedy termination would be put to the petty grievances and privations, which, however annoying collectively, were too trivial as separate items to be enumerated in a formal remonstrance.

The Emperor's general mode of living at St. Helena has already been spoken of. From the time of taking up his abode at Longwood, he seemed to consider himself settled, and to regulate everything about him with the same precision as had marked his arrangements, whether in great matters or small, through life. "His attitude," says Las Cases, "was that of dignity oppressed by power. He traced around him a moral boundary, within which he defended himself, inch by inch, against indignity and insult; compromising nothing with his persecutors, but shewing himself sensibly jealous as to forms, and hostile to encroachment. . . With his followers, he entered fully into an examination of the affairs of Europe; analyzed the projects and conduct of the Sovereigns; compared them with his own; weighed, separated, and spoke of his deeds and of his reign; and became once more the Emperor — once more Napoleon! . . . And never was a more even temper, more constant kindness, more unalterable affection exhibited. Even his most vigorous attacks

SUMMARY.


upon the common enemy, though they may seem to have been dictated by anger, were in fact almost always accompanied with some mirth or pleasantry. It was no small surprise to us, nor a slight satisfaction, to observe that, without knowing how or why, the Emperor daily gained upon the good opinion and respect even of the English."



CHAPTER LV.

ARRIVAL OF SIR HUDSON LOWE — ALTERCATIONS — HARSH MEASURES OF
THE GOVERNOR—REMOVAL OF COUNT LAS CASES. 1816.

HUDSON LOWE entered the army at an early age, but attained the rank of general and the honour of knighthood, while serving in Italy in a foreign corps in the pay of England; and "first became known to history," says Colonel Napier, "by losing in a few days, at Capræ, a post that, without any pretensions to celebrity, might have been defended for as many years." It has been hinted, that

 his defects as a general, were his chief recommendations to his subsequent office of gaoler. Be this as it may, Sir Hudson Lowe, having been appointed Governor of St. Helena, disembarked on that island on the 14th of April, 1816; and, three days afterwards, had his first interview with the Emperor. This visit does not seem to have pre-

possessed Napoleon in favour of his keeper, whom he described as a man of about forty-five years of age, of the common height, slender make, with red hair, ruddy, freckled complexion, and eyes that, glancing askance, seldom ventured to look the person he addressed full in the face. "He has," said the Emperor, "a most villainous countenance; but we must not decide too hastily: the man's disposition may make amends for the unfavourable impression created by his face."

The first official measure of Sir Hudson Lowe, was to require from each of the companions and servants of Napoleon, a written declaration of their voluntary desire to remain at Longwood, and their submission to all the restrictions which might be enforced by the Governor. This was readily given by all the parties concerned; but Sir Hudson, not content with the mere signatures, desired personally to examine the domestics — an interference which was promptly resented by Count Montholon, who declared that there could be no just pretence for the Governor's stepping in between the Emperor and his valet-de-chambre. The servants were, however, examined as to the influence under which they had severally signed their declarations; and from that moment there was hostility between Sir Hudson and his captives. Even exterior politeness was scarcely retained: the followers of Napoleon taking every occasion to urge complaints, and the Governor treating these with scorn and mockery. An early instance or two of this mutual disposition to annoy may be mentioned. The Emperor, having glanced through a work on the Campaign of 1814, saw some despatches signed 'Hudson Lowe;' and enquired of the Governor, if he were the writer; when, receiving an answer in the affirmative, he observed, that the accounts were full of misrepresentation and nonsense. "I thought I saw all that," replied Sir Hudson, with marked chagrin and confusion. On the other hand, Las Cases having complained of the want of shade about Longwood, and that there was scarcely a tree on the island, the Governor, jeeringly, exclaimed, "Oh! we will plant some:" and remarked, that the prisoner after all was not so badly off.

Shortly afterwards, Mr. Brook, the Colonial Secretary, and Major Gorrequer, Sir Hudson's aide-de-camp, with other official persons, went to the various shopkeepers on the island, ordering them, in the

RESTRICTIONS.

Governor's name, not to give credit to the French, nor to sell them anything unless for ready money. They were also further directed to hold no communication whatever with the establishment at Longwood, without special permission from the Governor, under pain of instant dismissal from the island. Many of the officers of the 53rd regiment, about the same time, received intimation that their visits to the residence of Count Bertrand at Hut's Gate were displeasing to the Governor; and the soldier on duty had orders to report the names of all persons entering that house. Sentinels were placed on duty to prevent the approach of visitors—several of whom, including some ladies, were, on presenting themselves for admission, turned back by the guard. The inhabitants of the island, knowing the Governor's power, and judging from his conduct that he had no lack of inclination, to subject them to great inconvenience and hardship for any infraction of his wishes, gradually withdrew their attentions from the exiles, and left them for amusement, society, and information, entirely to their own resources. The officers of the 53rd, who had, till this time, been on good terms with Bertrand's family, now went to take formal leave, since being required to report to Sir Hudson Lowe or Sir Thomas Reade the conversations they held with the French, they declared it impossible for men of honour to yield obedience to the regulations.

The Emperor's health, since his removal to Longwood, had been perceptibly declining, which Las Cases attributed to his altered habits, want of exercise, change of food, and the badness of the climate. The prisoner steadily refused, however, to take medicine, in the efficacy of which he had no faith. "Our bodies," he said, "are machines organized for the purpose of life. Leave the life there at its ease, let it take care of itself. It will do better than if you paralyze it by loading it with medicines. We are like well-made watches, destined to go for a certain time. The watch-maker has no power to open the machine, and can only meddle with it at random, and with his eyes bandaged. For one who, by racking it with his ill-formed instruments, succeeds in doing it any good, how many blockheads destroy it altogether."

At the end of April, he was confined to his room, rather, however, by low spirits and lassitude than any determinate disease. Sir

INTERVIEW.

Hudson Lowe had an interview with him on the last day of the month. The Emperor had not dressed for his reception; but remained during his stay seated on a couch. The tone of the prisoner's mind, at this period, may be gathered from his conversation with the Governor. "Your Ministers," he said, "have sufficiently proved, by their instructions, that they wish to get rid of me. Why

did not the Kings, who proscribed me, openly decree my death? One act would have been as legal as the other. It would be an act of kindness to deprive me of life, for here I daily suffer the agonies of death. The limits of St. Helena are too narrow for me, who have been accustomed every day to ride ten, fifteen, or twenty leagues. The climate is unlike ours; everything is opposed to

INTERVIEW.

comfort and happiness." Sir Hudson intimated that a wooden house or palace was on its way from England, on the arrival of which much inconvenience would be obviated. The English Government, he added, were making every effort to render the situation of the Emperor endurable. "Their efforts," replied Napoleon, "amount to little. I have requested to be furnished with the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Statesman*, that I may read what relates to myself under the least disagreeable forms; but my request has never been complied with. I have asked for books, which are my only consolation; but nine months have passed away, and I have received none. I have desired to procure intelligence of my wife and son; but this has been withheld from me. As to the provisions, furniture, and house intended for me—you and I, Sir, are soldiers, and know how to value these things. You have been in my native city, perhaps, in the very house occupied by my family. Though it was not the worst in Corsica, and though I have no reason to be ashamed of my family circumstances, yet you know what they were. It is true, that I have occupied a throne and disposed of crowns; but I have not forgotten my first condition: my couch and camp-bed you see are still sufficient for me." Before taking his leave, the Governor urgently pressed the Emperor to receive the attentions of his physician; but the patient, suspecting some sinister design, declined the offer.

The continued indisposition and consequent seclusion of Napoleon, seems to have originated a distrust in the mind of the Governor, that the illness was merely feigned in order to afford facilities for his escape from imprisonment; and, accordingly, he was constantly sending messengers to make inquiries, and to obtain a glimpse of the prisoner; and hinted that he should resort to compulsory measures for making the Emperor's person visible daily. About the same time, he told Mr. O'Meara that he would have a new ditch dug round Longwood, "in order to prevent the cattle from trespassing." To remove one means of concealment, Sir Hudson caused a tree, the branches of which were too expansive and overhung the old ditch around Longwood, to be immediately grubbed up. The Emperor submitted in silence; but when informed of the Governor's intention to violate the sanctity of his chamber, for the purpose of

O'MEARA.

gaining assurance of his presence, he declared his determination to resist such an outrage to the last extremity.

The vexations and the ill-health of Napoleon were unfortunately increased by the quarrels which took place between two of his followers, who even spoke of settling their differences by a duel. The Emperor's conduct on the occasion was characteristic of his mind and heart. "You followed me," he said, "with the view of cheering my captivity. Be united then; otherwise you grieve and vex me. You talk of fighting under my very eyes. I am no longer the object of your attention. You forget that the observation of foreigners is fixed on you. I wish you all to be animated by my spirit. I wish that every individual around me should be happy, and share the few enjoyments that yet remain to us;—even down to little Emanuel [the son of Las Cases] there, I wish each of you to have his due share."

On the 6th of May, Napoleon sent for O'Meara, deeming it necessary, in consequence of the proceedings of the Governor, more especially those with respect to changing the medical attendant of Longwood, to have an understanding as to the footing on which the doctor was in future to stand in the Imperial household, whether he considered himself as the Emperor's physician, or as a prison doctor subservient to the objects of the English Government, and whether he had already made reports respecting his patient, or intended to do so if required? The replies of O'Meara were perfectly satisfactory. He considered his appointment an entirely professional one, unconnected with politics: no report had been demanded of him, nor should he feel disposed to make any, except in case of the Emperor's serious illness, when it might be necessary to call in other professional aid. After this frank explanation, the doctor was honoured with the entire confidence of his patient. On the same day, some English vessels arrived at St. Helena, bringing the wooden palace, of which so much had been said in the British newspapers and among the inhabitants and authorities of the colony where it was to be set up. "It proved," says Las Cases, "to be nothing more than a number of rough planks, which, from want of skill in the colonial workmen it must have taken several years to construct." The furniture which accompanied the palace was more useful, and

WOODEN PALACE.

seems to have obtained a better welcome among the exiles and from the Emperor.

On the 11th, *General Bonaparte* received an invitation to meet Lady Moira at Plantation House, at dinner; but this, being beyond the limits within which the Emperor could ride without a guard, was construed into an insult, and Napoleon would not even deign to return an answer. On the same day, Sir Hudson Lowe published a proclamation, "forbidding any person on the island to send to or receive letters from *General Bonaparte* or his suite, on pain of being immediately arrested and dealt with accordingly."

Henceforth the breach between the Governor and his captives was decided, and the little intercourse that took place between them served but to increase their mutual aversion. On the 16th of May, the rupture manifested itself in a violent altercation between the Emperor and Sir Hudson. The latter was desirous of knowing what should be done with the materials which had arrived for the new residence; and ventured to suggest that the addition of two or three good rooms to the habitation at Longwood might add to the Exile's convenience more than the construction of a new house. The Emperor, according to his own admission, was violently irritated at the very sight of his "gaoler." "I received him," he said to Las Cases, "with a stormy countenance, my head inclined, and my ears pricked up. We looked furiously at each other. My anger must have been powerfully excited, for I felt a vibration in the calf of my left leg. This with me is always a sure indication; and I have not felt it for a long time before. I told the Governor, with warmth, that I asked him for nothing; that I would receive nothing at his hands; and that all I desired was to be left undisturbed. I added, that though I had much cause to complain of the Admiral, I never had reason to think him wholly destitute of feeling; and though I found fault with him, I could always receive him in perfect confidence; but that during the month Sir Hudson Lowe has been on the island, I have experienced more causes of irritation than during the six preceding months." Sir Hudson replied, that he did not come to receive a lesson. "That," said the Emperor, "is no proof that you do not need one. You tell me that your instructions are much more rigid than those of the Admiral. Do they direct that I should be taken

SIR HUDSON LOWE.

off by poison or the sword? No act of atrocity on the part of your Ministers would surprise me. If my death be determined on, execute your orders. I know not how you will administer the poison; but you have a ready excuse for the sword. Should you attempt, as you have threatened, to violate the sanctuary of my abode, I give you fair warning that your soldiers shall effect their entrance only over my corpse. When I heard of your arrival, I congratulated myself that I should meet with a General who, having spent much time on the Continent, and borne a part in public affairs, would know how to act in a becoming manner; but I was grossly deceived." Here Sir Hudson interrupted, saying that his conduct, as a soldier, was according to the fashion of his own country, to which his duty was owing, and not according to the fashion of foreigners. "Your country, your Government, and yourself," resumed Napoleon, "will be overwhelmed with disgrace for your conduct to me. A few days ago, you invited me to dinner as *General Bonaparte*, with the view of rendering me an object of ridicule or amusement to your guests. I am not *General Bonaparte* to you. If Lady Moira had been within my boundaries, I should undoubtedly have visited her, because I do not stand on strict etiquette with a woman; but as I am not a prisoner of war, I cannot submit to regulations implying that I am so. I am placed in your power only by the most horrible breach of confidence." Respecting the wooden house, the Emperor, finding that he was not to be at liberty to have it erected on what spot he might select, referred the matter to Bertrand—an arrangement to which the Governor, however, declined to accede, stating that he found it more satisfactory to address Napoleon himself. During the conversation, the Emperor more than once declared that he believed Sir Hudson had received orders to kill him; a suspicion originated, perhaps, by the pressing entreaties of the Governor to have a medical officer of his appointing substituted for O'Meara. The violent excitement produced by this scene, in which the Emperor subsequently admitted that he had been out of humour and to blame, and for which he said nothing but his situation as a prisoner could have afforded an excuse, contributed to render his decaying health considerably worse. It may be worth mentioning, in illustration of the character of General Lowe, that five days after the

RIDES.

interview above recorded, he thought it not derogatory to his dignity to go in person to Longwood, for the purpose of seizing a domestic who, having recently quitted the service of Deputy-governor Skelton, had, without permission, engaged in that of Count Montholon; and that, on the following day, a few sailors from the *Northumberland*, who had been allowed to officiate as servants to the persons composing Napoleon's suite, were removed to make room for a like number of soldiers, the Governor affirming that the Admiral wanted the men, and the Admiral, when applied to on the subject, stating that the men might remain if the Governor would permit them.

Towards the end of May, Napoleon's health was slightly improved, and he began to resume his short rides on horseback. He was attended on these occasions by his officers; and appeared in his ancient uniform, the simplicity of which had distinguished him when in the height of his power and splendour from the plumed and embroidered Kings, Princes, Marshals, and Ministers who attended his steps, and deemed themselves happy to obtain from him an approving smile, or a nod of recognition. On the 28th, in the course of his ride, he passed, for the first time, in front of the English camp.

VEXATIONS.

The soldiers, numbers of whom had not previously caught a glimpse of his person, instantly quitted their respective occupations, and formed in line along his path. Napoleon was pleased with this testimony of respect, and exclaimed to his attendants, "What European soldier would not be moved at my approach!" Lest the sentiments of the men, however, should be misinterpreted, or he himself should be accused of wishing to excite undue sympathy, he carefully avoided the same route for the future; so cautious was he of involving others in the vexatious proceedings to which himself was subjected.

But it would be useless to dwell in detail on the few and scarcely varying incidents which marked the life of the Emperor. Many of them may safely be brought together without injury to their effect, or being liable to the charge of exaggeration. Sir Hudson Lowe, after being made to feel that his superiority, except inasmuch as he had been invested with power, was not admitted, seems to have taken every petty advantage of his situation to make his prisoner feel that he was the agent not merely of the conquering but the vindictive Sovereigns of Europe.

A letter came, in the end of May, from the Mother of the Emperor; it was handed open, without comment or apology, to Count Bertrand — thus proving that an ungracious duty might be rendered still more offensive by the mode of its execution. Other letters, addressed by the post to Napoleon and his followers, notwithstanding their being forwarded without seals, were detained, and sent back to Europe, because they were not addressed officially to the Governor; the sole end of this arbitrary act being to prevent the exiles gaining intelligence of their friends and families. He refused to communicate even the names of the writers; but left the parties in suspense till the correspondence was returned, through the Secretary of State's office, from London. Nay, so rigorous was he respecting letters, that one from the Countess Bertrand, to some person in James' Town, on trifling business of the moment, was seized and sent back, with an official note, intimating that, for the future, not only all written, but all verbal communications between the captives and the inhabitants would be prohibited without special permission from Plantation House.

ACT OF PARLIAMENT.

In June, the *Newcastle* ship-of-war brought the act of parliament by which the treaty for the detention of Napoleon was legalized, and all offences committed against his person, up to the date of passing the law, were exempted from punishment. The necessity for this statute sufficiently explains the question of right upon which the Emperor was originally transported. At the second reading of this act of expediency, in the House of Peers, Lord Holland, braving the obloquy which was then industriously cast upon all who dared to sympathize with or demand justice for the old enemy of England, entered a manly and vigorous protest against its provisions; and, at its third reading, the Duke of Sussex followed that noble lord's example. The act was escorted by three Commissioners, to superintend its due execution. These were, Baron Sturmer, as representative of Austria; Count Balmaine, for Russia; and the Marquis de Montchenu, for Louis XVIII. The utter failure of the mission of these gentlemen, subsequently rendered them extremely ridiculous. One of their objects was, from day to day, to assure themselves of Napoleon's presence; and, in consequence of their refusal to be introduced as private individuals, and the Emperor's determination not to admit them officially, they never obtained a sight of him during their residence on the island; and were consequently useless to their governments, and insignificant in the eyes of the world. With the *Newcastle* there arrived, also, a quantity of books and newspapers, which the exiles had long and anxiously expected.

Shortly after the arrival of the act of parliament, Sir Hudson Lowe made another call at Longwood, to state that his Government desired a diminution of the expenses of Napoleon's household. It had been expected, he said, that the permission given to the French domestics to return to Europe, would have diminished the Emperor's circle, and placed his establishment upon a proper footing, as it had never been intended to allow him more than a table for four persons daily, and for company to dine once a week. At the same time, the Governor intimated, that those of the Emperor's suite who had private property might avail themselves of it, and draw bills for the cost of their own maintenance. His economy carried him the length, indeed, of offering to sell articles of clothing from the stores sent for the use of Napoleon, when these were refused as gifts.

CHILDREN.

The Emperor, in consequence of the constant annoyances to which he was now subjected, whenever he went abroad, seldom stirred from the house and gardens of Longwood. His chief amusements were reading and conversation — his graver occupations dictating his campaigns and memoirs. He took much pleasure, however, in talking with the children of his followers — young Las Cases, Tristan Montholon; and, when they could obtain permission to visit him, the daughters of Mr. Balcombe, his host at Briars. Tristan Montholon was between seven and eight years old; and Napoleon used to make him recite fables, which he had learned by rote, without understanding their meaning — endeavouring while he did so to explain their object. In his comment upon the ‘Wolf and the Lamb,’ he said that the fable was defective in principle and moral: “the wolf ought to have been strangled in devouring the lamb.” Tristan, when questioned, confessed that he was sometimes idle at his studies. “But you eat every day?” said the Emperor. “Yes, Sire.” — “Then

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COMMISSIONERS.

you should work daily: no one ought to eat who does not work." "Oh, well! in that case I will work every day."—"Such is the influence of the belly," exclaimed Napoleon, tapping that of the child to whom he was speaking: "it is hunger that keeps the world moving."

Sir Hudson Lowe, not having seen the Emperor at his last visit, called again on the 17th of July, and had an interview of two hours' duration; but, like all his former calls, this produced nothing but increased irritation. The Emperor plainly told his gaoler, that he was believed to be capable of anything, and that he attributed it as a worse act to the British Ministers to have given Sir Hudson the command of St. Helena than the sending of their victim thither as a prisoner. "You are a greater calamity," said the Exile, "than all the wretchedness of this horrible rock." With respect to the Commissioners, Napoleon still steadily refused to receive them as political personages; alleging that he could not do so consistently with his own character or the position he had held. "Is it possible," he said, "that the Emperor of Austria, whose daughter I married on his own entreaty, who retains my wife and son, should expect me to receive his Commissioner without a line for myself, without the smallest scrap of information concerning my son's health? Be assured that in objecting to the title of General, I do so merely because it would be an acknowledgment that I have not been Emperor; and in this respect, I advocate the honour of others more than my own—of those with whom in that rank I have been connected by treaties, by family, and political alliances."

When urged to come to some decision concerning the new palace, he said, "It is so much money thrown into the sea. I would much rather they had sent me four or five hundred volumes of books than all their furniture and houses. The completion of the buildings would require some years; and before that time I shall be no more."

On the 25th, letters were received from the Emperor's mother, from the Princess Pauline, and from Prince Lucien, with several French and English newspapers, which announced the death of the Empress of Austria, the acquittal of General Cambrone, and the condemnation of General Bertrand. Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who now com-

manded on the station, took a kind interest in supplying similar sources of recreation whenever he had an opportunity; and his good nature and gentlemanly freedom from arrogance and prejudice, won for him the favourable regard and confidence of Napoleon, which in itself was sufficient to prove that a little generous consideration alone was necessary to induce the Emperor to look upon the instruments of his persecution as instruments only, and not as his voluntary tormentors. It was soon afterwards ascertained, that, with the last arrivals, a book had been brought out, inscribed in letters of gold on the outside, "TO NAPOLEON THE GREAT." This was Mr. (now Sir John) Hobhouse's 'Letters on the Hundred Days;' which was detained, partly on account of its address, and partly because it was said to contain remarks injurious to the character of Lord Castlereagh. Many numbers of the *Morning Chronicle*, several of the *Edinburgh Review*, and other books and pamphlets, were, from time to time, abstracted from the parcels sent out, because their language was not always conformable to Sir Hudson Lowe's notion of literary propriety.

The very domestics of the Imperial household were disgusted with the narrow-minded and vulgar tyranny to which they, in common with their superiors, were subjected; and Santini, one of the valets, a Corsican by birth, and a man of warm feelings and imagination, even determined to take summary vengeance for the indignities heaped on his beloved master. He had for some time watched the declining health of the Emperor with solicitude, and had grown moody and melancholy with reflecting on the means of remedying the evils he was compelled to witness. At last, as he was observed to do nothing in the house, but to employ himself with a gun in the neighbourhood, under pretence of seeking game for the Emperor's table, he was seriously questioned as to his intentions by his countryman Cipriani, the *maitre-d'hôtel*, when he confessed that he had formed a project to shoot Sir Hudson Lowe, whom he designated as a monster, and then to kill himself. Cipriani, knowing the valet's character, caused a communication to be made to the Emperor, who was himself compelled to exert all his authority, and much persuasion, to procure a promise, that all thoughts of assassination should be laid aside. "Observe, for a moment," said Napoleon, "the fatal consequences of your project. I should have been stigmatized as the murderer, the

ALTERCATION.

assassin of the Governor ; and it would have been difficult with most people to eradicate such an impression." The English Tories, then and since, were in the habit of treating the complaints of the captives of St. Helena as emanating from puerile and captious feelings : there must have been some stronger inducement for one, in the situation of Santini, to risk his life and reputation merely to be avenged on an individual, without a hope thereby of putting an end to the mere imprisonment of the man he wished to serve.

On the 18th of August, the Governor had a final interview with the Emperor on the subject of the expenses of his household. This was in the presence of Sir Pulteney Malcolm. Napoleon would have avoided the scene ; but, being in the garden when Sir Hudson was announced, he was in a manner compelled to receive him. The conversation that ensued soon assumed a violent tone. The Emperor told his visitor, that the details into which he desired to enter were painful to him. " They are mean," he said. " You might place me on the burning pile of Montezuma, without extracting from me gold, which I do not possess. Besides, who asks you for anything ? Who entreats you to feed me ? When you discontinue your supply of provisions, the brave soldiers whom you see there," — pointing to the camp of the 53rd — " will relieve my necessities. I shall place myself at their table ; and they, I am confident, will not drive away the first, the oldest soldier of Europe." The Admiral endeavoured to excuse the Governor, and render favourable explanations of his conduct. " The faults of M. Lowe," replied Napoleon, " proceed from his habits of life. He has never had the command of any but foreign deserters — Piedmontese, Corsicans, Sicilians — all renegadoes and traitors to their country ; the dregs and scum of Europe. I know the name of every English general who has distinguished himself ; but I never heard of him except as a *scrivano* to Blucher. If he had commanded Englishmen, and were one himself, he would shew respect to those who have a right to be honoured." The Emperor added, that he was treated worse than a condemned criminal or galley slave, as they were permitted to receive printed books and newspapers. Sir Hudson contended, that he was justified in detaining things sent to *The Emperor*. " And who," answered the latter, " gave you the right to dispute that title ? In a few years, Lord Castlereagh,

LORD AND LADY HOLLAND.

Lord Bathurst, and you who speak to me, will be buried in the dust of oblivion ; or if your names be remembered, it will only be for the indignities with which you have treated me, while the Emperor Napoleon will remain for ever, the subject and ornament of history and the star of civilized nations. You have, undoubtedly, power over my body, but none over my mind ; that is as free, as lofty and independent as when I was at the head of armies, or on my throne disposing of kingdoms. For you—you are a *sbirro Siciliano*, and not an Englishman. Do not present yourself before me again, until you come with orders to despatch me, and then every door shall be opened to admit you." This was certainly unbecoming violence ; and such as nothing ought to have tempted Napoleon to use. He afterwards, indeed, reproached himself with it ; and directed that Sir Hudson should not be again permitted to intrude upon his privacy. " It would have been more worthy of me," he said, " more consistent and more dignified, to have maintained perfect composure ; but this Governor makes me fly into a passion, and expressions escape me which would have been unpardonable at the Tuileries. If they are excusable even here, it is because I am powerless." Sir Hudson Lowe avenged himself, by declaring that " he considered Ali Pacha a more respectable scoundrel than General Bonaparte."

About this time, as if to remind Sir Hudson that, whatever might be his opinion and that of his employers, the Emperor was not regarded as an outcast by all intelligent, high-minded, and even patriotic British subjects, a present of some books, and a newly invented machine for making ice, with various other articles, arrived on the island from Lord and Lady Holland, whose respect for the prisoner was derived from personal knowledge of the excellent qualities of his heart and mind, enhanced, probably, by the esteem in which he had been held by their illustrious relative, Charles James Fox. They had originally been introduced to Napoleon when First Consul, and, at that time, had received from him abundant proofs of kindness and attention. During the Peninsular War, they were again honoured with the most distinguished testimony of his regard. Having heard that his Lordship and family were travelling, for the health of one of their children, in Spain, the Emperor gave orders to his marshals and generals on no account to molest or

LORD AND LADY HOLLAND.

make them prisoners; but, in case they should fall into the hands of the French, to conduct them in safety wheresoever they might desire. The knowledge of this—confirmed subsequently by Marshals Soult and Suchet—naturally begat a feeling of gratitude, which, when its object was overwhelmed by misfortunes, grew into lively and enduring sympathy. This had been already evinced on several occasions—first when the Emperor was at Elba, when Lady Holland, who happened to be at Florence, having learned that he experienced some difficulty in procuring English newspapers, immediately sent him her own set; secondly, by her Ladyship waiting on Sir Hudson Lowe, when appointed to the government of St. Helena, and desiring as a personal favour that every indulgence consistent with his duty should be extended to the Captive committed to his charge; and, thirdly, by Lord Holland's earnest endeavours, at the time of passing the Act for legalizing Napoleon's detention, to procure a dispassionate consideration of his case in the House of Peers. It is gratifying to know that the active commiseration and benevolent zeal of these noble personages were not without beneficial results, both in restraining the stern hand of power, and in alleviating the sufferings and cheering the desolate gloom of him for whose sake they were exerted. As to the value attached to the acts of kindness referred to, the Emperor's own evidence is conclusive. Speaking of the contingent possibility of his restoration to the throne of France, he said, "I can fancy Lord Holland as Prime Minister of England, writing to me at Paris, 'If you do such a thing I shall be ruined.' . . These words would arrest my career more effectually than armies."

On the 23rd of August, an official protest against the treaty of the 2nd of August, 1815, and the Act of Parliament founded thereupon and also a recapitulation of the many grievances inflicted on the exiles, was addressed by Count Montholon, in the name of the Emperor, to Sir Hudson Lowe. This document, for precision, eloquent reasoning, energy, and dignity of style, added to the importance of its various details, is one of the most remarkable State Papers of the age. It would be materially injured, however, by being given in a mutilated state, and want of space precludes its entire insertion here.

Sir Hudson Lowe still continued at intervals to cavil with the

DISPUTES.

Emperor's attendants concerning the expenses of maintaining the Imperial establishment, complaining sometimes of the quantity of wine consumed, and at others of the number of pounds of meat, of sugar, of coffee, and even of bread. He proposed that twelve thousand pounds per annum, a sum scarcely equal at St. Helena to half the same amount in Paris, should be allowed by the British Government, and what more might be necessary to be furnished by the prisoner himself—the whole passing through the hands of the Governor, and being placed at his disposal. "He bargained," says Las Cases, "for our very existence;" and threatened, if his terms were not acceded to, to subject the exiles to great retrenchments. When these particulars were mentioned to Napoleon, he merely observed, that "Sir Hudson might do as he pleased; but that he (the Emperor) desired not to be troubled with the business." The Governor, accordingly, began his menaced reductions on the 7th of September, by withdrawing from Longwood eight English domestics; and the supplies henceforth delivered were so scanty, that the attendants were compelled to purchase many necessities for their own as well as the Emperor's table; and eventually—whether from absolute necessity or not has been disputed—a quantity of gold plate was broken up and sold at James' Town to procure articles of subsistence. But not even the last measure was allowed to proceed without the interference of Sir Hudson; for, on learning that there was considerable competition in bidding for the Imperial service, and that as much as a hundred guineas had been offered for a single plate, he ordered that for the future no sale should take place except to persons previously sanctioned by him.

In October, Piontkowski, the Pole, and three inferior attendants of the Emperor, were forcibly removed, in order to carry out the reductions already commenced; and for the purpose of inducing others to render themselves liable to removal, a form of consent to a set of new restrictions was submitted to the household for signature, with an intimation that all who refused implicit obedience to the authority of the Governor, would be forthwith sent to the Cape of Good Hope, without being furnished with the means of returning to Europe. One of these restrictions was particularly characteristic:—"Those persons who, with the consent of General Bonaparte, may

NEW REGULATIONS.

receive the Governor's permission to visit him, must not communicate with any individual of his suite, unless a permission to that effect be specially expressed." The enforcing of this regulation must, by excluding the Emperor's followers when strangers visited him, have reduced him to the necessity of opening the doors himself; and if his guests were unable to speak French, no conversation could have ensued, as Napoleon did not understand English.

The Emperor desired his friends rather to quit him, and return to Europe, than voluntarily submit to the new vexations imposed on them. "I see," he said, "that it is determined to remove you in detail: I would rather see you removed altogether than subjected to insults which are daily multiplied." This, however, was felt to be too great a sacrifice; and all parties agreed to sign the required declarations, merely substituting the words "Emperor Napoleon" for "General Bonaparte." But on this point, Sir Hudson Lowe was inflexible. To have permitted the title of Emperor to be used, would, as the Governor's apologists assert, have been to acknowledge that Sir Hudson had a superior at St. Helena. He insisted, therefore, on the retention of the obnoxious words; hoping, perhaps, that the Emperor's commands not to sign would be obeyed, and that Napoleon would be left in his hands alone. His pertinacity, however, succeeded in humbling his opponents. After considerable discussion the declarations, as originally dictated, were signed by all the exiles except Santini, who, in consequence of his obstinate refusal, was shortly afterwards sent to the Cape of Good Hope. It should be remembered that, seven or eight months previously to this, Napoleon, in order to obviate the difficulties which were constantly arising from his retention of the Imperial title, had offered to take the name of Muiron or Duroc; and that Admiral Cockburn had written to the English Government for instructions on the subject, but no answer had ever been returned. He now again made the same offer; but no notice was taken of it. In reference, however, to the devotion his followers had manifested in signing the declarations, he said, with evident satisfaction, "They would have designated me 'Bonaparte the Tyrant,' in order to remain with me in my misery, rather than be compelled to return without me to Europe, where they might live in splendour." He had previously said that he could have no

LAS CASES.

personal objection to the title of General Bonaparte, which he had rendered eminently glorious at Lodi, at Castiglione, at Rivoli, at Arcola, at Leoben, at the Pyramids, and at Aboukir; but as the right of the French people to choose their Sovereign was in question, he could not betray them by yielding.

Count Las Cases had been one of the strongest opponents of the restrictions of Sir Hudson; and, as it was known that he was in the habit of recording all that occurred relative to the treatment of the Emperor, the Governor entertained a violent prejudice against him, and seems to have long sought occasion to remove him from the island. He was charged with constantly declaiming against the Government and the oppression of the exiles, with speaking to strangers who visited Longwood, in a way to excite a favourable interest for the Emperor, and with endeavouring to establish means of transmitting clandestine correspondence to Europe. These allegations, however, being unsupported, a plan was thought of to obtain proofs against the accused. Las Cases had a free mulatto servant. Sir Hudson Lowe, in November, 1816, expressed some doubts as to the propriety of a native of the island holding a situation at Longwood; and, after several communications on the subject, removed the lad — offering to send a person of his own selection in stead. Las Cases, suspecting that it was intended to place a spy upon him, declined to receive any substitute; but the Governor was not thus to be baffled. He suborned the mulatto, and sent him back to Longwood, under cover of night, to make an offer of conveying letters for his old master to London, without the knowledge of the authorities of St. Helena. The lad, who represented that he had been engaged as servant by a gentleman about to return to Europe, was unfortunately trusted; and a letter for Prince Lucien, detailing some of the miseries endured by the captives, and another to a friend in England, written on satin, were sewn up in his clothes. This was on the 24th of November; on the 25th, a troop of soldiers seized the unfortunate Count, took possession of his papers and effects, and made prisoner also of his son, who had copied part of the criminating letter. After a close confinement of about five weeks, during which Las Cases' journals and letters underwent a rigid examination, and he himself was subjected to a long interrogatory, he was sent to the Cape of Good Hope; whence, after

REMOVAL OF LAS CASES.

more than seven months' imprisonment, he was permitted to return to Europe; but not allowed to land in England, until after the death of Napoleon. The papers of the Count were transmitted eventually to England, and detained by the Colonial office for several years. It was only on the interference of Lord Holland, indeed, that their return was finally obtained; and to that nobleman, therefore, the world, in this as in other instances, is indebted for the revelations concerning the prison-house of St. Helena.

It is unnecessary to do more than suggest the Governor's motives for the removal of Las Cases. He knew that gentleman to be eminent as a literary man—the author of '*Le Sage's Atlas*'—throughout Europe, and that he bore a high character for probity and honour; his representations, therefore, were certain to have weight both with the present generation and posterity:—and that even Sir Hudson Lowe had a disinclination for posthumous infamy, was evinced by his exclamation, while looking over the manuscript of his victim's Journals, "What a legacy is here prepared for my children!" In elucidation of this subject, it may be further mentioned, that Sir Hudson had stated to Mr. O'Meara that his appointment had another object besides the security of Napoleon's person—an object, which his confidant at a later period, in an official letter to the Board of Admiralty, thus interpreted:—"He made to me observations upon the benefit which would result to Europe from the death of Napoleon Bonaparte, of which event he spoke in a manner which, considering his situation and mine, was peculiarly distressing to me." This insinuation, although made to a surgeon whose fortune the Governor had power to advance or to injure, ought not, perhaps, to be construed into a criminal overture; but, by shewing the tendency of Sir Hudson's thoughts, it explains much of the nervous irritability which he manifested at the long resistance offered by the Emperor's constitution to the climate, and the multifarious vexations to which he was exposed. The Governor, there is little doubt, found his post as full of difficulty and unpleasantness as it was devoid of honour; and he was anxious to be released from its responsibilities. That he would, however, have perpetrated what he conceived to be a crime for that purpose, there is no good ground for believing.

The removal of Las Cases from St. Helena has been generally

LAS CASES.

regretted as a public loss, since he appears to have been most honoured with his Sovereign's confidence, and to have recorded his opinions and acts with the strictest impartiality, and most unwearied assiduity. It was to him that Napoleon had dictated the account of

his campaigns in Italy, and to him we chiefly owe our knowledge of the memorable facts connected with the Emperor's early career. Gourgaud, Montholon, and Bertrand, appear to have had no natural taste for literature, and to have occupied themselves with such pursuits merely in obedience to orders; hence we obtain from them little information beyond what was dictated expressly for publication. The value which Napoleon attached to the services

LAS CASES.

of the good Count, is best expressed in the language of his own farewell letter.

“Your company was necessary to me,” he said. “You are the only one that can read, speak, and understand English. How many nights have you watched over me during my illnesses! . . . It will be a great source of consolation to me to know that you are on your way to more favoured climes. Endeavour to forget the evils you have been made to suffer, and boast of the fidelity you have shewn towards me, and of all the affection I feel for you. If you should some day see my wife and son, embrace them for me. For the last two years, I have had no news from them directly nor indirectly. In the meantime be comforted, and console my friends. My person, it is true, is exposed to the hatred of my enemies, who omit nothing that can contribute to gratify their vengeance, and to make me suffer the protracted tortures of a slow death; but Providence is too just to allow these sufferings to last much longer. The insalubrity of this dreadful climate, and the want of everything that tends to support life, will soon, I feel, put an end to my existence — the last moments of which will be an opprobrium to the English name. . . . Receive my embrace, and the assurance of my friendship. May you be happy!”

CHAPTER LVI.

HABITS OF NAPOLEON AT LONGWOOD — PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES CONCERNING HIS TREATMENT — REMOVAL OF DR. O'MEARA — ARRIVAL OF ANTONMARCHI AND OTHERS — ILLNESS AND DEATH OF THE EMPEROR.
1817 — 1821.

RIEVOUSLY as he must have felt the privations and insults to which he was constantly subjected, Napoleon's mind and temper seem, in his intercourse with the various persons composing his household, and with many Englishmen of rank and talent, by whom he was visited during his captivity, never to have been affected by his situation. All agree in representing him as imbued with a spirit of patience and kindness; as being animated in conversation,

NAPOLÉON'S HABITS.

at once communicative and inquisitive ; of dignified demeanour, and far from anxious to obtrude his sorrows or injuries on others. Captain Basil Hall thus sums up his observations, upon an audience granted him by Napoleon, on the 13th of August, 1817 : — “ It is impossible to imagine an expression of more entire benignity and kindness than that which played over his features during the whole interview. If, therefore, he were at this time out of health, and in low spirits, his power of self-command must have been more extraordinary than is generally supposed ; for his whole deportment, his conversation, and the expression of his countenance indicated a frame in perfect health and a mind at ease.” Yet at this time he was labouring under acute bodily suffering, frequently confined for days to his couch with fever, swollen legs, tooth-ache, and incessant nausea of the stomach. Lord Byron has bestowed a well-merited eulogium on the generally lofty bearing of the Emperor during his adversity : —

“ — Well thy soul hath brooked the turning tide,
With that untaught, innate philosophy,
Which, be it wisdom, coldness, or deep pride,
Is gall and wormwood to an enemy.
When the whole host of hatred stood hard by
To watch and mock thee shrinking, thou hast smiled,
With a sedate, and all-enduring eye ; —
When Fortune fled her spoiled and favourite child,
He stood unbowed beneath the ills upon him piled.”

His domestic habits are best described in the words in which he himself related them for the professional information of his medical attendant : — “ The hours at which I obey the injunctions of nature are extremely irregular. I sleep, I eat, according to circumstances or the situation in which I am placed. My sleep is ordinarily sound and tranquil ; but if pain or accident interrupt it, I leap on the floor, call for a light, walk, set to work, and fix my attention on some object. Sometimes I remain in the dark, change my apartment, lie down on another bed, or stretch myself on the sofa. I am up at two, three, or four in the morning ; call some one to keep me company ; amuse myself with recollections or business, and wait for the return of day. As soon as it appears I stroll out ; and when the sun shews itself, I

DECLINING HEALTH.

return to bed, where I remain a longer or shorter time according to the weather. If that is bad, I change my posture; pass from bed to my sofa, from the sofa to bed; seek and find a degree of freshness, and am the better for it. These ingenious contrivances carry me on till nine or ten o'clock, sometimes later. I then breakfast sometimes in my bath, but more frequently in the garden. Bertrand, Montholon, or Gourgaud keep me company (being usually employed in writing, to dictation, the Imperial campaigns). My dinner consists of a basin of soup, two plates of meat, one of vegetables, and a salad when I can take it, with half a bottle of claret, diluted with a good deal of water. I drink a little of it pure, towards the end of the repast. Occasionally, when I feel fatigued, I substitute champagne for claret, which is a certain means of giving a fillip to my stomach. I eat fast, and masticate little."

Reports of the declining health of the Emperor had already been circulated in Europe, and there were some rumours afloat concerning the conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe; but the Government suffered nothing to transpire respecting the real state of health or treatment of the prisoner,—merely giving out from time to time that he was well. Santini, Napoleon's valet, reached home in the beginning of 1817, and shortly afterwards published a pamphlet detailing many facts connected with the situation of the exiles; but unfortunately so exaggerated, and so blended with fiction, as to be calculated rather to injure than serve the cause of his master. One great service, however, had been well and faithfully performed by Santini. He had, on his departure from Longwood, been entrusted with the official remonstrance of Napoleon, before alluded to, as sent by Count Montholon to the Governor. This document seems to have greatly troubled Sir Hudson Lowe, and there is little doubt that, had it rested with him and the British Ministry, it would have been effectually suppressed; but Santini's copy, and probably others, had eluded all vigilance, and having been communicated to the Emperor's family and others, gave occasion to a motion for inquiry in the House of Lords. Lord Holland introduced the subject on the 18th of March, 1817, and eloquently appealed to the Legislature to limit the bitterness of Napoleon's imprisonment to the alleged necessity of the case, and not to add harsh treatment to a confinement suffi-

LORD HOLLAND'S MOTION.

ciently severe in itself. His lordship spoke of the unhealthy situation of Longwood ; of the restrictions placed upon the exercise of the Emperor ; of the interdiction of his letters, even to his wife, his child, and his dearest relatives ; the detention of books sent out to him ; the refusal to allow him to subscribe for newspapers and journals ; the inadequacy of the sum allowed for his maintenance, and the want of generosity, if not of justice, in making him contribute to the charges of his own maintenance. Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, dexterously availed himself of the misrepresentations of Santini, in order to discredit the information upon which Lord Holland had grounded his motion ; and by disproving in detail many of the falsehoods which had been published and confounding them with statements which were undeniable, had the appearance of answering the whole. He carefully abstained, however, from touching upon the broad principle,—that the Government was not justifiable in imposing any punishment or restriction upon the Emperor beyond what was absolutely necessary for his detention ; it having been, at the time of passing the St. Helena Act, expressly stipulated by the Ministry, in order to disarm their opponents, that Napoleon's imprisonment should cease as soon as the peace of France and of Europe would permit. Lord Bathurst expended considerable humour—if epigrammatic flippancy could, under the circumstances, be fairly called humour—in endeavouring to rebut the allegations of needless harshness, especially with respect to the provisions of Longwood, which had gone abroad ; but he omitted to state that while eighteen-pence a pound was paid for beef served at the Governor's table, that purchased for the consumption of Napoleon cost but three-pence, and being usually carted from James' Town in the sun, was often putrid before it reached its destination ; that mutton, bread, and wine were supplied by contract, at the lowest prices, and consequently of the worst quality ; and that Sir Hudson Lowe complained even of the quantity of salt used ; and disputed the Emperor's right to a frequent change of linen, on account of the formidable amount of his washing bills. The Ministers, however, were, for the time, triumphant. The Peers, chiefly Tories and of Tory creation, rejected all inquiry, and Sir Hudson Lowe obtained a respite. But the nature of Lord Bathurst's speech was such

VEXATIONS TO O'MEARA.

that the Governor of St. Helena himself was ashamed of it; and when the newspapers containing it reached the island, he sought to cajole those who pointed out its misrepresentations by attributing these to reporters' errors. O'Meara, when sent for to explain portions of the harangue to the Emperor, confessed, that "for the first time in his life, he felt ashamed of being a Briton."

From this time, Napoleon's health and spirits sank rapidly. The unhealthy atmosphere which he was compelled to breathe, and his want of exercise, preyed on and prostrated his bodily vigour; while the failure of the appeal in his behalf; the additional insolence and importance which that failure conferred upon his gaoler; the absence of Las Cases; and the prospect of ending his days on the inhospitable rock to which he was chained, were not without their effect upon his mind. He lingered on, however, to drain his cup of affliction to the dregs—to be tortured, mocked, and vilified by "the most generous of his enemies," and be held up as the terror of Europe.

A brief detail will suffice for the remaining incidents connected with his life. Sir Hudson Lowe, after a vain attempt to tamper with Mr. O'Meara, and to induce him to act as a spy upon the inmates of Longwood, thought it necessary to put that gentleman, though a British officer, under the same regulations as the exiles, and to forbid his quitting the prison limits without permission. He went so far as to direct the officers of the 66th regiment, which had replaced the 53rd, to exclude the doctor from their mess-table; and when O'Meara remonstrated, the Governor treated him with the foulest abuse, and ordered him to be turned out of Plantation House. Finally, finding that his opponent could neither be wheedled nor bullied into compliance with his wishes, he procured an order from Lord Bathurst to send the refractory surgeon from the island. This was in the summer of 1818. Sir Hudson, when sending the official notice to O'Meara, prohibited all further communication with the inhabitants of Longwood; but this the doctor determined, at all risks, to disobey, his illustrious patient's health being such as to require that a regimen should be prescribed for him, and, in the absence of a surgeon, that a quantity of medicines should be prepared. He accordingly waited on the Emperor, and communicated the new vexation. "The crime," said the latter, "will be the sooner con-

REMOVAL OF O'MEARA.

summed. I have lived too long for them. When the Pope was in France, I would sooner have cut off my right-hand than have signed an order for the removal of his surgeon." O'Meara took leave of Napoleon on the 25th of July, when he was honoured with introductions, and some messages of affection, to the Imperial family and to Lady Holland. "Be," said he, "the interpreter of my love for my good Louisa, my excellent mother, and Pauline. If you should see my son, embrace him for me, and tell him never to forget that he was born a French Prince." Assure Lady Holland of the feelings which I entertain of her kindness, and the esteem which I bear

towards her. Try to send me authentic information concerning the manner in which my son is brought up." The Emperor then embraced the surgeon, saying, "Adieu, O'Meara, we shall meet no more. May you be happy!"

O'Meara being dismissed, Sir Hudson Lowe again ventured earnestly to recommend to his prisoner the services of a Mr. Baxter, his own surgeon, with whom the Emperor had on various former occasions declined to hold any communication — having, as he undoubtedly thought, good reason to suspect the motives for this peculiar interest in his health. He offered, however, to receive the attendance of Dr. Stokoe, Surgeon of the *Conqueror*, which, after some difficulty, was permitted; but, in a few months, that gentleman, like his predecessor, was dismissed, for refusing to dishonour himself and his profession, by becoming the Governor's spy. His removal was signified to the Emperor, in a letter containing some necessary professional directions, bearing date the 21st of January, 1819. This letter it was ridiculously sought to construe into a felonious act — being, as the Governor alleged, an illegal communication with the French. On this occasion, as if by way of retort, Lord Bathurst professed to be ashamed of Sir Hudson Lowe, and Dr. Stokoe was promptly sent back to his post in the *Conqueror*; but, unhappily, Sir Hudson was suffered to remain at Plantation House.

From January till September, 1819, when an Italian physician, named Antommarchi, sent at the request of the Emperor by Madame Mère and Cardinal Fesch, arrived in the island, Napoleon had no medical attendant whatever. He had meanwhile, however, been deprived of two other of his followers, Madame Montholon and General Gourgaud, who had sought the Emperor's permission to return to Europe, on account of prolonged ill-health. Gourgaud, on quitting the island, is said to have made some revelations, tending to justify the conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe and the British Ministers; but as the purport of these has been denied by their pretended author, and they depend on verbal reports, and are, in several important particulars, concerning which Gourgaud could not have been mistaken, at variance with known facts, no reliance whatever is to be placed upon them. They were prepared, in all probability, to serve as materials for the next speech on St. Helena, by Lord Bathurst, and endowed with a paternity which, if their fabrication should pass undetected, might spare the blushes of Sir Hudson Lowe. To supply, in some measure, the place of those who had left the island, there had come out with Antommarchi, two Italian priests, the Abbés Buonavita

DEATH OF PRINCESS ELIZA.

and Vignali. Napoleon had long desired the presence of a clergyman; but as he had been invariably represented to be an atheist by the English Government, it was thought prudent to delay granting his request till the demand became too pressing to be resisted, without public scandal.

When the new doctor arrived, the Emperor had scarcely been out of doors for eighteen months. He felt conscious, that he "should not much longer trouble the digestion of kings." For eighteen months longer — till March, 1821 — Antommarchi struggled against the disease which was hastening his patient to the grave; but without effect. The damp, unhealthy atmosphere of St. Helena rendered medicine unavailing; and the Emperor grew daily worse. He became incapable of action; had violent pains in his back and sides; his appetite was gone; he had frequent vomitings, and was subject to fainting-fits. The news of the death of his sister, Eliza, at the end of the year 1820, affected him deeply, and awakened the most gloomy forebodings. "Eliza," he said, "has just shewn us the way. Death, which seemed to have overlooked my family, has begun to strike it. My turn cannot be far off. I have no longer strength, activity, nor energy remaining — I am no longer Napoleon — I bend beneath my yoke — I hardly exist. All is over: my days will soon close on this miserable rock." He then spoke of his son and of Maria-Louisa. His physician tried to divert his thoughts, by starting other subjects. "I understand you," said the Emperor; "let it be so; let us forget; if, indeed, the heart of a father can ever forget!"

About the same time, some fish, with which he had stocked a reservoir in the garden at Longwood, died, in consequence of the water being poisoned by a mixture of copperas with the mastick used in cementing the basin. "Everything that I love," he said, "everything that belongs to me is stricken. Heaven and mankind unite to afflict me." Bed became a place of luxury to him, and his eyes could scarcely endure the light. He would lay with drawn curtains, sometimes for days; but he was sleepless and melancholy. By degrees, a death-like coldness seized his lower extremities. "Ah, doctor!" he exclaimed, "how I suffer. Why did the cannon-balls spare me to die in this deplorable manner? I, that was so active, so alert, can now scarcely raise my eyelids."

SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Sir Hudson Lowe had constantly asserted that, notwithstanding the reports which reached him, he believed the prisoner to be well; and that the rumours of his illness were merely part of a system of fraud intended to facilitate his escape from St. Helena. He even at one time procured false bulletins of the Emperor's health to be manufactured by Mr. Baxter, for the purpose of deceiving both the inhabitants of St. Helena and the people of England. That he could not really have doubted the Emperor's indisposition, is certain, from the copies of private letters transmitted by him to England, extracts from which were sometimes published in the Government newspapers before the originals reached their destination. Assumed scepticism, however, served as a pretext for the infliction of additional indignities on the man whose mind he had been unable to subdue. On learning that the orderly officer, appointed to ascertain from day to day the presence of the Emperor, was unable to see the prisoner on account of the confinement of the latter to his sick-chamber, the Governor went himself to Longwood, accompanied by his whole staff, put authoritative questions to the domestics, paraded round the house, examined the outlets, and, finally, threatened to force an entrance, if Napoleon, by a certain date, were not rendered visible when he desired. Montholon and Antommarchi remonstrated against this savage resolution; Sir Hudson, nevertheless, repeated his menace, and would doubtless have put it in execution, but that about this time, the Emperor, on the entreaty of his physician, of Bertrand, and of Montholon, consented to Dr. Arnott's being called in for consultation on the disease under which the prisoner was dying; upon which Sir Hudson consented to receive that gentleman's report instead of the military officer's, and the contemplated outrage was avoided.

The Governor's fears of an attempt on the part of his captive to escape from custody, are said to have been grounded on the detection of a desperate scheme set on foot in America, by Madame Fourés, formerly mentioned as having been an object of some attention to Napoleon in Egypt. The Emperor had been informed of this project, and of other similar ones emanating from the same quarter, but had invariably refused to sanction them; as he did also a more feasible plan for his liberation, conceived and carried to some extent by a daring smuggler, named Johnstone. This man had designed

NAPOLEON'S WILL.

a submarine vessel which was to float nearly on a level with the surface of the water, and was to have approached St. Helena, waited until the illustrious captive should be able to elude the vigilance of his guards, and having taken him on board to have sailed instantly for the United States. The vessel was commenced in one of the dock-yards on the Thames; but when nearly finished, the British Government received information which led to its seizure. The last project, it may be observed, could not possibly have influenced Sir Hudson Lowe in his conduct, as it did not transpire till about the time of the Emperor's death.

On the 15th of April, Napoleon commenced drawing up his will, and was occupied with its details several days. On the 19th, he seemed better, was in good spirits, and able to sit up. Montholon and his other attendants expressed their satisfaction at his improvement: "You deceive yourselves, my friends," he said; I feel that my end draws near. When I am dead, you will have the sweet

DEATH-BED.

consolation of returning to Europe. One will meet his relations, another his friends; and for me—I shall rejoin my brave companions in arms in the Elysian Fields. Yes! Kleber, Desaix, Bessières, Duroc, Ney, Murat, Massena, Berthier, will all come to greet me, and to talk to me of what we have done together. I shall recount to them the latest events of my life. On seeing me, they will rekindle with enthusiasm and glory. We will discourse of our wars with the Scipios, the Hannibals, with Cæsar, and with Frederic. There will be pleasure in that; unless,” he added, laughing, “they should be alarmed below to see so many warriors assembled together!”

Dr. Arnott at this moment arrived. The Emperor spoke to him for some time, concerning the progress of his disorder; then, in a solemn tone, he addressed him on the wrongs and injuries which had been inflicted on himself by Sir Hudson Lowe; and concluded by expressing his conviction that England would end like the proud republic of Venice. “For me,” he exclaimed, “expiring on this frightful rock, torn from my family, and deprived of all, I bequeath the infamy and horror of my death to the reigning family of England.”

As Napoleon’s health grew worse, those about him redoubled their zeal and attention—anxious to afford him a last proof of their devotedness. Marchand, St. Denis, and Antommarchi watched by turns at his bedside; and, as he was incapable of bearing a light in the chamber, they were compelled to render him such assistance as his situation demanded in profound darkness: but no one regarded his own comfort or convenience in comparison with that of the Emperor. Pieron, Coursot, all the household at Longwood, were eager to take turns in the sad duty of administering to the relief of him whom they still regarded as their sovereign and father. His injunctions to them as to their conduct after his death were frequent and solemn; and those relating to himself possess a melancholy interest. “Let my heart,” he on one occasion said, “be taken out when I am dead, and carried to my dear Maria-Louisa. Tell her how tenderly I have loved her; that I have never ceased to love her! . . . Repair to Rome; find out my mother, my family; give them an account of what you have witnessed,—of my situation, disorder, and death. Tell them that the great Napoleon expired in a state the most deplorable; wanting everything; abandoned to himself and his glory!”

DEATH-BED.

On the second of May, the fever had increased, and was attended with delirium. The Emperor spoke of nothing but France, of his son, and of his ancient comrades. "Steingel, Desaix, Massena!" he cried, "Ah! the victory will be gained! hasten, urge the charge! they are ours!" He leaped from the bed; but his strength failed him, and his attendants with the gentlest care replaced him. He afterwards recovered sufficiently to give directions for opening his body after death; and for the disposal of his remains, in case permission should not be granted to convey him to France or Corsica. He adjured his followers to be faithful to his memory, and to each other. "I have sanctioned all the best principles," he said, "and infused them into my laws, into my acts—there is not one which I have failed to consecrate. Unfortunately the circumstances were trying; I was compelled to use force, to delay: reverses came, I could not unbend the bow, and France was deprived of the liberal institutions which I had planned for her." He then spoke of the fidelity and solicitude of his domestics, and recommended them to his officers—"And my poor Chinese!" he added, "let not them be forgotten. Give them a score or two of napoleons, and bid them farewell for me!"

On the 3rd, the Abbé Vignali administered to him the sacrament of extreme unction. "I am neither philosopher nor physician," exclaimed the Emperor; "but I believe in God, and am of the religion of my fathers. Every one cannot be an atheist who pleases. I was born a catholic, and wish to fulfil the duties that church imposes, and to receive the consolations it administers."

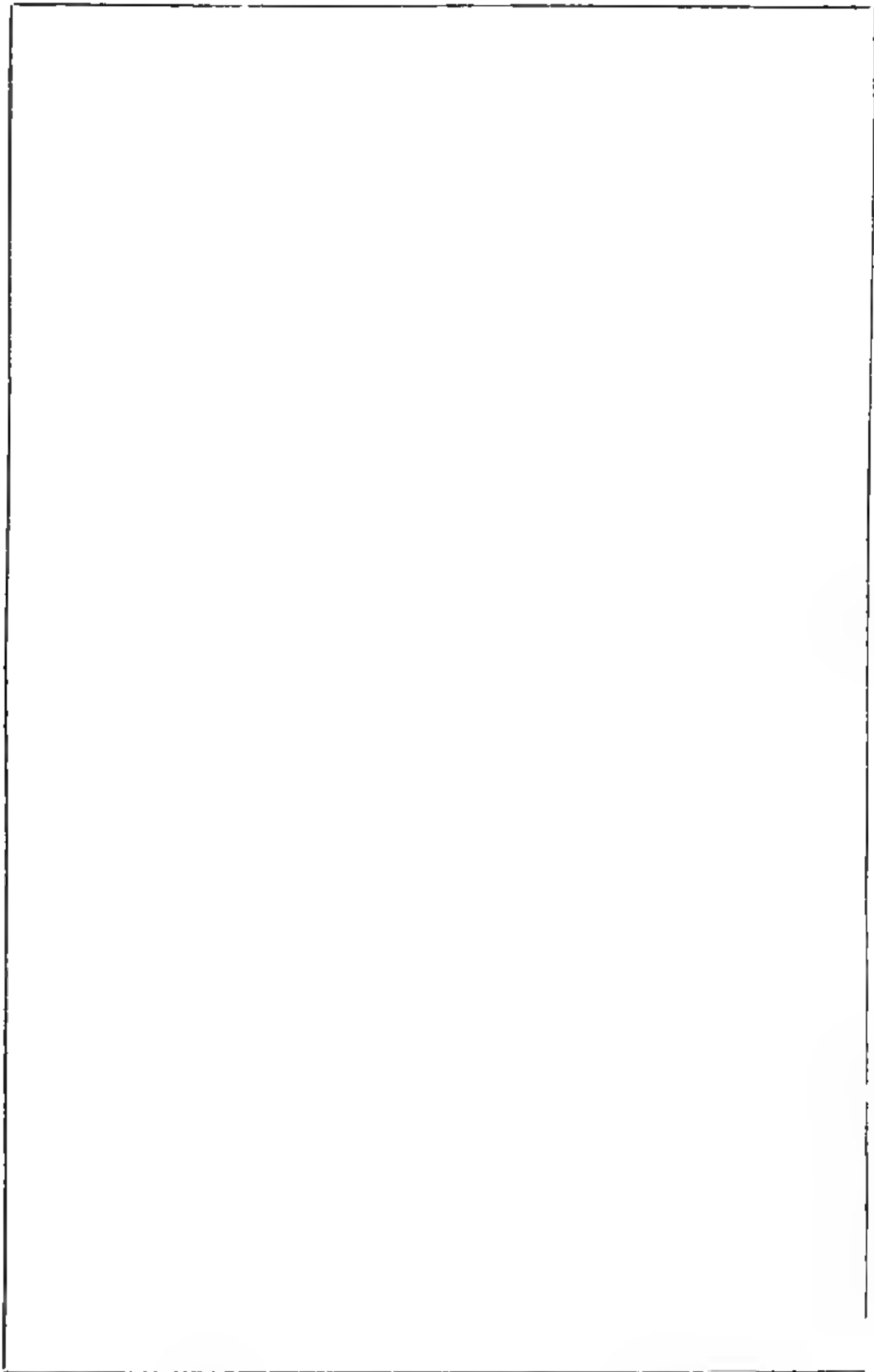
At night, a violent storm burst over the island, rending the branches of the larger trees and tearing up those of the plantations by the roots. The favourite willow of Napoleon, under which he had been accustomed to enjoy the fresh air, was blown down. It has been absurdly attempted from this coincidence to establish some resemblance between the Emperor and Oliver Cromwell.

The delirium and agony of Napoleon continued throughout the day and night of the 4th. The strong intellect, the giant mind which had held the world in awe, and had been almost universally deemed super-human, were now reduced to the humblest level. Legitimate kings, princes, and oligarchs might henceforth breathe again with freedom,

DEATH.

and for awhile oppress without fear of the "Bourgeois Avenger." The parting thoughts of the Hero were in the strife amid which he had lived: "*Tête d'armée*," were the last words which escaped his lips. At eleven minutes before six in the evening of the 5th, he ceased to breathe. His attendants were inconsolable. Madame Bertrand had left her sick-couch to be present with her children at the mournful scene; and the valet Noverraz was supported — half dead — to his master's bedside. All were in tears; loud sobs filled the chamber.

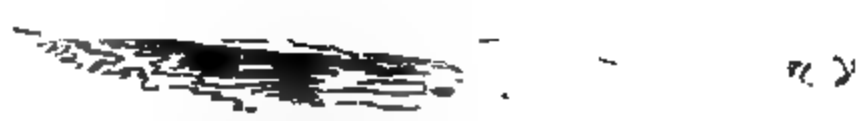
The body was opened on the 6th, by Antommarchi, in the presence of five English medical men; and the immediate cause of death was ascertained to have been cancer of the stomach—the disease of which the Emperor's father died. Napoleon had desired, in his will, that "his ashes should repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom he had loved so well;" but this was not



BURIAL.

and the whole population of St. Helena, thronged to take a last look at the "Conqueror and Captive of the earth."

He was borne to the grave, on the 8th, by a party of English grenadiers, and buried at a place called *Slane's Valley*, about a league



from Longwood, at a spot whence his Chinese domestics had been accustomed to procure him spring water, and which was surrounded by some drooping willows. His coffin bore no record, and his tomb was without epitaph; but the rock of St. Helena itself was his monument, and his memory can perish only with the records of the world.

Lord Holland, in the British House of Peers, thus spoke of the deceased Emperor, in the beginning of August, 1822:—"The very persons who detested this great man have acknowledged, that, for ten centuries, there had not appeared upon earth a more extraordinary

REMOVAL TO EUROPE.

character. All Europe has worn mourning for the Hero; and those who contributed to that great sacrifice, are devoted to the execrations of the present generation, as well as to those of posterity."

It was reserved for the English and French Governments of 1840, to fulfil the Emperor's request, that his ashes might find a resting-place in the land to which his genius and energies had been devoted. M. Thiers, Prime Minister of France, having, in the month of May, applied to the British Cabinet concerning the removal of the illustrious dead, received a frank and ready permission for his exhumation. The following is an extract from the official communications that passed on the subject:—"The Government of her Britannic Majesty hopes that the promptness of its answer may be considered in France as a proof of its desire to blot out the last trace of those national animosities, which, during the life of the Emperor, armed England and France against each other. The British Government hopes, that if such sentiments survive anywhere, they may be buried in the tomb about to receive the remains of Napoleon."

